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THE

Sam. Miller

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

C O N N E C T E D,

to the Dissolution of the *Assyrian* Empire
at the Death of *Sardanapalus*, and to the
Declension of the Kingdoms of *Judah* and
Israel, under the Reigns of *Abaz* and *Pekah*.

By M. A.

Chaplain in Ordinary to His MAJESTY.

VOLUME *the* THIRD.

Printed for R. KNAPLOCK, and J. and R. TONSON.



To the Right HONOURABLE

CHARLES

Lord Viscount TOWNSHEND,

Baron of *Lynn-Regis*, Knight of the
most Noble Order of the Garter, &c.

This VOLUME is

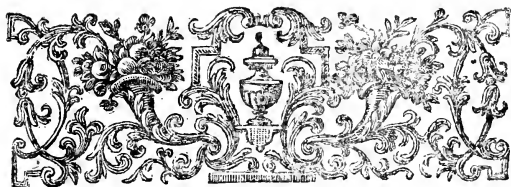
most humbly Dedicated

By His LORDSHIP'S

most Obedient and

most humble Servant,

SAMUEL SHUCKFORD,



T H E

P R E F A C E.

TH E First and Second Volumes of this History, which I some Years ago offered to the Publick, do so fully explain the Nature and Design of my Undertaking, that there can be no need of any further Account of it: This Third Volume contains the sacred History from the *Israelites* having passed the Red-Sea to the Death of *Joshua*, and I have, as in the former Volumes, offered in it, not only such Observations, as I thought might obviate or answer Objections to, or Difficulties in the Scripture Accounts of some Facts of these Times; but also such Hints of the Heathen Nations, as can belong to this Period, and may conduce to my being able to deduce the prophane History in a clear Light, when I shall come down to an Age, which may afford Plenty of Materials for a Relation of the Affairs of it.

I am sensible the Reader may expect from me some Account of the *Jewish* Year, which

he will not find in the ensuing Volume: If the *Israelites*, when they came into *Canaan*, had not been instructed to compute such a Number of Days to a Year, as might come very nigh to the true Measure of it, they could not long have continued to keep their set Feasts in their proper Seasons: The Heathen Nations had as yet no Notion of the Year's containing more than 360 Days (*a*): But such a Year falling short five Days, and almost a quarter of a Day of a true solar Revolution, it must be evident, that the stated Feasts of *Moses's* Law, if they had been observed in a Course of such Years, would have returned five Days and almost a quarter of a Day, in every Year, sooner than the true Season of the Year for observing them could have returned with them, and this in a very few Years must have brought them into a great Confusion (*b*): *Moses* appointed the Passover to be killed and eaten on the fourteenth Day of the first Month at Even (*c*): On the same Evening they began to eat unleavened Bread (*d*), and continued the eating it unto the Evening of the one and twentieth Day (*e*): The Wave-Sheaf was to be offered on the second Day of unleavened Bread (*f*): Fifty Days after (*g*), or on the fifth Day of the third Month, two Wave-Loaves were to be offered for the

(*a*) See Pref. to Vol. I. (*b*) They must in a few Years have come to celebrate the Passover, before they could have had Lambs fit to be eaten: the Wave-sheaf-offering would have come about, before the Barley was ripe to be reaped, and the Pentecost before the Time of Wheat-Harvest. Prideaux Pref. to Part I. of his Connection. (*c*) Exod. xii. 6—8. Levit. xxiii. 5. (*d*) Exod. xii. 18. (*e*) Ibid. (*f*) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 3. c. 10. (*g*) Levit. xxiii. 15, 16.

Wheat-harvest (*b*); and on the fifteenth Day of the seventh Month (*i*), they were to celebrate their ending the gathering in all the Fruits of their Land (*k*): *Moses* lived almost forty Years after his giving the *Israelites* these Institutions: And if all this while 360 Days had been computed to be a Year, it is evident, that the Feasts of the Law would by this Time have gone backwards almost two hundred and ten Days, from what was the real Season of the Year, at which they were at first appointed; for forty Times five Days and almost a quarter of a Day amount to near that Number: But we find that, when the *Israelites* came into *Canaan*, and were to keep the Passover there on the fourteenth Day of the Month *Abib* (*l*), the Corn was ripe in the Fields (*m*); *Jordan* was in that Flow over all his Banks, which that River was annually remarkable for, all the Time of Harvest (*n*); so that the Passover, and consequently the other Feasts fell this Year at about the Times, to which *Moses* at first stated them: And therefore the *Israelites* must have had some Method to adjust their computed Year to the true Measure of a real one, or otherwise the Observation of their set Festivals would in fewer Years have remarkably varied from their true Seasons.

(*b*) Exod. xxxiv. 22. (*i*) Levit. xxiii. 39. (*k*) *In Canaan the Produce of the Earth seems to have come on in the same Course as in Egypt: In Egypt the Barley was in the Ear, when the Wheat and the Rye were not grown up, Exod. ix. 31, 32; so in Canaan the Barley-Harvest came on first; then the Wheat-Harvest, and after these, the gathering their other Fruits, the Fruits of their Vineyards and Olive-yards, &c.* (*l*) Josh. v. 10. (*m*) *Ibid.*
 See Book XII. p. 420. (*n*) Josh. iii. 15.

By what particular Method the ancient *Israelites* regulated their Year in this manner, may perhaps be difficult to be ascertained: However, I would endeavour to offer, what I think may be gathered from some Hints in *Moses's* Institutions relating to this Matter.

Moses, for the calculating and regulating the sacred Festivals, directed the *Israelites* to observe the Month *Abib* (rr): *This Month was to be unto them the Beginning of Months*, it was to be the first Month of the Year (s): On the fourteenth Day of this Month at Even, they were to kill and eat the Passover (t): The Day after, or the fifteenth, was the first Day of unleavened Bread (u), and, which ought to be particularly remarked, the first Day of unleavened Bread was always to fall upon a Sabbath: This I take to be hinted, *Levit. xxiii. 11.* The Wave-Sheaf was to be waved on the Morrow after a Sabbath (w); but the Wave-Sheaf was thus offered on the second Day of unleavened Bread (x), and consequently if that Day was the Morrow after a Sabbath, then the Day preceding or first Day of unleavened Bread was a Sabbath: If this Point be rightly stated, it will be to be remembered, that the Sabbaths in this first Month will fall thus; the first Day a Sabbath, the eighth Day a Sabbath, the fifteenth a Sabbath, the twenty second a Sabbath, and the twenty ninth a Sabbath: A Month was ordinarily computed to be thirty Days, neither more, nor

(rr) Deut. xvi. 1. (s) Exodus xii. 2. (t) *Ibid.*
 6—8. *Levit. xxiii. 5.* (u) *Ver. 6.* (w) *Ver. 11.*
The Hebrew Words are, שבתות ראשונות, i. e. crassino
Sabbati, on the Day after the Sabbath. (x) *Joseph.*
Antiq. lib. 5 ubi sup.

fewer (y): Accordingly, if we go thro' the second Month, the Sabbaths in it must be thus: The sixth Day a Sabbath, the thirteenth a Sabbath, the twentieth a Sabbath, and the twenty seventh a Sabbath (z). In the third Month the Sabbaths will

(y) Moses thus computes the Months in his Account of the Flood: From the seventeenth Day of the second Month to the seventeenth Day of the seventh Month; for five whole Months he reckons one hundred and fifty Days, Gen. vii. 11. 24. viii. 3, 4, which is exactly thirty Days to each Month; for five times thirty Days are one hundred and fifty.

(z) Scaliger intimates the twenty second Day of this second Month to have been a Sabbath. Lib. de Emendat. Temp. p. 153, which, if true, would overthrow the Order of the Sabbaths I am offering. But, 1. If the twenty second of this Month had been a Sabbath, then the fifteenth must have been a Sabbath also, and the People would have rested in their Tents upon it, Exod. xvi. 30. But the fifteenth was a Day of Travel; the Israelites took their Journey from Elim unto the Wilderness of Sin, on the fifteenth Day of the second Month, Exod. xvi. 1. so that this Day was not a Sabbath, and consequently neither was the twenty second. 2. Scaliger's Opinion is founded upon an Imagination that the Quails were given in the very Evening, and the Manna on the Morning after the Israelites came into this Wilderness: If this were the Fact, the Israelites gathering Manna for six successive Days, before Moses observed to them that to morrow is the Sabbath, (See ver. 22, 23.) would indeed suggest the Sabbath to fall on the twenty second: But how improvable is it that the Israelites should have fixed their Camp, explored the Country, found that they could not be supported in it, mutinied, obtained a miraculous Supply from God, and all this in the remaining Part of a Day almost spent in Travel? A Supply given thus instantaneously would hardly have been known to be a Miracle: They could not so soon have judged enough of the Country they were in, to determine whether it might not be the natural Produce of it: In the Wilderness of Shur they travelled three Days, before they came to high Complaints for want of Water, Exod. xv. 22. In like manner they came into the Wilderness of Sin, on the fifteenth Day

will fall thus: The fourth Day a Sabbath: And the Day after this Sabbath was the Day of *Pentecost*, or the fiftieth Day from the Day of bringing the Sheaf of the Wave-offering (*a*); for from the Day of waving it, on the Day after a Sabbath, they were to count seven Sabbaths complete; unto the Day after the seventh Sabbath fifty Days, and upon that fiftieth Day they were to offer the two Wave-Loaves and their New Meal-Offering (*b*); accordingly, from the sixteenth Day of the first Month to the fifth Day of the third Month, counting inclusively, are fifty Days, and the fiftieth Day falls regularly on the Morrow or Day after a Sabbath, as *Moses* calculates it (*c*): The other Sabbaths in this third Month fall thus: The eleventh Day a Sabbath, the eighteenth a Sabbath, and the twenty fifth a Sabbath: In the fourth Month the Sabbaths fall as follows: The second Day a Sabbath, the ninth a Sabbath, the sixteenth a Sabbath, the twenty third a Sabbath, and the thirtieth a Sabbath: In the fifth Month, the seventh Day will be a Sabbath, the fourteenth a Sabbath, the twenty first a Sabbath, and the

of the Month, on a second Day of the Week: In about four Days they had eat up all that could be provided for them, and found absolutely that the Land they were in could not support them: In this Extremity they were ready to murmur; on the fifth Day, the twentieth Day of the Month, and the seventh Day of the Week at Even, Moses obtained them the Quails, and on the next Morning the Manna: They gathered Manna for six Days, and then the Sabbath was on the twenty seventh: In this way of computing we allow the Affairs transacted a necessary Space of Time, and this will fix the Sabbaths to the Days I have supposed to belong to them.

(*a*) Levitic. xxiii. 15.
 (*b*) *Ib.*d. ver. 17. Numb. xxviii. 26.
 xxiii. 16.

(*c*) Levit.

twenty eighth a Sabbath: In the sixth Month, the fifth Day is a Sabbath, the twelfth Day a Sabbath, the nineteenth a Sabbath, and the twenty sixth a Sabbath. We are now to begin the seventh Month: And here I must observe, that *Moses* was order'd to *speak unto the Children of Israel*, saying, *In the seventh Month, in the first Day of the Month shall ye have a Sabbath* (cc): It may be here queried, whether this Sabbath was to fall seven Days after the last Sabbath, and be one of the weekly Sabbaths of the Year, or whether it was to be a common Day of the Week in it self, but ordered to be kept as a Sabbath by a special Appointment: And an Answer to this Query is easy to be collected from considering the Appointments of this Season: The tenth Day of this seventh Month was to be a Day of Atonement to afflict their Souls, and they were specially ordered to do no Work on that same Day: There could have been no need of that particular Order, if this tenth Day had been a Sabbath; for upon account of its being a Sabbath Day, no manner of Work must have been done therein (d): This tenth Day therefore did not fall upon a weekly Sabbath. But it is to be observed, that it would have been a weekly Sabbath, if some special Appointment had not here taken place to prevent it; for as the twenty sixth Day of the sixth Month was a Sabbath, the Days going on in their common Order, the third Day of the seventh Month would have been a Sabbath, and consequently the tenth; but the tenth Day thus appearing not to have been a Sabbath, it must be allowed that the third al-

(cc) Levit. xxiii. 24.

(d) Exod. xx. 10.

so was not a Sabbath Day, and consequently, that here must have been some particular Appointment, to cause the Sabbaths not to go on in the Course in which they would otherwise have proceeded: And the Injunction of the first Day of the seventh Month's being a Sabbath appears very plainly to have been this Appointment, and would always cause the tenth Day not to fall on a Sabbath, but on a Week-day, pertinently to the Injunction of having no Work done therein; so that I should think, there can remain nothing further to be consider'd, than at what Distance this Sabbath Day, on the first Day of the seventh Month, was to be kept from after the last preceding Sabbath: And I think we cannot but conclude that seven Days must have been the Interval; for I think this was the Law of the Sabbath without Variation: Between Sabbath and Sabbath *Six Days* they were to labour and do all their Work; but the seventh Day was to be *the Sabbath (e)*, and if this be allowed me, it will be plain, that the *Israelites* must have here added two Days to the End of the sixth Month to make the sixth Day of the Week the last Day of it; for the twenty sixth Day of this Month was, as I have observed, a Sabbath (*f*); consequently, if this Month, like other Months, had contained thirty Days only, the last Day of it would have been the fourth Day of the Week, and the first Day of the seventh Month could not have been a Sabbath in the manner which *Moses* appointed: Here therefore the *Israelites* kept two Week-days more than this Month would otherwise have afforded, and

(e) Exod. xv. 6, 10.

(f) Vid. quæ sup.

began the seventh Month with a Sabbath, according to the Injunction. But to go on : The first Day of the seventh Month being thus a Sabbath, it will follow, that in this Month the eighth Day would be a Sabbath, the fifteenth a Sabbath, the twenty second a Sabbath, and the twenty ninth a Sabbath. The tenth Day of this Month was the Day of Atonement (*g*), the fifteenth Day began the Feast of Tabernacles (*b*), a Feast to be kept for the gathering in the Fruits of the Land (*i*) : This Feast was thus to begin with a Sabbath (*k*), and after seven Days Celebration, it was ended on the eighth Day, namely on the twenty second Day of this Month with another Sabbath (*l*). The twenty ninth Day of the seventh Month being a Sabbath, the Sabbaths in the eighth Month will fall thus : The sixth Day will be a Sabbath, the thirteenth a Sabbath, the twentieth a Sabbath, and the twenty seventh a Sabbath : In the ninth Month, the fourth Day will be a Sabbath, the eleventh a Sabbath, the eighteenth a Sabbath, and the twenty fifth a Sabbath : In the tenth Month, the second Day will be a Sabbath, the ninth a Sabbath, the sixteenth a Sabbath, the twenty third a Sabbath, and the thirtieth a Sabbath : In the eleventh Month, the seventh Day will be a Sabbath, the fourteenth a Sabbath, the twenty first a Sabbath, and the twenty eighth a Sabbath : In the twelfth Month, the fifth Day will be a Sabbath, the twelfth a Sabbath, the nineteenth a Sabbath, and the twenty sixth a Sabbath, and the thirtieth Day of this Month would be the

(*g*) Levit. xxiii. 27. (*l*) ver. 34. (*i*) ver. 39.
 (*k*) *ibid.* (*l*) *ibid.*

fourth Day of a Week: But here it must be remembered, that the first Day of the ensuing Year, the first of the Month *Abib*, must fall upon a Sabbath (*m*); so that here, as at the End of the sixth Month two Days must be added, to make the Week and the Year end together; that the first Day of *Abib* may be regularly a Sabbath after a due Interval of six Days between the last foregoing Sabbath and the Day of it. In this manner *Moses's* Appointments appear to carry the *Israelites* thro' the Year in fifty two complete Weeks, amounting to 364 Days, and this would be a great Approximation to the true and real solar Year, in comparison of what all other Nations at this Time fell short of it: But still it must be remarked, that even a Year thus settled would not fully answer; for the true length of the Year being, as I have said, 365 Days and almost six Hours; *Moses's* Year, if thus constituted, would still fall short, one Day and almost six hours in every *Solar* Revolution, and this would have amounted to almost fifty Days in the forty Years, which he was with the *Israelites*, and therefore, had the *Israelites* began and continued computing their Year in this manner, they would have found at their entering into *Canaan* on the tenth Day of their Month *Abib*, that they were come thither, not just at the time of Harvest, as they might have expected, nor when *Jordan* overflowed his Banks, as he did annually, but rather they would have been there almost fifty Days before the Season; so that we must endeavour to look for some further Direction in *Moses's* Appointments, or we shall be yet

(*m*) Vid. quæ sup.

at a loss to say how the *Israelites* could keep their Year from varying away from the Seasons: But

I would observe, that there are several Hints, in the Injunctions of *Moses*, that may lead us thro' this Difficulty: The Feasts of the Lord were to be proclaimed in their Seasons (*n*), and it is remarkable, that the Season for the Wave-sheaf-offering is directed in some measure by the time of Harvest: *When ye be come into the Land, which I give unto you, and shall reap the Harvest thereof, then shall ye bring a sheaf* — (*o*) thus again: *Seven Weeks shalt thou number unto thee, begin to number the seven Weeks from such time as thou beginnest to put the Sickle to the Corn* (*p*): the numbring these Weeks was to begin from the Day of bringing the Sheaf of the Wave-offering (*q*), and therefore the Wave-sheaf-offering and the *Pentecost* at the End of the Weeks appear evidently to have been regulated by the Corn-Season, which was sure to return annually after the Revolution of a true Year, however the computed Year might vary from, or not come up to it: And the only Question that can now remain is, whether the *Israelites* were to keep all their other Feasts on their set Days, exactly at the Return of their computed Year, or whether their other Feasts were regulated along with these of the Wave-sheaf and *Pentecost*; so as to have their computed Year corrected and amended, as often as the Return of Harvest shewed them there was reason for it: And this last Intimation appears plainly to me

(*n*) Levit. xxiii. 4. (*o*) ver. 10. (*p*) Deut. xvi. 9.
 (*q*) Levit. xxiii. 15.

to have been the Fact ; for I observe, that the fifteenth Day of the seventh Month is supposed never to fall before they had gather'd in the Fruits of their Land ; for on that Day they were always to keep a Feast for the ending all their Harvests (*r*): But if the computed Year had gone on without Correction, the fifteenth Day of the seventh Month, every Year falling short a Day and almost a quarter of a true Solar Year, would in a Number of Years have come about, before the Time for beginning their Harvest : And *Moses* lived long enough to have seen it very sensibly moving towards this Absurdity, and consequently cannot be supposed to have left it fixed in such a manner : Rather the whole computed Year was to be regulated by the Season of Harvest : When the Year was ended, the *Israelites* were to proclaim for the ensuing Year the Feasts of the Lord (*s*), and they were, I think, to be kept at their Times according to this publick Indiction of them, and in order to fix their Times right, they were in the first place to observe the Month *Abib* (*u*) ; the Harvest Month (*w*), to appoint the Beginning of that to its true Season ; and this they might do [as often

(*r*) Levit. xxiii 39. (*s*) ver. 4. (*u*) Deut. xvi. 1. I need not, I think, observe that the Weather in Judæa was not so variable as in our Climate, and consequently, that Seed time and Harvest were Seasons more fixed with the Inhabitants of this Country than with us.

(*w*) It may be queried, whether *Abib* be the Name of a Month: The *Israelites* in these Times, seem to have named their Months no otherwise than first, second, third, &c. *Nomina mensium ab initio nulla fuere*, says *Scaliger*. The Hebrew Word *Abib* signifies ripening, and perhaps *Moses* did not mean by *Chodesh ha Abib*, the Month *Abib*, intending *Abib* as a proper Name, but the Month of ripening, or of the Corn being fit for the Sickle.

as they found it varying from it, by the Corn not growing ripe for the Sickle at or about the sixteenth Day of this Month, the second Day of unleavened Bread (*x*), on which they were wont to offer their Wave-sheaf (*y*)] in the following manner: When, I say, they found at the End of the Year, from the Experience of two or three past Years, as well as the Year then before them, that Harvest was not so forward as to be fit to be begun in about sixteen Days, they might then add so many Days to the End of their Year, as might be requisite, that they might not begin the Month *Abib* until, upon the sixteenth of it, they might expect to put the Sickle to the Corn, and bring the Wave-sheaf in their accustomed Manner: This, I think, might be the Method in which the ancient *Israelites* adjusted their Year to the Seasons; and I conceive, that when they added to their Year in this manner, the Addition they made was of whole Weeks, one, two, or more, as the appearing Backwardness of the Season required, that the first of *Abib* might fall upon a Sabbath, and the other Sabbaths of the Year follow in their Order, as I have above fixed them. We may observe of this Method of adjusting the Year, that it is easy and obvious; no Depths of human Science, or Skill in Astronomy, are requisite for the proceeding according to it: The *Israelites* could only want once in about twenty Years to *lift up their Eyes, and to look* into their *Fields* (*z*), and to consider before they proclaimed the Beginning of their Month *Abib*, whether, or how much they wanted of being *white to Harvest*, and this with the

(*x*) Exod. xii. Levit. xxiii. ubi sup. (*y*) Joseph. ut sup.
 (*z*) John iv. 35.

observing their Sabbaths as above related, would furnish them with a Year fully answering all the Purposes of their Religion or civil Life: And this Method being thus capable of answering all Purposes, without leading them to a necessity of fixing *Equinoxes*, estimating the Motions of the heavenly Bodies, or acquainting themselves with any of those Schemes of human Learning, by which the heathen Nations were led into their Idolatries, I am the more apt to think, that this was the Method which God was pleased by the Hand of *Moses* to suggest to them.

I am aware of but one Point that can furnish any very material Objection to what I have offered: The *Israelites* were ordered by *Moses* to keep the Beginnings of their Months as solemn Feasts, on which they were to offer special Sacrifices (*a*), and they were to celebrate them like their other high Festivals with blowing of Trumpets (*b*): And they seem to have carefully observed this Appointment in their worst, as well as in their best, from their earliest to their latest Times: In the days of *Saul*, these Days were kept as High-feasts, on which a Person who used to sit there, was sure to be missed, if absent from the King's table (*c*): They are mentioned as held by *David* and *Solomon* amongst the solemn Festivals (*d*). As such *H Ezekiab* afterwards provided for the Observance of them (*e*): The Prophets mention them in like manner (*f*), and *Ezra* took care to revive them at the Return from the Captivity (*g*); and it appears to have been the Custom of all the

(*a*) Numb. xxviii. 11. (*b*) x. 10. (*c*) 1 Sam. xx. 5.
 (*d*) 1 Chron. xxiii. 31. 2 Chron. ii. 4. viii. 13. (*e*) 2 Chron.
 xxxi. 3. (*f*) Isa. i. 13, 14. lvi. 23. Ezek. xlvi. 1.
 Hei. ii. 11. Amos viii. 5. (*g*) Ezra iii. 5.

Israelites who feared God, to observe these Days amongst the Feasts of the House of *Israel*, as is evident from the Character given to *Judith*, amongst other things, for her Care in this matter (b). In their later Days the *Jews* fixed the Days of these Feasts, by the Appearance of the New-Moon (i), and great pains were taken to begin the Month and the Moon together (k): and this was the Practice, when the Author of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus* wrote; for he tells us, that *from the Moon is the Sign of Feasts* (m); and the *Jewish* Writers say, that *Moses* appointed this Practice, and that the *Israelites* proceeded by it, from the Beginning of the Law (n): The LXX indeed seem to have been of this Opinion, and accordingly, except in three or four Places only (o), in their Translation of the *Hebrew* Scriptures, they render the Expression for the *Beginnings of the Months* by the *Greek* Word *νεμηνια* or (p) *νεμηνια*, the Term constantly used by the heathen Writers for the Festival of the New-Moons observed by them (q): And we have followed the LXX, and do generally call the first Days of the Months, the *New-Moons* in our *English* Bibles: But if the ancient *Israelites* fixed these Festivals in this manner, they could not

(b) *Judith* viii. 6. (i) Talmud in Tract. Rosh. Ha-shanah. Maimonides in Ke'dush. Hachod. Selden de anno civili veterum Judæorum. Scaliger. Can. Ifagog. Lib. 3. p. 222. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. Lib. 6. p. 760. Edit. Oxon. (k) *The English Reader may see the Translation of Jurieu's History of the Doctrines and Worship of the Church.* Vol. I. p. 2. c. 8. Prideaux Connect. Pref. to Vol. I. (m) *Eccles.* xliiii. 7. (n) Vid. Spen. de Leg. Heb. p. 810. (o) Vid. 2 *Chron.* viii. 13. *Isa.* lxxvi. 23. *Amos.* 8. 5. (p) *Numb.* x. 10. xxviii. 11. 1 *Sam.* xx. 5. 2 *Kings* iv. 23. 1 *Chron.* xxiii. 31. *Psal.* lxxxi. 3. & passim. (q) Vid. Herodot. Lib. de Vit. Homer. c. 33. Plutarch. de virand. ære alieno. p. 828. Theophrast. Character. Ethic. iv. Lucian. in Icaro Menip. p. 731.

compute their Months and Year, as I have intimated; for in a Calendar formed according to what I have offered, the New-Moons and first Days of the Months would fall in no Agreement to one another. The most learned Dean *Prideaux* has given a full Account of the manner of the *Jewish* Year in their later Ages: It consisted of twelve *lunar* Months, made up alternately of twenty nine or of thirty Days, and brought to as good an Agreement as such a Year could have with the true Solar Year, by an Intercalation of a thirteenth Month every second or third Year (*r*): And some Year of this sort the *Israelites* must have used, in and from the Times of *Moses*, if they had observed the New-Moons from his Times, making them the Directors of the Beginnings of their Months, and keeping their Feasts according to them.

But I would observe, 1. That it cannot be conceived, that *Moses* had any Notion of computing Months according to this *lunar* Reckoning; five successive Months in his Account were deemed to contain one hundred and fifty Days (*s*); but had he computed by *lunar* Months, 148 Days would have been the highest Amount of them: In like manner twelve Months only made a *Jewish* Year until, at least, after the Times of *David* and *Solomon*; for had there been in their Times a thirteenth Month added to the Year, and that so frequently as in every second or third Year, neither would twelve Captains in *David's*, nor the same Number of Officers of the Household in *Solomon's* Time have been sufficient, by waiting each Man his Month, to have gone *throughout all the Months of the Year* in their Waitings (*t*): No Man of them waited

(*r*) *Prideaux's* Connect. Pref. to Part I. (*s*) Gen. vii. 12, 24. viii. (*t*) 1 Kings iv. 5. 1 Chron. xxvii.

more than one Month in any one Year (*u*), and therefore no Years at this Time had more than twelve Months belonging to them: But the best Writers seem fully satisfied in this Point: “ It can never be proved, says Archbishop *Usher*, “ that the *Hebrews* used *lunary* Months before “ the *Babylonian* Captivity (*w*)”: *Petavius* seems to think, not till after the Times of *Alexander* the Great, when they fell under the Government of the *Syro-Macedonian* Kings (*x*). 2. It is not probable, that God should command the *Israelites* to regulate their Months by the Moon, or to keep a Feast upon the particular Day of the new Moon; for the Law, if this had been a Constitution of it, would have been calculated rather to lead them into Danger of Idolatry, than to preserve them from it: The Practice of the later *Jews* in this Matter prompted an Author cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, to charge them with Idolatry (*y*); which Charge, tho’ I cannot think it well grounded, yet abundantly hints to me, that a Feast of New-Moons is not likely to be a Precept of *Moses’s* Law: I should think God would not have directed him to institute any thing, that could carry such an *Appearance of Evil*, especially when one great Design of the Manner of giving the Law is declared to be, that the *Israelites* when they lifted up their Eyes to Heaven, and saw the Sun and the Moon and the Stars, even all the Host of Heaven, should not be

(*u*) 1 Kings iv. 7. (*w*) Chronol. Pref. to the Reader. Vid. *Caliger*. *Emend. Temp.* p. 151. (*x*) *Petav.* *Rational. Temp.* Part. 2. lib. 7. c. 6. (*y*) Μὴ δὲ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους σεβείας, καὶ γὰρ ἐπειροὶ μόναι διδύμουσι τὸν Θεὸν γενναίως, ἐκ ὀπίσθηται, κατατρέφουσιν ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀρχαγγέλοις, μὴν καὶ σεβλήν. καὶ εἰ μὴ σεβλήν φανῆ, σεβείαν ἐκ ἀγνοίας τὸ λεγόμενον παρῶται, ἐδὲ νοσηπιαν ἀγνοίας ἔτε ἀζυμα, ἔτε ἐροτίω, ἔτε μεγάλων ἡμέραν. *Clem. Alexand.* *Stromat.* lib. 6. p. 270.

driven to worship them (z): The Nations, whom the *Israelites* were to drive out, seem to have served these Gods, and in this manner; and it is not likely the *Israelites* should be required to do *so unto the Lord their God* (a); rather it might be expected, that they should be instructed in a Method of beginning their Months opposite to any Shew of Agreement with the heathen Superstitions: They were commanded not to use Honey in any of their Sacrifices (b); not to sow their Fields with mingled Seed (c); not to round the Corners of their Heads, nor mar the Corners of their Beards (d); these were Things practised by the Heathens as Rites of Religion, and therefore the *Israelites* were not allowed to do them: The *Israelites* were to be a *peculiar People unto the Lord their God*, and whilst there runs thro' the whole Law a visible Design of many of the Institutions of it, to separate them from other Nations for this great Purpose, is it likely there should be a Direction for them to begin their Months with the Moon, which was worshipped by the Heathens as an high Deity? I dare say, this *Beauty of Heaven* (e), *lucidum Cæli Deus*, says *Horace* (f), *Queen of Heaven* (g), *Glory of the Stars* (h), *Horace* expresses it, *Siderum Regina* (i), was not a Regulator or Director of the religious Festivals of the God of *Israel*; rather his chosen People were led into some plainer Method of computing their Months, and that such a Method, as might so vary the Beginnings of them from a determined Relation to any Light of Heaven, as to evidence, that the appointed Holy-Days, which they kept, they did indeed keep only unto the Lord: The Author of the

(z) Deut. iv. 19. (a) Deut. xii. 31. (b) Levit. ii. 11. (c) xix. 19. (d) Ver. 27. (e) Ecclus. xli i. 9. (f) Carm. seculare. (g) See Jer. vii. 18. (h) Ecclus. ubi sup. (i) Horat. ibid.

Book of *Ecclesiasticus* observes of the Moon, that *the Month is called after her Name* (k); but this was not so to an ancient *Israelite*: In our *English* Language the Words *Moon* and *Month* may have this Relation, and a like Thought is to be supported in the *Greek* Tongue, in which the Author of *Ecclesiasticus* wrote his Book: Μῆν, *the Month*, may be a Contraction from Μῆνη, *the Moon*; tho' I think it more natural to derive Μῆνη from Μῆν, than Μῆν from Μῆνη: However, in the *Hebrew*, *Jareach* (l), or *Lebanab* (m) are the Words, that signify *Moon*; and *Chodesh* (n) is the Word for *Month*; and these have no such Affinity to one another: And indeed,

4. In the *Hebrew* Bible, there is, I think, no one Text either in the Books of *Moses*, or in any other of the Books of the Old Testament, that can intimate the *Israelites* to have observed the Day of the New-Moon in any of their Festivals. The *Israelites* were to offer their Burnt-offerings unto the Lord in the Beginnings, not of their Moons but [בְּרֵאשִׁית חֳדָשֵׁיכֶם] *be-Rashei Chadsbeicem*, on the Beginnings of their Months (o), and the Expression is the same, *Numb. x. 10.* The *Israelites* are there commanded to blow with the Trumpets — on the Beginnings of their Months; nothing relating to the Moon is suggested to them. And this is the Expression, which runs thro' all the Texts of Scripture, in which the LXX have used the Word *νεμηνια* or *νεμηνια*, or we in *English*, the *New-Moons*: When the *Shunamite* would have gone to the

(k) *Eccles. xliiii. 8.* (l) חֲדָשׁ. Vid. *Gen. xxxvii. 9.*
Deut. iv. 19. *Josh. x. 12.* *Job. xxv. 5.* *Psal. viii. 4.*
Eccles. xii. 2. *Isa. xliii. 10.* *Jer. viii. 2.* *Ezek. xxxii. 7.*
Joel ii. 10, &c. (m) *Cantic. vi. 10.* *Isaiah xxiv. 23.*
xxx. 26. (n) *Gen. viii. 4.* *Exod. xii. 2.* *Levit. xxiii.*
24. *Deut. i. 3.* *1 Kings iv. 7,* &c. (o) *Numb. xxviii. 11.*

Prophet, her Husband said unto her, *Wherefore wilt thou go to him to-day? It is neither, we render the Place, New-Moon nor Sabbath, the LXX say* ἐνεομηνία ἐστὶ σάββατον; *but the Hebrew Words are* *loa Chodesh* *ve loa Shabbath* (p), *it is not the Month-day, nor the Sabbath.* Thus again, the *Psalmist* directs, *to blow up the Trumpet, not as we render it, in the New-Moons, nor as the LXX* ἐνεομηνία; *but, ba chodesh, upon the Month-day* (q). In none of the Texts that suggest

(p) 2 Kings iv. 23. (q) Psalm lxxxi. 4. *The latter Part of the Verse is thought by some Writers to intimate something contrary to what I am offering: Blow up the Trumpet, says the Psalmist, on the Month-day, after which follows* [בַּנְסֵה לַיּוֹם הַזֶּה] *baccefeh lejom chaggenu. The Word* *ceseh, they say, is derived from the Verb* *calah to cover, so that* *baccefeh may signify at the covering, or when the Moon is in Conjunction with the Sun, covered, as it were, so as to give no Light: Thus these Writers think this Verse to intimate the New-Moon to have been a solemn Festival: But I would observe the Expression thus taken is so singular, unlike any thing to be met with, in any other Place of Scripture, notwithstanding the frequent mention of the Festival here intended, that I should think we cannot safely build upon it. Others derive the Word* *ceseh from* *נָסַח* *casas to number out, and accordingly render* *baccefeh upon the appointed Day; but were this the Sense of the Place, the Word would perhaps have been written not* *בַּנְסֵה* *baccefeh but* *נָסַח* *baccefea, see Proverbs vii. 21. The Reader may see what has been offered upon this Text in Scalig. de Emendat. Temp. Lib. 3. p. 153. Cleric. Comment. in loc. and will, after all find the Passage to be obscure, at most but doubtfully explained by those who have wrote upon it. לַיּוֹם is the same as* *בַּיּוֹם*: *See Proverbs vii. 21. הֵן הַסֵּכֶת is the known Expression for the Feast of Tabernacles. Deut. xvi. 13. And I have been apt to suspect that Transcribers have misplaced the Letter* *ס* *in the Word* *ceseh, and wrote* *בַּנְסֵה* *instead of* *הַסֵּכֶת* *i. e. baccefeh for* *hassuccoth: In the Hebrew the Letters of the one Word might readily be wrote for the Letters of the other: And if we may make this Emendation, hatuccoth lejem haggenu, will signify on the Day of our Feast of Tabernacles; and the Psalmist will appear to recommend the observing two solemn Feasts, which fell at*

gest this Festival, is there any mention *ba Jareach* or *bal Lebanah* of the Moon; for not the first Day of the Moon, but the first Day of the Month was the Day observed by them: It is remarkable that this Signification of the Hebrew Texts was so undeniable to the Jewish Rabbins, that they could not but own, that their observing the first Days of Months upon New-Moons did not arise from any Direction of the Words of the Law (s), they say it was one of the Matters which *Moses* was taught in the Mount, and by Tradition was brought down to them (t): It is, I think, undeniable, that the Jews did admit the Use of a new Form of computing their Year some time after the Captivity, which differ'd in many Points from their more ancient Method, and which obliged them in Time to make many Rules for the Translation of Days and Feasts, an Account of which we may find in the Writers of their Antiquities (u); but the Law, as *Moses* or *Joshua* left it to the Observance of their Fathers, or as it was observed until after *David's* Times or *Solomon's*, seems to have been a Stranger to all these Regulations: I might perhaps say, that the Jews in following these were in many Points led contrary to *Moses's* Directions: When our Saviour was betrayed, he was apprehended on the Night of the Passover after he had eaten the Passover with his Disciples (w), and carried early in the

most together in the same Month; the one the Month Day or first Day of the seventh Month. n which was to be a Memorial of blowing of Trumpets. Levit. xxiii. 24. the other, the first Day of the Feast of Tabernacles. See Ver. 34.

(s) Maimonid. more Nevoch. P. 2. c. 46. (t) Abarb. in Parafch. (u) See Godwin's *Moses and Aaron*, Lib. 3. c. 7. (w) Mat xvii. 17 — 31, &c. Mark xiv. 12 — 27, &c. Luke xxii. 7. — 34, &c.

Evening to the High-Priest's House first (x), and afterwards before *Pilate* into the Judgment-Hall (y); for the *Jews* who prosecuted, had not then eat the Passover (a), and upon this Account could not go into the Judgment-Hall: They intended our Saviour's Accusation should be capital; the Law had appointed, that Persons defiled with the dead Body of a Man should be kept back, and not eat the Passover until the fourteenth Day of the second Month (b); they judged the Persons, who were to accuse our Saviour, so as to bring him unto the Death, would be under the Restriction of this Law, and therefore they left off their Prosecution until they should go home and eat the Passover: On the next Morning, on the Day after the Passover, they assembled, and carried him again to *Pilate*, and took Counsel against him to put him to death (c), and in this Morning passed the several Matters that are related to have preceded our Saviour's Crucifixion; namely *Pilate's* sending him to *Herod* (d), *Pilate's* Wife's Message to *Pilate* upon account of her Dreams (e), *Herod's* remanding *Jesus* back again to *Pilate* (f), *Pilate's* then delivering him to the *Jews* to be crucified (g), upon which they immediately led him away and crucified him (h), and the next Day was the Sabbath (i); so that in this Year, the *Jews* had at least a Day between the Evening of eating the Passover and the Sabbath; but had they at this time proceeded according to *Moses's*

(x) Mat. xxvi. 57. Mark xiv. 53. Luke xxii. 57. John xviii. 13. (y) Ibid. ver. 28. (a) Ibid. (b) Numb. ix. 10, 11. (c) Mat. xxvii. 1. Mark xv. 1. Luke xxii. 66. (d) Luke xxiii. 7. (e) Mat. xxvii. 19. (f) Luke xxiii. 11. (g) Luke xxiii. 21—24. (h) Mat. xxvii. 27—35. Mark xv. 16—24. Luke xxiii. 26—33. John xix. 16—18. (i) Mark xv. 42. Luke xxiii. 54. John xix. 31.

Institutions, I should think the first Day of unleavened Bread, the Day immediately following the Evening of the Passover, would have been the Sabbath (*k*).

I have now offered the Reader what I have for some Time apprehended, the Institutions of *Moses's* Law do hint to have been the first and most ancient Method used by the *Israelites* for computing and regulating their Year: I have much wished to find some one learned Writer directing me in this Matter; but as I cannot say I do, I hope I have expressed my self with a proper Diffidence: If the Reader shall think what I have offered may be admitted; a small Correction must be made in what I have suggested concerning the ancient *Jewish* Year in my Preface to my first Volume: And if I shall find my self herein mistaken, I shall be hereafter better able to retract what I have thus attempted in a Preface only, than if I had given it a Place in the following Books amongst the Observations upon the Law of *Moses*. I have taken no notice of a Sentiment of *Scaliger's*, which seems to be admitted by Archbishop *Usher*; that the ancient *Israelites* computed their Year in 12 Months of 30 Days each, adding five Days at the End of the twelfth Month yearly, and a sixth every fourth Year (*kk*); because it is a Thought for which I find no Shadow of Proof from any

(*k*) According to the Jewish Calculation of the Year, after they used lunar Years, the Interval between the Passover and the Sabbath following it, was different in different Years: For Instance, there was a Day between in the Year of our Saviour's Crucifixion, the Day of the Passover falling that Year as on our Thursday: But it is evident, a Jewish lunar Year ordinarily containing but 354 Days, that the Passover in the next Year would fall as on a Tuesday, and consequently there would be three Days between the Passover and the Sabbath, &c. (*kk*) *Scaliger lib. de Emendat. Temp* p. 151. *Uther's Chronol. Epistle to the Reader.*

Hint of Scripture or Remain of Antiquity: *Scaliger* indeed attempts to compute the Year of the Flood to have been reckoned up by *Moses* to contain 365 Days (*l*); but in order to give Colour to his Supposition, he represents the Raven and the Dove sent by *Noah* out of the Ark, to see; if the Waters were abated, to have been sent out at forty Days Interval the one from the other (*m*); but *Moses's* Narration intimates nothing like it; nor will any Reader allow it to be probable, that collects and duly compares the Particulars related by *Moses* of the Rise and Fall of the Waters, and of *Noah's* Conduct and Observations. The Raven and the Dove here spoken of, were undoubtedly sent out, both upon one and the same Day: As to Archbishop *Usher's* seeming to be of Opinion, that the ancient *Jewish* Year was in this manner made up of 365 Days, with an Allowance for about a quarter of a Day in every Year; he had computed, and found that a Number of Years of the *Israelites* were capable of being made to answer to a like Number of *Julian* Years; and this led him to think they were, as to Length, of much the same Nature: I need only observe that, if the *Israelites* computed their Years in the Manner abovementioned by me, a Number of such Years will not much vary in the Sum of them, from the Sum of a like Number of *Julian*.

I intended to attempt in this Place to answer the Objections of some Writers, who would ascribe *Moses* not to have composed the Books we ascribe to him; but having in many Parts both of this and the former Volumes obviated the Difficulties, which seem to arise from some short Hints and Observations now interspersed in the sacred Pages, which the learned are apprized

(*l*) Scaliger. p. 152, &c. (*m*) Gen. viii. 7, 8.

not to have been inserted by the Authors of the Books, they are now found in (a), I should in a great measure only repeat what I have already remarked, were I to refute at large what is offered upon this *Topic*: If the Reader has a mind to examine it, he may find the whole of what can be pretended on the one side in *Spinoza* (b), and *Le Clerc's* third Dissertation prefixed to his Comment on the *Pentateuch* may furnish Matter for a clear and distinct Answer on the other: We have indeed an Hint or two upon this Argument in some Remains of a very great Writer: "The Race of the Kings of Edom, it is observed, before there reigned any King in *Israel*, is set down in the Book of *Genesis*; and therefore that Book was not written entirely in the Form now extant, before the Reign of *Saul*." The Reader may find this Difficulty attempted to be cleared in its proper Place, I shall therefore only refer to what is already said upon it (c).

"The History [in the *Pentateuch*] hath been collected, we are told, from several Books, such as were the History of the Creation composed by *Moses*, *Gen. ii. 4.* the Book of the Generations of *Adam*, *Gen. v. 1.* and the Book of the Wars of the Lord, *Numb. xxi. 14.*" It is something difficult to form any Notion of the Force of the Argument here intended: *St Matthew* writes; *The Book of the Generation of Jesus Christ* (d): Can we hence argue, that the Gospel we now have and ascribe to him, was collected from a Book of the Generation of *Jesus Christ* written by him? *Spinoza* indeed offers the Point, which may perhaps be here intimated

(a) See Book xii. p. 502, 503, 504. p. 290. et in al. loc.

(b) Tract. Theologico-polit. in part. alter. c. 8. (c) See Vol. II. B. 7. (d) Matt. i. 1.

to this Purpose. The Books which *Moses* wrote, are expressly named, and sometimes cited in the *Pentateuch*; consequently the *Pentateuch* is a different Work from the Books cited in it (*e*): But the Fact is this: *Moses* has in some Parts of his Books told us expressly, that he wrote them, and this Writer would infer the direct contrary from these very Intimations.

In the xxxiiiid Chapter of *Numbers* ver. 1, 2. We have these Words: *These are the Journeys of the Children of Israel, which went forth out of the Land of Egypt, with their Armies under the Hand of Moses and Aaron: And Moses wrote their Goings out according to their Journeys, by the Commandment of the Lord: And these are their Journeys according to their Goings out, &c.* Let us now suppose, that these Words, and what follow them to the End of the 49th Verse of this Chapter, were perhaps *Moses's* Conclusion of the Book he wrote upon this Subject, whether he called it *Motzab*, a Word answering to *Exodus*, or *Skemotb*, i. e. *The Book of Names*, as the *Jews* seem afterwards to have nominated it, or whether he really affixed no Title to it. Let us suppose it to have began from the first Chapter of *Exodus*, and to have contained all the Journeyings of the *Israelites*, with the historical Circumstances, that led to them or attended them, and that it ended with the Recapitulation of them that is offered us in this Chapter: In the xxivth Chapter of *Exodus*, it may seem to be intimated, that *Moses* wrote another Book called the Book of the Covenant (*f*): Let us now suppose, that *Moses* at first wrote in this Book, no more than what God had commanded, and the People solemnly engaged themselves to perform, at their entering

(*e*) Tractat. Theologicc-polit. ubi sup.
xxiv. 4—7.

(*f*) Exod.

into Covenant with God; namely, what is offered us in the xix, xx, xxii, xxiv Chapters of *Exodus*; it may still be reasonably concluded, the Covenant being not limited to the Observance of the few Commandments contained in these Chapters, but obliging the *Israelites* to obey God's Voice, to observe, and to do all the Statutes and Judgments which God should give them(g), that the Commandments afterwards given unto *Moses*, were also written in this Book in the following Order; First, The Laws given in Mount *Sinai*, towards the End of which might be thus written, *These are the Statutes, and Judgments, which the Lord made between him, and the Children of Israel in Mount Sinai, by the Hand of Moses (b)*: After which Words we may possibly imagine he added the Laws contained in the xxviiith Chapter of *Leviticus*, and concluded with these Words. *These are the Commandments which the Lord commanded Moses for the Children of Israel in Mount Sinai (i)*: Next to these might be added the Laws, which God gave out of the Tabernacle of the Congregation (k): And in this manner we may imagine the Book of the Covenant to have consisted of all the Laws which God gave the *Israelites* both from *Sinai*, and from the Tabernacle of the Congregation. In the xxixth Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, we are told of a Covenant which the Lord commanded Moses to make with the Children of Israel in the Land of Moab, beside the Covenant which he made with them in Horeb (kj): And we find these Words at the End of one of his Chapters: *These are the Commandments and the Judgments, which the Lord commanded, by the Hand of Moses, un-*

(g) See *Exod.* xxxiv. 27. (h) *Levit.* xxvi. 46.
 (i) xxvii. 34. (k) *Levit.* i. 1. *Numb.* i. 1. (kj) *Deut.*
 xxix. 1.

to the Children of Israel, in the Plains of Moab, by Jordan near Jericho (l): It will not be doubted, but that *Moses* wrote all the Words of this Law also in a Book (m): Let us suppose that the Words above-cited were the Conclusion of it: Let us suppose farther, that unto all these *Moses* added in another Book the Words which he spake unto all Israel on this side Jordan (n) in the Wilderness; and all these together with the Book of *Genesis* make the *Pentateuch*, or five Books, which we call the Books of *Moses*.

It will here be said, that if we look for the Books of *Moses* in the *Pentateuch* in this manner, we must allow some Paragraphs and even Chapters not to follow now, exactly in the Places where *Moses* at first put them: But in Answer to this, I apprehend, that it will not be thought a very material Question, whether any of the Leaves, Sheets, Rolls, or Skins, that were written by *Moses* have, or have not, by some Accident, been discomposed, and are not perhaps put together again, every one in its proper Place;

(l) Numb. xxxvi. 13. (m) Deut. xxxi. 24. (n) Deut. i. 1. I might here answer a trifling Cavil offered concerning the Book of Deuteronomy, raised from the Words here cited. It is pretended that *beneber ha Jarden*, which we translate on this side Jordan, do rather signify beyond, or on the other side Jordan, and consequently, that these Words imply *Moses* not to have wrote the Book of Deuteronomy, for that the Book so called was wrote by a Person, who had passed over Jordan, and could, according to the Intimation of these Words, remark, that the Words of *Moses* were spoke on a different side the River from the Place where the Book was written: But were there no other, the 10 and 13 Verses of the 1. Chapter of *Genesis* are sufficient to shew the Word *beneber* to have the Signification we here take it in. When *Joseph* went up out of Egypt to bury his Father, they journeyed from *Goshen* into *Canaan*, and came to the Cave of *Machpelah* before *Mamre*, in their way to which they stopped at the Threshing-floor of *Atad*, *beneber ha Jarden* not beyond, but on this side Jordan; for they did not travel into *Canaan*, so far as to the River Jordan.

but

but the Point is, whether in the present *Pentateuch* we have all, and nothing but all, that *Moses* wrote in the Books that were penned by him: And of this a serious Examinant may sufficiently satisfy himself: If we must suppose, that *Moses* wrote his Books under such Titles as I have mentioned, yet under these the whole of all the Books of *Moses* may be collected, and perhaps some Passages and Sections which now seem to be misplaced, may be hereby put into an Order, that may add a Clearness and Connection, which they may be suspected to want in their present Situation: And if we collect and examine the several little Notes, Remarks and Observations, which, tho' now found in several Places of the *Pentateuch* (o), were undoubtedly not written by *Moses*, but added by some later Hand, a judicious Examiner will see of these, 1. That they are not so many as they are hastily thought to be. 2. That they are all of them inconsiderable; none of them so necessary in the Places they are found in; but that, if they were omitted, the Text would be full, clear, and connected without them: In this manner we may make the utmost Allowance to the several Objections offered against the Books of *Moses*, and have a clear Conviction, that there is no Weight in any of them. That the *Pentateuch* contains the Books of *Moses*, has been constantly believed and testified by the *Jews* in all Ages: *Spinoza* himself confesses, that *Aben Ezra* only, a very modern Writer, pretended to have Doubts of it, and that his Intimations are but dark and obscure: *Josephus* tells us, as a Truth never questioned, that five of their sacred Books were the Books of *Moses* (p), and our Saviour explains to us in what Sense they were *Moses's* Books,

(o) Vid. Clerici Dissertat. de Scriptore Pentateuch.

(p) Joseph. contra Apion. lib. i. c. 8.

they were, he tells us, *Moses's Writings*: *Had ye believed Moses, says he, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me; but if ye believe not his Writings, how shall ye believe my Words (q)?* If it were possible to shew, that the Books we now read for *Moses's*, were not the Books alluded to by our Saviour, something might be offered upon this Subject: But whoever will attempt this, will find himself not able to propose any thing, that can want a Refutation.

When *Moses* had made an End of writing what he was to leave the *Ijraelites*, He commanded the *Levites*, saying, *Take this Book of the Law, and put it in the Side of the Ark (r) of the Covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be there for a Witness against thee (s)*: It is here queried, what the Book was which *Moses* here gave the *Levites*; whether all his written Works in one Code or Volume, or whether it was *the Words of this Law (t)*; some one single Book, which he had just then finished, a Part only of his Writings. *Spinoza* is for this latter Opinion, this best suiting his Purpose, to insinuate that the *Levites* had charge only of a small Part of what *Moses* wrote, and consequently, that all, except what was committed to their Keeping, was soon lost (u): But I should think 1. that the Words, *Dibrei hattorah kazzachb*, do not perhaps signify *the Words of this Law (w)* limited to a single Book or Part of *Moses's* Writings: The Particle *וְכָל זָכוֹר* is, I think, sometimes used as *plurale (x)*, and the Expression above is probably of this Import; *when Moses had made an end of writing the Words of the Law, even all*

(q) John v. 46, 47. (r) See Prideaux Connect. B. 3. Part. 1. Account of the Ark. (s) Deuteron. xxxi. 26.
 (t) See ver. 24. (u) In Tract. Theolog. polit. ubi sup.
 (w) Deut. xxxi. 24. (x) See Judg. xiii. 23.

these [Words or Things]: The Fact might be thus: *Moses* wrote his Books thus far, to this Place; and then gave the *Levites* the Charge of them. 2. The Words used by *Moses* to the *Levites* are general: He delivered to them, not *The Book of this Law*; not any particular Part of his Writings, but *this Book of the Law* in general (*y*); the Particle *this* was here used, because *Moses* had the Book then in his Hand, which he delivered to them: *Seper ba Torab* (*z*), or *seper Torab* (*a*), was the Name of the whole Code or Volume of the sacred Writings, never once given by *Moses* to any single Part of his Works, but imposed here as a general Title of the Book, that contained the Whole of them: The Law was that Part of the Code for an Introduction to, Illustration, History, or Confirmation of which, all the other Parts were written, and therefore the whole might well be called *the Book of the Law*, the Law being the principal and most important Part of the Code called by this Title. As *Moses* gave the sacred Volume which he left to the *Israelites* this general Title; so we find it used in all Alter-ages for the Title of this Book, even when not only the Works of *Moses*, but also the *Psalms* and the *Prophets* were contained in it. *Joshua* wrote his Book in the Book of the Law (*b*), and yet in *Josab's* Time the Volume found in the Temple, which undoubtedly contained all that *Joshua* had written in it, as well as *Moses*, was called by its general Name, *The Book of the Law*, only: In our Saviour's Time the Books of Scripture were of three sorts, as *Josephus* afterwards reckoned them (*c*); namely, the Books of *Moses*, the *Prophets*, and

(*y*) אֵת סֵפֶר וְהַתּוֹרָה וְהַנְּבִיאִים וְהַכְּתוּבִים
 (*a*) Josh. xxiv. 26. 2 Chron. xxxiv. 11. (*b*) Josh.
 xxiv. 26. (*c*) Joseph. contra Apion. lib. 1. c. 8.

the *Psalms* (*d*): And our Saviour, who thus distinguishes them, when he intended to speak of the Particulars, that made up the sacred *Code*, yet in the general not only calls all the Books of *Moses*, *The Law* (*e*); but cites the Book of *Psalms* as Part of the Law (*f*), as the *Jews* also did in his Age (*ff*), and St. *Paul* afterwards cited *Isaiab* in like manner (*g*): *Moses*, at delivering his Writings, called the whole *Tome*, *The Book of the Law*, and this continued to be the general Title of the whole Volume of the sacred Books in all Ages, whatever particular Books were annexed to or contained in it. As to *the Book of the Wars of the Lord*, we have no Reason to think any such Book was written by *Moses*: It is indeed cited in a Book of *Moses* (*k*); but so is *the Book of Jasher* in that of *Joshua* (*l*), and yet *the Book of Jasher* was a Composure more modern and of far less Authority than the Book of *Joshua*: The Reader may see what is offered concerning the Citation of *the Book of Jasher* in *Joshua* (*m*), and will find it reasonable perhaps to account for the Citation in *Numbers* of *the Book of the Wars of the Lord* in like manner: In what is above offered the Reader will see the greatest Liberty taken by me in the Suppositions I have made concerning the original Divisions or Titles of the Books of *Moses*, and the *Dislocations* or *Transpositions* that may be conceived now to be in some Chapters or Paragraphs of them: I was willing to allow, for the sake of Argument, the utmost that could with any Shew of Reason be pretended; being sure, that after all, nothing could be concluded to prove *Moses* not to have

(*d*) Luke xxiv. 44. (*e*) *Ibid.* (*f*) John xv. 25.
 (*ff*) xii. 34. (*g*) 1 Cor. xiv. 21. (*k*) Numb. xxi. 14.
 (*l*) *Jesai.* x. 13. (*m*) *See B.* xii. p. 502.

written what we ascribe to him ; but I must not leave this *Topic* without observing, that I cannot say, that *Moses* did actually divide his Writings into Books in the manner above supposed, or that the Chapters, which we may imagine not to be now found in their proper Places, were Originally otherwise disposed by *Moses* than we now find them : Of all the Books written by *Moses*, the Book of *Genesis* only could be composed by him in the Opportunity of a great *Leisure* (n) : He must have lived in the Hurry of a Variety of Engagements in the Management of a most restless People, all the time he was writing his Accounts of them, and consequently, what is contained in what we now call the Books of *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, and *Deuteronomy*, might be at first minuted down, and put together, as Works generally are, which are composed and finished in such Circumstances : The historical Parts were registered as the Occurrences arose that were the Matter of them. The Laws given were recorded when, and as it pleased God to direct *Moses* to write them ; sometimes immediately at their being given, at other times not until Occasions arose, that demanded a Recollection of them : Some things were repeated, added to, or explained, as Circumstances required, and *Moses* had no time to go over and methodize anew what he had wrote in this manner, but put the whole together and gave it to the *Levites*, still adding a few Matters that were to be recorded after his ordering the *Levites* the Charge of his Books ; namely, what we find from the 24th Verse of the xxxist Chapter of *Deuteronomy* to the End of the xxxiiid Chapter, as *Joshua* afterwards added to what was left by *Moses*, the Occurrences of the Times that succeeded. In this manner, per-

(n) See Vol. II. B. 9.

haps, we may fully account for all that can seem in any wise to intimate to us, that we have not now the Books of *Moses* in the Order and Form in which he left them; and this Account of his Books seems to me most likely to be the true one, and consequently most reasonable to be admitted.

As to the Particulars contained in the ensuing Volume, I must submit them to the Reader: I hope they may be received with the Candour that has been shewed to my former Volumes: What is now published might have been more various and entertaining, had it reached down to an Age that could have afforded more matter of *profane* History to be interspers'd in it: But divers of the Scripture Occurrences herein treated of, were not to be passed over cursorily, and the entring into these more largely obliged me to conclude this Volume something short of the Period at which I proposed to my self to end it. I am abundantly sensible of the Obligations I am under to many of my Superiors for the Reputation they give me by their Favour. The truly Great find a real Pleasure in cherishing any well-intended Endeavours of their Inferiors: And if my Abilities, as an Author, were equal to the Gratitude and Inclination of my Mind, I should well deserve the Continuance of that good Opinion which many Persons, who are in Stations above my being otherwise known to them, are pleased to conceive of me themselves, and to create of me in others: But I am afraid I should appear guilty of an Act of Vanity rather than of Gratitude, if I were to proceed in Intimations of this Nature, or to say, how much the Right Honourable Mr. *ONSLOW*, the Speaker of the House of COMMONS, has been a Patron of my Studies in this manner.

My

My Thanks are acknowledged to be due to a learned Divine of a foreign University, Mr. *Welle* of *Leipsick*, and also to Mr. *Arnold* Professor of the *English* and *French* Tongues there, for my Reputation in their Country. I am sorry I am not able to read the Translation of my Books, which the one of them has some Years ago published in the *German* Tongue, and the very learned Dissertation prefixed to that Translation by the other. Hopes were at one time given me of seeing this Dissertation in *English*, and from the short Extract of it in our *Republick* of Letters (*o*), I cannot but think I should have Satisfaction in every Part of it, except in that which relates to my own Character. I have not those Abilities, which this learned Divine ascribes to me: I may have been happy in the Choice of a Subject, which, if I could manage suitably, might afford a Work very useful even to the learned World. I can only endeavour to go thro' it with as much attention as my Situation in Life will allow me; but am able to perform no Part of it without many Imperfections. My Procedure in it must be by slow Steps; being obliged many times to lay aside my Studies upon account of Avocations, which in my Circumstances must be attended to, and oftentimes to defer, or intirely to drop Subjects that might be considered, as I can or cannot get a Sight of Books that would conduct my Enquiries. However, if I find my Endeavours continue acceptable to the Publick, I shall, as soon as I can, in one Volume more, offer the remaining Part of this Undertaking.

(*o*) *Republick of Letters* for September 1731.



The SACRED *and* PROPANE

H I S T O R Y

Of the WORLD *Connected.*

B O O K X.

M OSES and the *Israelites* joined in a Song of Thanksgiving for their Deliverance from the *Egyptians* (a), after which they moved from the *Red-Sea* into the Wilderness of *Shur* (b): They wandered three Days in the Wilderness and could find no Water (c): at *Marah* they found Water, but could not drink it, for it was bitter (d); *And the People murmured against Moses, saying, What shall we drink? And*

(a) Exodus xv. (b) Ver. 22. (c) Syncell. Chron. p. 128. Philo de vitâ Moſis l. 1. Joſeph. Antiq. l. 3. c. 1.
(d) Exodus xv. 23.

he cried unto the Lord, and the Lord shewed him a Tree, which when he had cast into the Waters, the Waters were made sweet (e). We are informed (f) that God at this Time gave *Moses* some particular Command, and proved him, or made trial of his Obedience ; for this must be the Sense of the Place : Our *English* Translators have evidently mistaken the Words of *Moses* : They render the Passage, *There He made for THEM a Statute, and an Ordinance, and there he proved THEM.* This Translation seems to hint, that some Laws were here given to the *Israelites*, and that *they* were the Persons here proved ; but the Commentators are at a loss to ascertain any Laws given at this Time (g) : If we attend to the *Hebrew Text*, the *Affix* used by *Moses* does not signify *THEM*, but *HIM*, and *Moses* himself was the Person here applied to, and not the *Israelites*, and the Statute and Ordinance here given was to him, and not to them ; and this agrees with the 26 Verse, where the Text is justly translated, not, *If Ye will hearken* ; but, *If THOU wilt diligently hearken, &c.* When the *Israelites* were got over the *Red-Sea*, We do not read, that the Pillar of the Cloud and of Fire went before them into the Wilder-

(e) Exodus xv. 25. (f) Ver. 26. (g) See *Pool's Synopsis. in loc.*

ness of *Shur*: *Moses* very probably led them thither, without any special Direction from God; They travelled here three Days without Water; and when they found Water, it was bitter, and they could not drink it: In their Distress they murmured, and *Moses* prayed to God for Assistance: God accepted his Prayer, and gave him [*cbok ve Mishpat*], a special Order and Appointment what to do; namely, to take a Bough from a Tree which he was directed to, and to put it into the Waters, and by this He *proved* or tried him (*b*); He gave him an Opportunity to shew his Readiness strictly to perform whatever Orders should be enjoined him; and hereupon God promised him, that if He would thus punctually observe all his Appointments, that then He would continually extricate him out of every Difficulty.

We read of no Place called *Marab* in the Prophane Authors; for indeed the

(*b*) We meet many Instances in the Scriptures of God's appointing Persons applying to him for Favours, to do some Act as a Proof of their intire submission and obedience to him. Jacob was ordered to use peeled Rods, Gen. xxx. Naaman to wash in the River Jordan, 2 Kings v. And in Exodus xvi. the Israelites were proved in this manner. They were ordered to gather of the Manna a certain Rata every Day, that God might prove them, whether they would walk in his Law or no: Thus was *Moses* here proved, he was ordered to put a Bough into the Water; a Thing in it self insignificant, but his doing it testified his Readiness to observe any Injunction which God should think fit to give him.

Israelites gave the Place this Name, because the Waters they found here were bitter, the Word *Marab* in their Language signifying *to be bitter*; but the best Heathen Writers agree, that there were Lakes of bitter Waters, in the Parts where the *Israelites* were now travelling: *Diodorus* informs us, that there were such Waters at some little Distance from the City *Arsinoe* (i), *Strabo* says the same Thing (k), and *Pliny* carries on *Trajan's* River from the *Nile* to the bitter Fountains (kk), and these bitter Fountains, and the bitter Lakes mentioned by *Strabo* and *Diodorus*, and the bitter Waters which the *Israelites* found at *Marab*, may easily be conceived to be the same: The City *Arsinoe*, agreeably to both *Strabo's* and (l) *Diodorus's* Position of it, was situate near the Place of the present *Suez*, and not far from the Neighbourhood of this Place reached *Trajan's* River, which was carried on to the bitter Lakes, and hither the *Israelites* may be conceived to have wandered. They went from the *Red-Sea* into the Wilderness of *Sbur*, they could not pass thro' towards *Canaan*, for want of Water, they turned about towards *Egypt* where they hoped to find a Plenty, and

(i) *Diodor. Sic. l. 3. p. 120.* (k) *Strabo, Geog. l. 17. p. 304.* (kk) *Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 6. c. 29.*
 (l) *Diodor. & Strabo ubi sup.*

came to *Marab* upon the Coast of *Suez*.

Josephus gives a very idle Account of the change of the Taste of the Waters of *Marab* (m): He supposes, that the Country they were now in, afforded no Water naturally; that the *Israelites* sunk Wells, but could not find Springs to supply enough for their Occasions; and that what they did find was so bitter, that they could not drink it; that they sent out every way to search, but could hear of no Water; that there was indeed a Well at *Marab*, which afforded some Water, but not a Quantity sufficient for them, and that what it supplied them with, was so bitter, that even their Cattle could not drink it; that upon the *Israelites* Uneasiness with *Moses*, He prayed to God, and took his Rod, and split it down in the middle, and persuaded the People that God had heard his Prayers, and would make the Water fit for them to drink, if they would do as he should order them: Upon their asking what he would have them do, He directed them to draw out of the Well, and pour away the greatest Part of the Water; the doing this, He says, stirring and dashing about the Waters by the Buckets they drew with, purged, and by Degrees made them pota-

(m) *Josephus* Antiq. l. 3. c. 1.

ble. But 1. This Account of *Josephus* differs from what the prophane Writers, as well as *Moses*, relate of the Country where the *Israelites* now were: *Josephus* represents it as a Place where no Water was to be had; but according to *Moses*, the People were in Extremity at *Marab*, not for want of Water, but of good Water, and to this *Strabo* agrees; he supposes Water enough in this Place, many large Lakes and Fosses (n), tho' he tells us they were in ancient Days bitter, until by a communication (o) of the River, the later Inhabitants of the Country found out a way to meliorate the Taste of them. 2. Had the *Israelites* found a Well, as *Josephus* supposes, if the Supply of Water it afforded was too scanty for their Occasions, what Relief would it have been to them, to draw off and throw away the greatest Part of their defective Supply, in order to sweeten a small Remainder? Or 3. How could the dashing Water about at the Bottom of a Well, sufficiently purify it from its mineral Taste, which most probably was given it from the very Earth, against which they must thus dash it? But it must be

(n) Διάρρογες πλάγας ἢ λίμνη πλησιάζουσα αὐταῖς. *Strabo* l. 17. p. 804. (o) τῶν πικρῶν καλεμένων λίμνῶν, αἱ περὶ τὴν μὲν ἴσαν πικραὶ, τὴν θέρσιν δὲ τὸ διάρρογος μεταβάλλονται εἰς κέρας τῶ τιταμῶ. *Id.* *ibid.*

needless to refute at large this Fancy of *Josephus*.

The Writer of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus* hints a different Reason for the Cure of those bitter Waters: He suggests, that the Wood which *Moses* was directed to use, had naturally a Medicinal Virtue to correct the Taste of the Waters at *Marab*: *Was not*, says he, *the Water made sweet with Wood, that the Virtue thereof might be known?* (p) But I cannot think, that the Opinion of this Writer can be admitted: for 1. It does not seem probable, that *Moses* here used a whole and large Tree; rather he took a little Bough, such as he himself could put into the Water, and immediately the Taste of the Waters changed. 2. If it could be thought, that *Moses* employed the People to take down a very large Tree and convey it into the Water, can we suppose, that even the largest Tree, steeped in a Lake, should immediately communicate a sufficient Quantity of its natural Sweetness, to correct the Taste of Water enough for the occasions of so many hundred thousands of People? But 3. We have great Reason to think, that there was no Tree in these Parts of this Virtue: Had there been such an one, after *the Virtue of it* was thus *known*, especially *Moses* having record-

(p) Ecclus. xxxviii. 5.

ed this his use of it, it would certainly have been much used by others, and as much inquired after by the *Naturalists*; but tho' *Strabo*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Pliny* have all remarked, that there were bitter Waters in these Parts of the World, yet they knew of no Trees of a Medicinal Quality to correct the Taste of them. *Pliny* tells us of a Method afterwards invented to meliorate the Taste of such Waters (q); but tho' he has treated largely of the Powers and Virtues of Trees and Plants, (r) and of the Trees in these Parts of the World particularly (s); yet he never heard of any of this sort, and therefore undoubtedly there were not any. The Author of *Ecclesiasticus* was a very learned Man, and had much given himself to the reading the Writings of his Fathers, and had carefully collected their Sentiments, and added some Observations of his own to them (t), and this seems to have been his own; had it been a received opinion of the *Jewish* Writers, I should think *Josephus* would have had it, or had there really been a Tree of this Nature, the Heathen *Naturalists* would have observed it; but from their intire silence, I imagine, that the

(q) Nitroſæ aut amare aquæ potentia addita mitigantur, ut intra duas horas bibi poſſint. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. 21. c. 1.

(r) Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. 24. per tot. lib. (s) Ibid. c. 12.

(t) Prologue to Eccleſus.

Author of *Ecclesiasticus* speculating in the Chapter, where we find this Hint, upon the Medicines which God hath created out of the Earth (u), offered this Hint purely from his own Fancy, without any Authority for it. The Book of *Ecclesiasticus* is but a modern Composure in comparison of *Moses's* Writings, it was first published in *Egypt* about 132 Years before *Christ* (w), and being published in *Egypt* was much read by the *Jews* of *Alexandria*, and accordingly *Philo*, who lived there about our Saviour's Time, was acquainted with the Opinion of this Author, but He very justly doubts the Truth of it, and queries whether the Wood here used, had naturally, or whether God was not pleased to give it its Virtue for this particular Occasion (x).

From *Marab* the *Israelites* removed to a Place, where they found twelve Fountains of Water, and threescore and ten Palm Trees: A Place not unlike this, is described by *Strabo* (z), the *Israelites* called it *Elim*. From hence after some Days Rest, they marched first to the *Red-Sea* (a), perhaps to the very Place,

(u) *Eccles.* xxxviii. 4.(w) *Prideaux Connect.*

P. ii. B. 1. Vol. 3. p. 62.

(x) *Philo de Vitâ Mo-*sis I. 1. (z) Φοινικῶνα εἶναι ἕνδεσσι, τιμᾶδ' τε κομιδῆ, διὰ τὸ πᾶσαν τὴν κύκλω κυματῶσαν τε, καὶ ἄνδρον, καὶ ἄσκιον ὑπάρχειν. *Strabo, Geog.* I. 16. p. 776.(a) *Numbers* xxxiii. 10.

where

where they came over out of *Egypt*, and from thence they went into the Wilderness of *Sin*, on the *fifteenth Day of the second Month* after their departing out of the *Land of Egypt* (b) i. e. exactly a Month after their leaving *Egypt*; for they left *Egypt* soon after *Midnight* of the *fourteenth Day* of the *first Month* (c): The Wilderness of *Sin* was a barren Desert, not capable of supplying them with Provisions, which as soon as they felt the want of, they were ready to mutiny, and most passionately wished themselves in *Egypt* again (d): But God was here pleased miraculously to relieve them by great Flights of Quails, a sort of Birds very common upon the Coasts of the *Arabian* or *Red-Sea* (e), and besides sending these, *He rained them Bread from Heaven*: Every Morning, when the Dew was off, *there lay a small round Thing as small as the hoar Frost upon the Ground* (f); it was like *Coriander* Seed of a white Colour, and the Taste of it was like Wafers made with Honey (g): the *Israelites* when they saw it, knew

(b) Exodus xvi. 1. (c) Exodus xii. (d) xvi. 3.
 (e) Joseph. Antiq. l. 3. c. 1. Athenæus Deipnos. l. 9.
 (f) Exodus xvi. 13, 14. (g) *The Hebrew Writers have had various Conceits about the Taste of the Manna, some of them perhaps deduced from some Expressions in the Book of Wisdom. That Apocryphal Author says of the Manna, that it was able to content every Man's Delight, agreeing to every Taste, and that serving to the Appetite of the Fater it tempered it self to every Man's liking.*
Wisdom

knew not what it was, and therefore asked one another מן הוּא *Man hua*, for they are two Hebrew Words, and signify *what is this?* *Man* signifies *what* and *Hua* *this*, and not knowing what Name to give it, they called it *Man*, or *What*, i. e. *is it*, ever after (b).

The *Israelites* were ordered, every Head of a Family, to gather as many *Omers* (i) of this *Manna* every Morning as He

Wisdom xvi. 20, 21. *Lyra*, from the Rabbins, represents, that it had the Taste of any sort of Fish or Fowl according to the Wish of him that eat it; but then with St. Augustin he restrains the Privilege of finding in the *Manna* the Taste of what they most loved, to the Righteous only. The Authors of *Talmud Joma* and *Lib. Zohar* say, the *Manna* had all sorts of Tastes, except the Tastes of the Plants and Sallads which grew in Egypt; but there is no End of pursuing or refuting the Fancies of these Writers. Moses says of the *Manna* here in *Exodus*, that its Taste was like Wafers made with Honey. In *Numbers* xi. 8. he says, the Cakes made of it had the Taste of fresh Oil; so that we may conjecture, that it had a sweetness when gathered, which evaporated in the grinding, beating and baking: It tasted like Honey when taken off the Ground, but the Cakes made of it, were as Cakes of Bread kneaded with Oil. The *Israelites* used it as a sort of Bread, they had the Quails instead of Flesh, *Exodus* xvi. 12. *Numb.* xi. The *Manna* is represented to have had no high Taste, *Numbers* xi. 5. and we have not any Hint from Moses of its being so variously delightful to the Palate, as the Author of the *Book of Wisdom* seems to suggest.

(b) Our English Word *Manna*, *Exod.* xvi. 15. seems to intimate, that the *Israelites* put the two Words *Man hua* together, as the Name of this Food; but they used but one of them; for they called it *Man* and not *Manhua*. See *Exod.* xvi. 15, 31, 35. *Numb.* xi. 6, 7, 9. *Deut.* viii. 3, 16. *Joshua* v. 12. *Nehem.* ix. 20. *Psalms* lxxviii. 24, &c. (i) An Omer is the tenth Part of an Ephah, probably about three Pints and an half of our Measure.

had

had Persons in his Family (*k*); but as they went out to gather without taking Measures with them, it so happened, that some gathered more than their Quantity, and some less; but they corrected this before they carried their Gatherings home; for they measured what they had gathered with an *Omer*, and he that had gathered more than his Quantity, gave to him that had gathered less, so that every one had his just Quantity made up, and no more: The Words of the 18th Verse, as our *English* Version renders them, seem to imply, that God was here pleased miraculously to adjust the several Quantities that were gathered. We translate the Place, *The Children of Israel gathered some more, some less, and when they did mete it with an Omer, he that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack*; which Words may be thought to hint, that God was pleased miraculously so to order it, that when they came to measure, the Store of him that had gathered too much was diminished to the exact Number of *Omers* which he was to have, and the defective Quantity of him, that had not gathered his due Quantity, was miraculously increased to the just Measure of what He was to have gathered; so that *he that had*

(*k*) Exod. xvi. 16.

gathered much had nothing over, and he that had gathered little had no lack, the divine Providence causing the Quantity which every one had gathered, to answer exactly to the appointed Measure. *Josephus*, I think, took this to be the Fact (*kk*); But

1. to what Purpose could it be for God to command the People to gather an *Omer* for each Person, if He designed miraculously so to order it, that let them gather what they would, they should find their Gatherings amount to an exact *Omer*, neither more nor less?
2. The Words of *Moses*, if rightly translated, express the Fact to have been very different from this Representation of it. The Word, which we translate *had nothing over*, should be rendered (*l*) *He made to have nothing over*, and in like manner the Word translated *had no Lack*, should be rendered *He caused to have no Lack*, and *Moses* was the Person who thus ordered it, and the 17, 18 and 19 Verses should be word for word thus translated.

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

(*kk*) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 3. c. 1, § 6.* (*l*) *This is the true Sense of the Hebrew Verbs in the Conjugation they are here used in. אָרַב in the Conjugation Kal signifies to abound or to have over, but אָרַבְתִּי in Hiphil is to cause to abound: Thus חָסַר in Kal signifies, to fall short or to want, but חָסַרְתִּי in Hiphil is to diminish, or to cause to want. See Isaiah xxxii. 6.*

Ver. 18. *And they measured with an Omer, and Moses (m) caused him that had more, not to abound, and him that had less, not to fall short, [for they gathered, each one according to (n) his eating.]*

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

So that the Fact here was, that *Moses* directed them to give to one another, they that had more than their measure, to make up what was wanting to them that had less, that all might have their full Quantity, and no more. 3. *St. Paul* very plainly intimates this to have been the Fact, by alluding to what the *Israelites* here did with their *Manna*, in order to induce the *Corinthians* to contribute a Relief to the poorer *Christians*, such as the *Corinthians* could at that Time well spare out of their Abundance. *I mean not* (says he), *that other Men be eased and you burthened, but by an Equality, that now at this Time your Abundance may be a Supply for their Want, that their Abundance also may be a Supply for*

(m) *In the Hebrew Text, Moses the Nominative Case to three Verbs, is put after the Last, a Construction very common in the ancient Languages.* (n) *The Words, They gathered each one according to his eating, are a Remark by way of Parenthesis, to give a Reason for what Moses directed. He caused them that had over much, to give to them that had less than they were to have, because they gathered, as we say, from Hand to Mouth, and it would have been of no Service to have laid up what they had to spare.*

your

your Want, that there may be an Equality, as it is written, He that had gathered much, had nothing over, and He that had gathered little, had no Lack (o).

Another order given the *Israelites* about the *Manna* was, that they were every Day to eat what they had gathered, and to leave none all Night for the next Day's Provision (p). Some of the People were not strictly careful in this Point, but left some of their *Manna* until the Morning, and [it bred Worms and stank (q)]. Every sixth Day, they were to gather twice as much as on any other Days, because the seventh Day was the *Sabbath*, and on that Day they were to gather no *Manna*, nor do any sort of Work (r), and accordingly on the seventh Day there fell no *Manna*; for there went out some of the People to gather, but they found none (s); and what remained of the double Quantity, which the People gathered on the sixth Day, and reserved for the seventh, did not stink, neither was there any Worm therein, tho' if any Part of any other Day's Gathering was not eaten on the Day it was gathered in, it would not keep nor be fit to be eaten on the Day following (t): Thus

(o) 2 Corinth. viii. 13, 14, 15.

19. (q) Ver. 20.

(r) Ver. 23.

(p) Exodus xvi.

(t) Ver. 24.

(s) Ver. 27.

miraculously did God feed the People in the Wilderness for about forty Years; for they had this supply of *Manna*, until they came unto the Borders of the Land of *Canaan* (u). *Aaron*, directed by *Moses*, in Obedience to God's express Command, put an *Omer* of *Manna* into a Pot, in order to keep it in memory of the wonderful supply of Food, which God had thus given them.

From the Wilderness of *Sin*, *Moses* led the *Israelites* to *Rephidim*, making two short Halts by the Way, which are not mentioned here in *Exodus*, one of them was at *Dophkab*, the other at *Alush* (x). From their Encampment in the Wilderness of *Sin* to *Rephidim* might be, I imagine, about twenty Miles: At *Rephidim* they were distressed for want of Water, and murmured against *Moses*, for bringing them into Extremity. *Moses* cried unto the Lord, and received Directions to smite a Rock at Mount *Horeb* with the Rod, which he had used in performing the Wonders wrought in *Egypt*; and upon his doing this in the

(u) *Exodus* xvi. 35. *Joshua* v. 12. (x) I may here hint once for all, that these and the other Names we have of the several Places where the *Israelites* made their Encampments in the Wilderness, are generally Names given by them to the Places they stopt at, and that the Places were not called by any particular Names, except by the *Israelites* upon account of their Encamping at them.

fight of the Elders of *Israel*, God was pleased to cause a River of Water miraculously to flow out of the Rock, to supply their Necessities (*y*).

The most learned Archbishop *Usher* remarks, that the Rock out of which *Moses* thus miraculously produced the Water, followed the *Israelites* throughout the Wilderness (*z*): *Tertullian* is said to have been of this Opinion (*a*): The *Jewish Rabbins* were fond of it: The most learned Primate says expressly, that the Rock, which *Moses* smote, followed them; but some other Writers soften the Prodigy, and assert, that the Water from the Rock became a River, and was made to flow after the Camp, wherever the *Israelites* journeyed, until they came to *Kadesh*. The Reasons given for this Opinion are, 1. It is remarked, that from the Time of this Flow of Waters from the Rock at *Horeb*, until they came to *Kadesh*, the *Israelites* are not said to have ever wanted Water (*b*); and it is argued, that they must continually have wanted it in their Passage thro' the Wilderness, if God had not thus miraculously supplied them. 2. Some Passages in the *Psalms* are thought to imply, that a River from the Rock attended

(*y*) Exodus xvii. 5, 6. (*z*) *Usher's Annals.* (*a*) *Hæc est Aqua, quæ de comite Petrà Populo defluebat. Tertullian. de Baptismo.* (*b*) Numbers xx.

them in their Journeyings. 3. It is hinted, that a Text in *Deuteronomy* confirms this Opinion: And lastly, it is pretended, that *St. Paul* says expressly, that the Rock followed them.

I. "It is said, that the *Israelites* never wanted Water, after this Supply from the Rock at *Horeb*, until they came to *Kadesh*; tho' the Wilderness they travelled thro' was so dry a Place, that they could not have found Water in it, without some continual Miracle." To this I answer. 1. We are no where told in Scripture, that God wrought this particular Miracle upon the Rock, in order to cause a continued Supply of Water for the *Israelites*, during the whole Time of their journeying in the Wilderness; and if a Miracle was really necessary, why this rather than some other? The *Israelites* knew how to dig Wells when they wanted Water, and it is probable that they digged many in their Passage thro' the Wilderness, as we read they digged one at *Beer* (c); and it is more reasonable to imagine, that God might frequently give them Water (d), by causing them, when they digged for it, to find *Water-Springs in a dry Ground* (e), than to suppose that a mountainous Rock moved after them

(c) Numbers xxi. 18. (d) See Ver. 16. (e) Psalm. cvii. 35.

in their Journeyings, or that any Streams from it, became a River, and was made to form it self a Channel to flow to them in all their Movements. But 2. Tho' the Wilderness was indeed a dry Place, and may in general Terms be called, *a dry and thirsty Land, where no Water is (f)*; Tho' the *Israelites* complained of it as such (g), and the *Heathen* Writers give it this Character (h); yet we must not take their Expressions so strictly, as to imagine, that no Water was to be found in any Parts of it. *Strabo* speaks of Fosses of Water in the driest of these Desarts (i), and from *Diodorus* we may collect, that in the most unpromising Parts of this Country, there were proper Places to sink Wells in, which would afford Abundance of Water (k). The *Israelites* might be reduced to Difficulties in many Places, but unquestionably in others they found Receptacles of Water of divers Sorts (l); so that the true Reason, why we read of no miraculous Supply of Water, from the Time of their leaving *Horeb* until they came to *Kadesh*,

(f) Psalm lxxiii. 1. (g) Numbers xxi. 5. (h) ξηρὸς καὶ ἀνυδρὴς ὄντι, Diodor. Sic. l. 2. p. 95. vid. Strab. Geog. l. 16. (i) Δίαμμος γὰρ καὶ λυπηρὰ σείνηται ἔχουσα ὀλιγυγίας—καὶ ὀρεκτὰ ὕδατα. Strab. Geog. l. 16. (k) κατὰ γὰρ πλὴν ἀνυδρῶν χώρων λεγομένων κατὰσκαυζόντες ἀκαίρα φρέατα—χρῶνται διαφιλέσει πόταις, Diodor. l. 2. p. 92. (l) πολλαχῆ συράδες τῶν ὀρυζῶν ὀρέταν.

may be their not necessarily wanting such a Supply in that Interval. But

II. It is represented, that from *Psalms* lxxviii. 16---20. cv. 41, it may be justly inferred, that Rivers of Water flowed from the Rock after the *Israelites* in their several Marches. I answer: The Expressions cited from the *Psalmist* prove only, that the Rock smote by *Moses* poured forth a large Quantity of Water. God brought Streams out of the Rock, and caused Waters to run down like Rivers: He opened the Rock, and the Waters gushed out, they ran in the dry Places like a River. *Philo* the Jew relates, that upon *Moses* striking the Rock, the Water poured out like a Torrent, affording them not only a sufficient Quantity for the allaying their present Thirst, but to fill their Water-Vessels, in order to carry away Water with them, when they marched forwards (m): A very considerable Supply must be wanted by so large a Multitude, and the Words of the *Psalmist* do well describe such a Supply; but they do in no wise intimate, that Rivers from the Rock followed them, when they left the

(m) Πάει πέτραν, ἢ ἡ κρο. ἡδὸν ἐκχέται, ὡς μὴ τότε μόνον παρεχθῆναι ἀκτὴ δάψας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς πλείω χεῖ-
 ρων τοσαύτης μείδαν σφοδρῆσαν πτότα· τὰ γὰρ ὕδρευα
 πάντα ἐπλήρωσαν, ὡς καὶ πρῶτερον διὰ τῶν πηγῶν, αἱ
 πηγαὶ μὲν ἦσαν φύσει, μετεβάλλοντο ἢ ἐπὶ πρῶτω ἰδία
 πρὸς τὸ γλυκίον. *Philo de vit. Moïsis. l. 1.*

Place where the Supply was given them. But,

III. *Moses*, *Deut.* ix. 21. mentions a River, or Brook, which descended out of the Mount, and flowed near the Camp, after the *Israelites* were departed from *Rephidim*, and were encamped at Mount *Sinai* (*n*). Now if this Brook was a River which flowed from Mount *Horeb*, it could be none other, than that which was caused by *Moses* striking the Rock; for before that Miracle, there was no Water; and if it came from hence, it seems evident, that the Stream of this Water flowed near the Camp, after they had left *Rephidim*, the Place where the Supply was first given. But a few Observations will set this Fact in a clear Light: And 1. I think it evident, that no Supply of Water was given to the *Israelites* from any Rock at *Rephidim*: The Direction to *Moses*, when he cried unto the Lord, was, to take the Elders of *Israel* with him, and to go from *Rephidim*, the Place where the *Israelites* were encamped, unto *Horeb*, and there to smite a Rock in order to obtain Water (*o*); so that the Supply of Water was not obtained at *Rephidim* where the *Israelites* were encamped, but at a Place some Distance from *Rephidim*, whether not the People but the Elders of *Is-*

(*n*) Exodus xix. 2.

(*o*) Exodus xvii. 5, 6.

rael accompanied *Moses*, and where what he did was done, not in the sight of the Congregation, but in the sight of the Elders of *Israel* (*p*). 2. *Horeb* and *Sinai* were near and contiguous to one another, being only different Cliffs of one and the same Mountain. This appears evident from several Passages in the Books of *Moses*: When God delivered the Commandments in an audible Voice from Mount *Sinai* (*q*), He is said to speak unto them in *Horeb* (*r*): And when the People stood before the Lord their God, under the Mountain, and the Mountain burned with Fire (*s*), which Mountain was unquestionably Mount *Sinai* (*t*), they stood before the Lord at *Horeb* (*u*): And in the Day of their Assembly, when they desired not to hear the Voice of the Lord any more (*w*), which Petition was made, when they were assembled at Mount *Sinai* (*x*), they are said to be at *Horeb* (*y*); so that from these and many other Passages, that might be cited, it appears, either according to St. *Jerom*, that *Horeb* and *Sinai* were but two Names for one and the same Mount (*z*), or rather they

(*p*) Exod. xvii. 5, 6. (*q*) Ibid. xx. (*r*) Deut. i. 19. (*s*) Deut. iv. 10, 11. (*t*) Exodus xix. 18. (*u*) Deut. iv. 10. (*w*) Deut. xviii. 16. (*x*) Exod. xx. 19. (*y*) Deut. xviii. 16. (*z*) Mihi autem videtur, quòd duplici nomine idem Mons, nunc Sina, nunc Choreb vocetur. Hieron. de locis Heb.

were two Mountains so contiguous, that whilst the People lay encamped at the Foot of them, they might be said to be at either: And therefore 3. The Water which *Moses* obtained from the Rock at *Horeb*, might supply the Camp, all the Time the *Israelites* were at *Sinai*, without the Rock's moving from its Place; for they were encamped very near the Rock from whence this Supply of Water was given, all the Time they were at *Sinai*. 4. We need not suppose, that the Water which God was pleased to give at *Horeb*, ceased to flow, as soon as the *Israelites* were relieved by it. It is more reasonable to imagine, that God directed *Moses* to strike a Place, where there was naturally a Spring, tho' until the Rock was opened, the Water was bound down to subterraneous Passages; but after it had taken Vent, it might become a Fountain, and continue to flow, not only whilst the *Israelites* continued in these Parts, but to future Ages: It might cause *the Brook*, which descended out of the Mount, and supplied them with Water all the Time they lay encamped here, and the Brook caused by it may perhaps run to this Day (a); but tho' this may be true, yet it will

C 4

not

(a) We find from the Accounts of modern Travellers, that there runs now a Brook from Mount *Horeb*, which supplies Water to the Monastery called *St. Saviour's*, being a Greek Convent

not hence follow, that the Streams of this Brook flowed after the Camp, when they departed from Horeb, and took their Journeys out of the Wilderness of Sinai into the Wilderness of Paran.

But IV. The chief Argument for supposing the Rock to have followed the *Israelites* in their Journeys thro' the Wilderness, is taken from the Words of St. Paul, *1 Corinthians* x. 4. The Apostle says, *Our Fathers did all drink the same spiritual drink (for they drank of that spiritual Rock, which followed them, and that Rock was Christ.)* But I think it is very evident, that the *Apostle* here speaks not of the Rock of Horeb, but of *Christ*, who tho' invisible, was the *spiritual* Support of the *Israelites* in the Wilderness. In *ver. 3.* He alludes to the *Manna* which was given them; but then treats of the *spiritual Meat* which sustained them, designing to turn the Thoughts of the *Corinthians* from the *Manna* to God, who gave the *Manna* and made it a sufficient Nourishment to his People: *Man liveth not by Bread alone (1)*: The *Manna* of it self had been but a very slender Provision; but by the Direction of God, the Morning Dew

Conventus *fontis* *at* *the* *Foot* *of* *the* *Mountain*. Chorebus, *sic* *Belonius*, *Lib. II.* c. 63. *commendat* *Fonte* *instruetu* *est.* *and* *in* *c. 64.* *speaking* *of* *the* *Convent*, *he* *says*, *Monasterium* *aqua* *abundat*: *Rivus* *enim* *ex* *monte* *de* *illius* *Monachorum* *ca* *ternam* *replet* *aqua* *limpida*, *frigida*, *dulci*, *deniq;* *optima*, *&c.* (b) *Mat.* *iv.* 4. *Deut.* *viii.* 3.

would

would have been an abundant Supply, or He could, if he had pleased, as well have sustained them the whole forty Years without any Food at all, as he did *Moses* in the Mount forty Days and forty Nights without his eating Bread or drinking Water: We must not therefore look at the *Manna*, as if that was sufficient to (c) nourish the People, but consider the Power of God, who was their *spiritual Meat*, and invisibly supported them. In the same manner we must consider the Supply they had of Drink: The Rock at *Horeb* struck by the Rod of *Moses*, sent forth Waters, but the Benefit was not owing to the Rock, but to *Christ*, who was the *spiritual* and invisible Rock of his People; who by his Power gave them this Supply, and whose Presence was with them, not at this Time only, but in all their Journeyings: The meaning of *St. Paul* is very plain and easy, and we evidently play with the Letter, instead of attending to the Design of his Words, if we infer from them, that the Rock at *Horeb*, or any Water from it, followed the *Israelites* thro' the Wilderness. Upon the whole, if we had any Authority from Scripture to say, that the Rock at *Horeb* followed the Camp; or that the Waters from *Horeb* flowed after the *Israelites*, we should have no Reason to question the Fact: The Power of

(c) Deut. viii. 3. xxix. 6.

God could have caused either; but neither *Moses* nor any other sacred Writer says any thing like it, nor was any such Fact known to either *Philo* or *Josephus*; so that I should think it a mere Fiction (d) of the *Rabbins*, and that it ought to be rejected: A due Application will enable every sober Querist to vindicate the Miracles recorded in Scripture: But it is an idle Labour, and will prove of disservice to Religion, to add Miracles of our own making to those which the Scriptures set before us.

Whilst the *Israelites* were at *Rephidim*, the *Amalekites*, near unto whose Country they then encamped (e), attacked them (f), whereupon *Moses* ordered *Joshua* to choose out a Number of the ablest Men to sustain the Assault, and He himself went up the Hill with his Rod in his Hand, and *Aaron* and *Hur* with him (g). The Bat-

(d) The *Rabbins* were fruitful Inventors of this sort of Miracles. *Jonathan B. Uziel* says of the Well, which the *Israelites* digged at *Beer*, That *Abraham* and *Isaac* and *Jacob* first digged it; but that *Moses* and *Aaron* drew it after them into the Wilderness by the Rod, and that it followed them up high Hills, and down into low Vallies, and went round about the Camp of the *Israelites*, and gave every one Drink at his Tent-Door, and that it followed them until they came to the Borders of the Land of *Moab*, but that they lost it upon the Top of an Hill over against *Beith-Jeshimon*. See *Targum Jonathan* on *Numbers xxxi*.

(e) The Country of the *Amalekites* lay next to *Seir*. *Gen. xiv. 7*. (f) See *Deut. xxv. 18*. (g) *Exodus xvii. 9, 10*.

*Hur, son of Uziel - grandson of
Hezron, & perhaps, 2^d husband*

tle had many Turns: Whilst *Moses* held up his Hand, the *Israelites* had the better; but whenever *Moses* let his Hand fall, the *Amalekites* prevailed (b): Upon observing this Event, *Aaron* and *Hur*, *Moses* being quite tired, caused him to sit down upon a Stone, and they, one on each side of him, supported his Hands all the Remainder of the Day until the Evening, and upon this *Joshua* obtained a complete Victory over the *Amalekites* (i): And the Lord ordered *Moses* to leave it upon Record, and to remind *Joshua* of it, that it was his Design utterly to extirpate the *Amalekites* (k); and this Purpose of God was afterwards revealed to *Balaam* (l); and *Moses*, according to the Directions given him to write it in a Book (a), took care to record it in his Book of *Deuteronomy*, in the most express Terms (b): And because God had vouchsafed the *Israelites* this Victory upon the holding up his Hands, He, in order to give God the Glory, and not to take the Honour to himself, built an Altar in Memory of it, and called it *Jehovah Nissi*, or *the Lord is He who exalteth me* (c); and he declared to the *Israelites*, that for this base Attempt against them, the Lord would war against the *A-*

(b) Exodus xvii. 11. (i) Ver. 11, 12, 13. (k) Ver. 14.
 (l) Numbers xxiv. 20. (a) Exodus xvii. 14. (b) Deut.
 xxv. 17, 18, 19. (c) Exod. xvii. 15.

malekites from Generation to Generation (d); for

This certainly must be the Meaning of the 16th Verse of the xviiith Chapter of *Exodus*: The *Hebrew* Words are difficult to be translated, and I think none of the Versions express clearly the Sense of them. We render the Place, *For He said, Because the Lord hath sworn, that the Lord will have War with Amalek, &c.* The *Vulgar Latin* Translation runs thus, *Quia manus solii Domini, et Bellum Domini erit contra Amalek: i. e. Because the Hand of the Throne of the Lord, and the War of the Lord will be against Amalek*(e): This Version rather shews the Translators to have been at a loss how to render the Place intelligibly, than expresses the true Meaning of it: The *LXX* say, ὅτι ἐν χειρὶ κρυφαία πολεμῆ ὁ Θεὸς ἐπὶ Ἀμαλήκ. i. e. *That the Lord fights [with an hidden Hand] i. e. secretly against Amalek*: The Sense here is clear and plain; but there are no Words in the *Hebrew* Text to answer to ἐν χειρὶ κρυφαία, with

(d) *Exod.* xvii. 16. *Deut.* xxv. 17, 18, 19. (e) *Ecce manus super sedem, Bellum Domini cum Amalek, &c.* Veri Syriac. Nunc est milia quod jurem per Solium, quod erit Deo Bellum in Amalekitas. Veri Arabic. Cum Juramento dictum est hoc à Facie terribilis, cujus Majestas est super Solium Glorie, fore, ut committatur Prælium à Facie Domini contra Vires domus Amalech. Targum Onkelos.

an hidden Hand (ee). The Hebrew Words are, *Ci jad nal Ces Jab Milcamah Labovah ba Namalek*; which verbally translated are, *Because the Hand upon the Throne of the Lord, War to the Lord against Amalek* (f). The Place has evidently the following Difficulties. 1. There must be some Words understood to fill up the Sentence. *The Hand upon the Throne of the Lord war against Amalek*, must be supposed to be the same as, *The Hand of the Lord is upon his Throne*, that there shall be *War against Amalek*. The Sentence must be thus transposed and filled up to make it bear any Sense. 2. In order to its bearing the Sense which our *English Version* puts upon it, *The Hand of the Lord is upon his Throne*, must be supposed to signify *God has sworn*, his laying his Hand upon his Throne must im-

(ee) It has been suggested to me by a very learned Friend, that the two Words *יה נס*, which in the present Hebrew Text stand next to one another, might perhaps be taken by the LXX to have been originally but one Word, *נסוה*, and they might derive such a Word from *נסה* Casah to cover, and imagine that *על נסויה* might be rendered in secret or covertly: But if this may be a just Correction and Translation of the Text, the LXX should have rendered the Verse to this Purpose, rather than as they have translated it. Because his [*i. e.* Amalek's] Hand has been covertly against you, the Lord will have War with Amalek, &c.

(f) The Hebrew Words are,

כי יר על נס ויה מלהמה ליהוה בעמלק
 Amalek contra Jchovah Bellum Domini Thronum supra manus quor.

port his taking an Oath: But 3. In all the old Testament, tho' the Expression of God's having sworn occurs almost thirty Times, yet it is not, I think, once expressed in Words like what we here meet with, but always by the Verb [שבוע] *Shaban*. The Lord hath sworn is [נשבוע יהוה] *Nishban Jehovab(g)*. The Annotators are at a loss to ascertain the Sense of the Place; and certainly the *Hebrew* Words, as our present Copies run, are very hard to be reconciled to any Sense whatsoever, unless we admit a very unusual Expression for *God hath sworn*, not to be met with in any other Place of Scripture. As to the LXX, they might perhaps think the Place corrupted by Transcribers, and by putting in ἐν χειρὶ κρυφαίᾳ instead of rendring the *Hebrew* Words, they rather guessed what might make the Passage good Sense, than had Authority for their Translation. If I may be indulged the Liberty, I could conjecture what would give the Place a clear Meaning without varying much from the present *Hebrew* Text. The Reason given in *Deuteronomy* why *Amalek* should be utterly destroyed is, because He here attacked the *Israelites*: The Words of *Moses* are, Remember what

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

Amalek did unto thee by the Way — how He met thee, and smote the hindmost of thee, &c. Therefore it shall be, when the Lord thy God hath given thee Rest — that thou shalt blot out the Remembrance of Amalek from under Heaven: Thou shalt not forget it (b). This was the Reason, why God determined to have War with Amalek; because He here basely assaulted the Israelites; and now suppose the true Reading of the Passage before us should be thus: *Ci Jad nal Cem, jehi Milchemah Labovah be Namalek (i)*, which translated Word for Word is, *Because his Hand has been against you, the Lord will have War with Amalek, &c.* The Emendation of the Text is very little: נס might be easily written for נם, the Letters are so similar, that the Difference is scarce perceptible: יה might be written for יהי; for the final י might easily be

(b) Deut. xxv. 17, 18, 19.

(i) נִי יָד עַל נַם יְהִי מִלְחָמָה לַיהוָה בְּעַמְלֵק
 Amalek contra Jehovah Bellum erit vos contra manus quia.
 i. e.
 ejus

לִנְסֵם is Vobis, Exodus xvi. 23. In like manner עַל־נַם־יְהִי signifying contra עַל־נַם־יְהִי may be contra vos, or perhaps it was written עַל־נַם־יְהִי more agreeably to the Hebrew Regimen. It may perhaps be here remarked, that Milchemah is a Noun feminine, that I put the Verb Jehi in the Masculine Termination, contrary to true Syntax: But to this I think I may answer, that the Hebrew Language is not always critically exact in this particular. Vid. Capell. Crit. Sac. l. 3. c. 16. et l. 6. c. 8.

omitted

omitted by no very careless Transcriber: And this very small Emendation will restore the Text to admit an easy and clear meaning, and supposes *Moses* to hint here the very Thing which he expressed afterwards more copiously, when he came to write, what he was directed to transmit to Posterity upon this Occasion (*k*)

Soon after this Victory over the *Amalekites*, *Jethro* the Priest of *Midian*, *Moses*'s Father-in-law, came with *Zipperah* his Daughter, the Wife of *Moses*, and her two Children, *Geršom* and *Eliezer*, into the Wilderness to the Camp at Mount *Horeb* (*l*): *Moses* received him with the utmost Respect, and told him all the wonderful Works, which had been wrought for their Deliverance (*m*). *Jethro* full of Joy gave Praise to God for his Favours to

(*k*) Deut. xxv. 17, 18, 19. (*l*) Exodus xviii. *I find some Writers imagine, that Jethro's coming to Moses was not thus early: F. Simon says, that Jethro seems not to have come till the second Year after the finishing of the Tabernacle, as may be proved out of Deuteronomy. The learned Father has not cited any Passage in Deuteronomy to support his Opinion, and I cannot find any, which appears to me to favour it. Aaron and the Elders of Israel's coming to Jethro's Sacrifice, hints to me, that the Law was not yet given, nor Aaron consecrated to the Priesthood, for if it had been given. Jethro might perhaps have been admitted to Aaron's Sacrifice, but Aaron and the Israelites would not, I think, have partook of Jethro's. and therefore Jethro's coming to Moses must have been just after the Victory over the Amalekites, as soon as they came to Sinai: and to this Time, I think, the Account of Moses, Exodus xviii. 5. does well fix it.* (*m*) Exodus xviii. 8.

them (*n*), and offered a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving, and invited *Aaron* and the Elders of *Israel* to it (*o*). The Day after, seeing *Moses* engaged all Day long in determining little Controversies, he observed to him, that he was fallen into a way, that would be full of Fatigue to himself, and not give a due dispatch to the public Business; and therefore he advised him to range the People in *Classes* of Thousands, Hundreds, Fifties, and Tens, and to appoint proper Officers over the several *Classes*, and reserve only Matters of Appeal and of the highest Moment to his own Decision (*p*). *Moses* approved of this Advice of *Jethro*, and according to it appointed such Officers as he had directed, to hear and decide the lesser Controversies, and to dispense Justice under him unto the People (*q*).

A noble Author makes the following Reflection upon *Jethro's* Advice here given to *Moses*: He says, that “ the great
“ Founder of the *Hebrew* State had not
“ perfected his Model, until he consulted
“ the foreign Priest his Father-in-law,
“ to whose Advice he paid such remarkable
“ Deference” (*r*). The Reflection insinuates, that a Part of the *Jewish* Po-

(*n*) Exod. xviii. 9. (*o*) ver. 12. (*p*) ver. 13.---24.
(*q*) ver. 25. (*r*) *Lord Shaftsbury's Charact.* Vol. III.
p. 58.

lity was a Contrivance of *Jethro's*, and therefore that the whole cannot be pretended to be a divine Institution. In Answer hereto, I would observe, 1. That the Advice which *Jethro* gave *Moses*, and what *Moses* did upon it, was not to *perfect his Model*, as this Noble Writer is pleased to call it; for the Advice was given and first executed, before there were any Steps at all taken towards forming the *Jewish* Polity; before God had given *Moses* any Laws at all for the Constitution of the *Jewish* State. But, 2. What *Jethro* here advised *Moses* to, tho' *Moses* followed the Advice at the Time it was given, nay and afterwards made use of it again, when Circumstances required, was yet never made an essential Part of the *Jewish* Constitution. If we look for the Institutions, which *Moses* has delivered down to us as dictated by God, for the Government of the People, we shall find these only: *Moses* was at first their sole Leader and Governor, and *Jethro* found him acting without Assistant in this Capacity (*s*): When *Moses* was called up into Mount *Sinai*, *Aaron* and *Hur* were to supply his Place (*t*): After this, *Aaron* and his Sons were appointed to the Priests Office (*u*); some Time after, twelve Per-

(*s*) Exod. xviii. 14.

(*t*) xxiv. 14.

(*u*) xxviii.

sons were named, one out of every Tribe, to be Princes of the Tribes of their Fathers, Heads of Thousands in *Israel*, and Assistants to *Moses* and *Aaron* in the Government of the People(*w*): The *Levites* were selected to be over the Tabernacle, and to minister unto it (*x*), and upon *Moses's* Complaint, that his Burthen was too great, and that he wanted more Assistants, God appointed seventy Elders, and put his Spirit upon them, that they might bear the Burthen of the People with *Moses*, that he might not bear it himself alone (*y*). These all were indeed appointed to their respective Offices by divine Institution, and these were all the Officers that were really so appointed. As to the Rulers of Thousands, of Hundreds, of Fifties, and of Tens, when *Jethro* advised *Moses* to appoint them, he indeed intimated to him to consult, if God would command him to institute (*a*) them; but we are not told that *Moses* did so; but that he *hearkned to the Voice of his Father-in-law, and did all that he had said, and chose able Men, and made them Rulers of thousands, Rulers of hundreds, Rulers of fifties, and Rulers of tens* (*b*); so that the Text evidently suggests to us, that *Moses* first instituted these Officers, not by divine

(*w*) Numbers i. 4.—16. (*x*) ver. 50. See chap iii.
 (*y*) xi. 16, 17. (*a*) Exod. xviii. 23. (*b*) ver. 24, 25.

Command, but by *Jethro's* Direction: In like manner, when *Moses* afterwards revived these Officers; (for upon God's giving the Law, and appointing Priests and *Levites*, Heads of Tribes, and Princes of the Congregation, the People must have been new modelled, and whatever Appointments *Moses* had before made prudentially, must of course have gone out of use, and been abolished by the newer Institutions;) I say, when *Moses* found it expedient to revive the Offices of the Rulers of Thousands, of Hundreds, of Fifties, and of Tens, he in no wise hints that he had any Direction from God for so doing, but intirely represents it as a Scheme agreed upon by himself and the People: *Moses* found the People so multiplied, as to be too many (c) to be well managed in the Hands of those he had to assist him; This he represented to the People, and recommended to them to choose proper Persons for him to make Rulers over them (d): The People approved of what he had recommended (e), and accordingly with their Consent he appointed these Officers (f): *Moses spake unto the People, saying, I am not able to bear you myself alone: The Lord your God hath multiplied you—— How can I bear your Cumbrance, and your*

(c) Deut. i. 9, 10. (d) ver. 12, 13. (e) ver. 14.
(f) Ibid.

Burthen and your Strife? Take ye wise Men and understanding and known among your Tribes, and I will make them Rulers over you. And ye answered me and said, The Thing which thou hast spoken, is good for us to do. So I took the Chief of your Tribes, wise Men and known, and made them Heads over you, Captains over thousands, and Captains over hundreds, and Captains over fifties, and Captains over tens, and Officers among your Tribes. And I charged your Judges at that Time, saying, Hear the Causes between your Brethren, and judge Righteously, &c. Moses has pretty well fixed for us the Time of his thus re-instituting these Officers. It was upon the Removal of the Camp from Sinai to go into the Wilderness of Paran(g). The Lord spake unto him, saying (b), Ye have dwelt long enough in this Mount; turn you and take your Journey, and go to the Mount of the Amorites, and unto all the Places nigh thereunto: and at that Time (i) Moses spake unto the People about appointing these Officers. A few Days after this, the LXX Elders were appointed, for they were appointed at Tabberah, or Kibroth Hattaavah(k), and the Camp had marched three Days successively, before they came hither(l). Moses found the Appoint-

(g) Compare Deut. i. 6, 7. with Numbers x. 11, 12, &c. (b) Deut. i. 6, 7. (i) ver. 9. (k) Numbers xi. (l) x. 33.

ment of the Officers agreed upon by the People not fully to answer their Occasions, and that he wanted not only Officers under himself to execute his Orders and determine smaller Matters, but Assistants of more Influence, that might with himself direct in Matters of greater Moment: But for these he does not apply to the Congregation as he did for the others, but immediately to God, and these were not instituted upon the People's approving the Thing he had spoken to be good for them to do (*m*); but here God expressly ordered him to gather to him seventy Men of the Elders of *Israel*, and told him, that he would come down and talk with him, and give them of his Spirit to make (*n*) them sufficient for the Employment they were to be appointed to. And thus we may see a very remarkable Difference in the Institution of the Officers our Noble Author has remarked upon, if compared with those who were appointed by divine Direction. I might go further and observe, that the several Officers whom God had appointed, continued to have their Name, Title and Authority thro' all the Changes of the *Jewish* State: The Priests, the *Levites*, the Heads of Tribes, the LXX Elders had, all of them, their stated and respective Offices and Employ-

(*m*) Deut. i. 14.

(*n*) Numb. xi. 16, 17.

ments, not under *Moses* only, but under *Joshua*, in the Time of the *Judges*, under the Kings, in all Times, and under all Revolutions: But as to the Captains of Thousands, of Hundreds, of Fifties, and of Tens; as their Institution was not of divine Authority, so their Office was not thus fixed nor lasting. *Moses* did not bind his Successors to the use of them: God had not prescribed them to him, neither did he prescribe them to them; for he only gave the *Israelites* a general Rule, to make for themselves Judges and Officers in all their Gates throughout their Tribes, to judge the People with just Judgment (*o*): and accordingly, tho' indeed we find Officers of these Names in every Age, yet we shall not find that the *Israelites* kept them up in the Manner, and to the Purpose, for which *Moses* appointed them, but rather that they varied both their Number, and their Office, as the Circumstances of the State required, or the Persons who had the appointing these Officers, thought fit to employ them. Here therefore is the Failure of our noble Author's Reflection: He designed to prove some Part of the *Jewish* Polity to be a Contrivance of *Jethro's*, and consequently a mere human Institution; but his Instance is a Point, which was indeed

(*o*) Deut. xvi. 18.

an human Institution, but not an essential and established Part of the *Jewish* Polity. There are indeed some learned Writers, who have thought these Officers of divine Appointment (*p*); but whoever will carefully examine, will find no good Foundation for their Opinion, and may thereby effectually silence a Cavil, which our modern *Deists*, from the Hint I have considered, think to raise against the *Jewish* Polity. *Jethro* made but a short Stay with *Moses*; for before they departed from *Rephidim*, He went his way into his own Land (*q*).

The *Israelites*, on the fifteenth Day of the third Month after their leaving *Egypt*, marched from *Rephidim* into the Wilderness of *Sinai*, and pitched their Camp at the Foot of Mount *Sinai* (*r*): They stay'd almost

(*p*) Vid. Sigon. de Rep. Heb. l. 7. c. 7. (*q*) Exod. xviii. 27. (*r*) xix. 1, 2. The Words of *Moses* seem to me to intimate, that the *Israelites* came to *Sinai* on the 15th Day of this Month. They came hither *Moses* says, in the third Month of their Exit from *Egypt* [יָרֵךְ אֶרְבָּעָה] *bejom hazzeh*, on the very Day, i. e. of their Exit, or on the 15th; for on that Day of the first Month they came out of *Egypt*. The most learned Archbishop *Usher* indeed took the Words otherwise. He supposes *bejom hazzeh* to refer to the Month, and to intimate that the *Israelites* came to *Sinai* on the Day of the Month the same in Number with the Month, or on the 3d Day of the 3d Month. See his *Annals*. Other Writers imagine the Words *bejom hazzeh* to signify no more, than that they came to *Sinai*, on the very Day they left *Rephidim*, and that the Intimation here intended is, that from *Rephidim* to *Sinai* was the Journey of but one Day. Vid

almost a Year in this Place(s). In the first three Days was transacted what is recorded in the xix. xx. xxi. xxii. xxiii. Chapters of *Exodus* (t). And *Moses* probably spent some Days in writing down the Laws and the Judgments which God had given them (u), after which he built an Altar, offered Sacrifices, and read what he had written in the Book (w), and the People entred into the most solemn Engagement to perform what was written in it)ww). After this, *Moses* and *Aaron*, *Nadab* and *Abihu*, and seventy of the Elders of *Israel* went up some Part of the Mountain (x), and they saw the God of *Israel* (y) and

Vid. Pool's Synop. in loc. *There are some, who would render the Verse to this purpose, On the third New-Moon after the Exit, on the very Day. i. e. of the Moon, &c. so as to fix the coming to Sinai to be on the first Day of this third Month. But to this it is obvious to answer: The Word שָׁמַר must be here translated Month, and not new Moon; for 1. The Israelites coming out of Egypt in the Middle of the first Month, the first Day of the third Month could be only the second, and not the third new Moon after their Exit. 2. The sacred Writers never use such an Expression, as is here before us; for on the first Day of a Month, beahad lachdesb is on the first Day of the Month. See Gen. viii. 5, 13. Exodus xl. 2. Levit. xxiii. 24. Numbers i. 1. xxix. 1. xxxiii. 38. Deut. i. 3. Ezra iii. 6. Nehem. viii. 2. Ezek. xxvi. 1. xxxi. 1. xlv. 18, &c. and thus Moses would most probably have here written, if the first Day of the Month had been here intended by him. (s) They came to Sinai on the 15th of the third Month, in the first Year of the Exit, and they left Sinai on the 20th Day of the second Month of the second Year; so that they stayed here 11 Months and 5 Days. (t) Exod. xix. 11. (u) xxiv. 4. (w) ver. 7. (ww) ver. 7, 8. (x) ver. 9. (y) ver. 10.*

worshipped

worshipped him (z): And Moses upon God's commanding it, having given Aaron and Hur the Charge of the People, went with Joshua up to the Top of the Mount, and was on the Mount forty Days and forty Nights (a); during which Time he received the Directions, and Commands contained in *Exodus* xxv, and in the following Chapters to the End of the xxxi.

It may be here asked, How and in what Sense, did Moses, Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and the Elders see the God of Israel? No Man hath seen God at any Time (b). It seems hard to imagine, how the infinite God can be cloathed in Shape, and bounded within the Limits of a Form or Figure; so as to become the Object of Sight to a mortal Eye: The wise Heathens apprehended insuperable Difficulties in any such Supposition (c); and it must be confessed, that some of the Versions of the Bible do not render the Passage literally. The LXX translate it, *They saw the Place, where there stood the God of Israel* (d); and *Onkelos*, *They saw the Glory of the God of Israel* (e): And the Commentators, from what Moses in ano-

(z) *Exod.* xxiv. 11. (a) 12.—18. (b) 1 John iv. 12. (c) ὡς ἢ καὶ σώματος ἀνθρωπίου καὶ ὥσπερ ἐστὶ τις θεῶν καὶ δαίμονι κοινωνία καὶ χάρις, ἔργον ἴδον καὶ τῆτο περιδιδῶναι. *Plut.* in *Numâ*, p. 62. (d) ἴδον τὸν τόπον ὅπου εἰσὶν οἱ θεοὶ τῆς Ἰσραήλ. MS. A. (e) *Targum Onkelos*.

ther Place remarks to the *Israelites*, that they had seen *no manner of Similitude*, do generally conclude, that he did not intend here to intimate, that he or the Nobles of *Israel* did really and visibly see God. But I would beg leave to offer to the Reader some Thoughts that occur to me, whenever I read this Passage.

1. I cannot but observe, that *Moses* does not say, that he and the Nobles of *Israel* saw the invisible God; the Expression is, that they saw *the God of Israel* (f): *No Man indeed hath ever seen the invisible God* (g), *nor can see him* (h); but *the God of Israel*, the divine Person, who is many Times stiled in the Old Testament *the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob* (i) frequently appeared to them, and was in After-ages *made Flesh* (k), and for about three and thirty Years dwelt on Earth *amongst Men*. 2. That this Person appeared to the Patriarchs of old in a real Body, was evident to them by the same *infallible Proofs* as those, by which *he shewed himself alive* to his Disciples *after his Passion* (l). After he was risen from the Dead, he was seen of the

(f) Exod. xxiv. 10. (g) Coloff. i. 15. (h) 1 Tim. vi. 16. (i) Gen. xxvi. 24. xxviii. 13. Exod. iii. 6. See Vol. II. B. IX. See Acts vii. 2. and Gen. xvii. 1. (k) See Vol. I. B. V. John i. 14. (l) Acts i. 3.

Disciples, speaking to them (*m*): And so he was in divers Places, and at sundry Times to *Abraham* (*n*), to *Isaac* (*o*) and to *Jacob* (*p*). The Disciples not only beheld him, but they felt him, and handled him, and were as sure that he was really with them, as they were that *a Spirit hath not Flesh and Bones, as they saw him have* (*q*). In like manner *Jacob* experienced as sensible a Presence, when he wrestled with him (*r*). *Whilst the Disciples believed not, but wondered, He said unto them, Have ye here any Meat? And they gave him a Piece of a broiled Fish, and of an Honeycomb, and he took it, and did eat before them* (*s*): And agreeably hereto, when **THE LORD** (*t*) with two Angels accompanying him appeared unto *Abraham* in the Plains of *Mamre*, after *Abraham* had the Calf dressed, and set it before them, whilst he stood by them under the Tree, *They did eat* (*u*). And now from all these Passages, I think, I see it to have been real and indisputable Fact, that the Person, who is here stiled *the God of Israel*, did frequently for a short or a longer Space of Time, according to his own Good-will and Pleasure, assume and unite himself to a real Body, and

(*m*) Acts i. 3. (*n*) Gen. xii. 7. xvii. 1. xviii. 1. (*o*) xxvi. 24. (*p*) xxxii. 30. xxxv. 9. (*q*) Luke xxiv. 39. (*r*) Gen. xxxii. (*s*) Luke xxiv. 41, 42, 43. (*t*) Gen. xviii. 1. (*u*) vcr. 8.

thereby

thereby appear visible to such Persons, as he thought fit to manifest himself to in this manner, and consequently that he might be thus seen by *Moses* and the Elders on the Mount. His Appearance on the Mount was indeed glorious (*x*), attended with a Splendor he had not before been seen in to Man, and perhaps something like it afterwards was his Transfiguration before the three Disciples (*a*): But the Text of *Moses* does in no wise suggest, that he and the Elders saw *the God of Israel* in all his Glory: *Moses* indeed did afterwards desire thus to see him (*b*); but was answered, that he was not capable of it (*c*), and accordingly at that Time, while the Glory of the Lord passed by him, *Moses* was put in a Clift of the Rock, and the Lord covered him with his Hand, while he passed by (*d*): But here upon the Nobles of Israel he laid not his Hand (*e*): They had an unintercepted View of his Appearance, and consequently he appeared to them, with a lesser Degree of Glory, such as Men might see and live.

As to what may be pretended of the wise and learned Heathens; that they by the Light of Nature would have judged such an Appearance, as is here spoken of, ab-

(*x*) Exod. xxiv. 10. (*a*) Matt. xvii. Mark ix. (*b*) Exod. xxxiv. 18. (*c*) ver. 20. (*d*) ver. 22. (*e*) xxiv. 11.

furd and impossible; I would observe of them, That it is indeed true, that their earliest Philosophy led them to think, that *the Lights of Heaven were the Gods that governed the World (f)*, and to ascribe no human Shape to these Divinities, nor to set up Idols of human Form in their ancient Image-worship, but rather to consecrate sacred Animals, and to dedicate *their Images; the Images of Birds, and four-footed Beasts, and creeping things (g)*: These they imagined to be proper Objects or Directors of their Worship, and they have left us, what they thought a philosophical Reason for the Use they made of them (h): But notwithstanding all this, in Time a newer *Theology* succeeded among them, and in all Nations, except the more Eastern, which had but little Knowledge of, or Concern in what happened in *Canaan* and the Countries adjacent to it, or which were instructed from it, Gods of human Form were introduced into every Temple, and human Images were erected to them: And yet in After-times, when their Philosophers came to speculate upon this Subject, both this Worship and *Theology* was thought by them to have

(f) Wisdom xii. 34. See Vol. I. B. V. B. I. Vol. II. B. VIII. (g) Vol. II. B. VIII. (h) Ἀγροπυτέον ἐν ἡ ταῦτα τιμῶντας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν τὸ θεῖον, ὡς ἐναγγελλῶν ἐκ τῆραν καὶ φύσει γεγονόταν. Plut. de Iside et Osiride, p. 382.

been the Invention of *Fabulists* and Poets, and not to have been derived from Reason and Truth (*i*); They thought it *mythic* or popular, but in no wise agreeable to their Notions of the Nature of divine Beings (*k*), but rather contrary to them. It is remarkable, that this their later Theology was never thought of in any Nation, until after *the Lord* had appeared unto *Abraham*, unto *Isaac*, unto *Jacob*, unto *Moses*, until after an Angel had appeared unto *Balaam* (*l*), unto *Joshua* (*m*), and to divers other Persons, not until after the Fame of these Appearances had spread into, and obtained Credit in divers Countries. From all which I am apt to conclude, that not Science or Speculation, but a Belief of Facts well attested, led the Heathens into this their newer *Theology* (*n*). What was said of the Appearances of Angels unto Men amongst the *Hebrews*, and to some other Persons of other Nations,

(*i*) Vid. Plat. de Rep. l. 2. (*k*) Tria sunt genera Theologiæ, eorumq; unum Mythicon appellatur, alterum physicon, tertium civile. Mythicon appellatur, quo maxime utuntur Poetæ, physicon, quo Philosophi; primum quod dixi, in eo sunt multa contra dignitatem et naturam immortalium ficta, &c. Varro in Fragment. p. 31. (*l*) Numbers xxii. (*m*) Josh. v. 13. (*n*) *There are many Passages in the Heathen Writers, which intimate them to have thought it a Fact, which could in no wise be denied, that the Gods had appeared unto Men. Thus, Sæpe visæ Formæ Deorum quemvis non hebetem aut impium Deos præsentem esse confiteri coegerunt. Tullius de Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 2. Again, Præterea ipsorum Deorum præsentia, quales supra commemoravi, declarant, ab his et civitatibus, et singulis hominibus consuli. Id. ibid. c. 66.*

was known to have been Fact, beyond a Possibility of Contradiction: and hence it came to pass, that tho' Philosophy suggested no such Innovation; yet the Directors of the *Sacra* of Heathen Kingdoms could not well avoid an Imitation, of what, as Fact, could not be denied to have happened in the World; and this by Degrees led them to their New-Gods. And thus if we consult the ancient Heathens, instead of finding from their Philosophy Objections sufficient to weaken the Credibility of what the Scriptures record concerning the Appearances of divine and superior Beings, we may, from the Alteration which they made in their sacred Institutions, be induced to think, these Scripture Facts to have been so well attested to the World, that even Nations not immediately concerned in them, could not but admit the Truth of them, and think them of weight enough to cause them to vary from what they had before esteemed the Principles both of their Science and Religion. But

Moses is said to have remarked to the *Israelites*, that they had *seen no manner of Similitude*. I answer, Nothing can, I think, be concluded from the Passage alluded to (o), to contradict what *Moses* relates *Exod. xxiv.* that he, and the El-

(o) Deut. iv. 15.

ders *saw the God of Israel.* The Passage cited from *Deuteronomy* expressly refers to the Day in which God delivered, in an audible Voice, the ten Commandments from the Mount to the People: And *Moses's* Design in it was, to caution them, by a due Regard to that Day's Transactions, to be exceeding careful not to fall into Idolatry. He exhorts them Ver. 9, 10, never to forget *the Things which their Eyes had seen, on the Day that they stood before the Lord in Horeb:* He reminds them, Ver. 12, that in that Day *the Lord spake unto them out of the midst of the Fire, that they heard the Voice of the Words, but saw no Similitude, only they heard a Voice:* He then again charges them to take good heed to themselves, lest they should *make the Similitude of any Figure,* by observing again to them, Ver. 15. that they *saw no Similitude, on the Day that the Lord spake unto them in Horeb, out of the midst of the Fire.* On this Day it was, that God instructed them how he would be worshipped, and commanded them to make to themselves no manner of Image (*p*); and therefore to this particular Day's Transaction *Moses* might well appeal, in order to charge them in the strictest manner to be

(p) Exod. xx. 4, 5.

careful to observe this Commandment: and accordingly, what he here offers is by his own express Words limited and confined to the Transactions of the Day here referred to; and I do not see, how any thing can be concluded from what is here said, against what he may have suggested to have happened on any other Day whatsoever.

About these Times *Lelex*, who was the first King of *Laconia*, flourished in that Country: *Lelex* seems to have been somewhat elder than *Moses*: He came originally from *Egypt* (a), made divers Settlements in many Places; in *Caria* (b), in *Ionia*, (c), at *Ida* near *Troy* (d), and afterwards in *Greece*, in *Acaruania* (e), in *Ætolia* (f), in *Bœotia* (g), and last of all in *Laconia*. When *Lelex* began his Travels, he took the same Rout, that *Cecrops* and the Father of *Cadmus* had before taken: He went up into *Phœnicia*, thence into the lesser *Asia*, and from thence he crossed over into *Greece*, and made Settlements in many Places, until at length he came into *Laconia*: In all Parts where he made any Stay, he endeavoured to form and civi-

(a) λέγεσθαι εἰ Μιγαροῖς λέγουσιν ἀρκεύμενον ἔξ Αἰγύπτου Κασιότου. Pausan. in Atticis. c. 39. (b) Vid. Strab. Geog. lib. 7. p. 321. lib. 13. p. 611. Hom. Il. φ. v. 86, 87. (c) Strab. lib. 14. p. 640. (d) Id. lib. 7. p. 321. (e) Id. ibid. (f) Id. ibid. (g) Id. ibid. et in lib. 9. p. 401.

lize the uncultivated People, and probably, when he removed, he left some of his Followers to complete his Designs, and upon every Proceſſion to a new Country, he took with him ſuch new Associates, as had a mind to accompany him from the Places where he had laſt reſided. By theſe Means the Company he commanded, would in a few Years be a mixed Multitude gathered out of different Nations: And his Followers having been of this Sort, ſeemed to *Strabo*, to be the Reaſon for the *Greeks* calling him *Lelex*, and them *Leleges* (*b*): It was found in Writing in the Times of the *Maccabees*, that the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Jews* were *Brethren*, and that the *Lacedæmonians* were deſcended of the *Stock* of *Abraham* (*i*): I ſhould imagine, that this *Lelex* was an *Israelite*, and that as divers eminent Perſons of the *Egyptians*, upon the Conqueſt the *Pafſors* made of their Country, fled with as many as would follow them into foreign Lands (*k*); ſo ſome of the *Hebrews*, when they were preſſed with Slavery, might do the ſame thing, and this *Lelex* might be one of them, and when he had obtained a Settlement in *Laconia*, both what we find in *Pauſanias* of his

(*b*) Vid. *Strab.* lib. 7. p. 322. (*i*) 1 *Maccabees*
chap. xii. 21. (*k*) See Vol. II. B. 8.

coming out of *Egypt* (*l*), and this Hint of his Relation to the *Hebrews* might be recorded of him. Some of the *Greek* Writers mistake the Time of his coming into *Greece*: They report it to have been about thirteen Generations after *Phoroneus* King of *Argos* (*m*), but we must not imagine it so late; for from *Menelaus* who warred at *Troy* up to *Lelex*, we find ten successive Kings of this Country exclusive of *Menelaus* (*n*), and in *Castor's* List we have but fourteen Successions from *Phoroneus* down to *Agamemnon* the Leader of the *Greeks*, contemporary with *Menelaus* (*o*); so that *Lelex* cannot have been at most above three or four Reigns later than *Phoroneus*. We find an Hint in *Strabo*, which may well fix for us the Time of *Lelex's* entering *Laconia*: He records, that the *Leleges* were in *Bœotia*, when *Cadmus* came thither, and that *Cadmus* expelled them that Country (*p*): They were hereupon compelled to a further Travel, and therefore at this time, they and their Leader marched to *Laconia*, and began the Kingdom of *Lacedæmonia*. *Cadmus* came into *Bœotia*, A. M. 2486 (*q*), and therefore to this Year I should fix *Lelex's* going into *Laconia*; and according to this Computation he came into *Laconia* in

(*l*) Pausan. in Attic. c. 39. (*m*) Id. ibid. (*n*) Id. in Laconic. (*o*) Euseb. in Chronico. (*p*) Strab. Geog. l. 9. p. 401. (*q*) See Vol. II. B. 8.

the Reign of *Triopas* or *Crotopus* the fourth or fifth King of (r) *Argos* from *Phoroneus*; and agreeably to this Computation, we may well suppose ten Kings of *Lacedæmonia* from *Lelex* to *Menelaus*; but if we place *Lelex* lower, there can be no room for such a Succession. I might add, that it further appears, that *Lelex* lived about these Times, from what *Pausanias* records of *Polycaon* his younger Son, that he married *Messene* the Daughter of *Triopas* (s); so that *Lelex* and *Triopas* were about Contemporaries: I suppose *Lelex* somewhat elder than *Moses*; his coming into *Laconia* after so many Travels, must have been towards the End of his own Life; but the Year 2486 in which he entred that Country, falls about the middle of *Moses's* Days, in *Moses's* 53d Year, 27 Years before he led the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*: We are no where told how long *Lelex* governed his new Settlement; his eldest Son *Myles* succeeded him (t), and at *Myles's* Death, *Eurotas* Son of *Myles* became King (u): *Eurotas* at his Death left no male Heirs (w), and *Polycaon* the younger Son of *Lelex* was settled in another Country (x); and hence it

(r) *Triopas* was noted by the ancient Writers, to live about the Times of *Cecrops*. See Vol. II. B. 8. (s) *Pausan.* in *Laconic.* c. 1. et in *Messenic.* c. 1. (t) *Id.* in *Laconic.* ubi sup. (u) *Id.* *ibid.* (w) *Id.* *ibid.* (x) *Id.* in *Messenic.* ubi sup.

happened at the Demise of *Eurotas*, that the Crown of *Laconia* went into another Family, and *Lacedæmon* Son of *Jupiter* and *Taygete* was promoted to it (y). *Pausanias* has recorded the Names of the *Lacedæmonian* Kings (z), and from *Lelex* to *Menelaus* who warred at *Troy*, they are as follows; *Lelex*, *Myles*, *Eurotas*, *Lacedæmon*, *Amyclas*, *Argalus*, *Cynortas*, *Oebalus*, *Hippocoon*, *Tyndareus* and *Menelaus*. *Castor* and *Pollux* were the Sons of *Tyndareus* (a), and engaged in the *Argonautic* Expedition (b); but they were never Kings of *Lacedæmonia*, but died before their Father (c); and upon their Deaths *Tyndareus* sent for *Menelaus* to succeed him in his Kingdom (d).

The famous *Jupiter* of the *Greeks* was also contemporary with *Moses*. He was Son of *Saturn*, a King of *Crete* (e): The Remains we now have of the ancient Writers seem to give but a confused Account of the early History of the *Cretans*, tho' it is remarkable, that the *Cretans* were formerly so famous for their History, as to have the wisest of Men think it worth while to travel to them to peruse their Records (f): But of what now

(y) Id. in *Læonic*. (z) Id. in *Læonic*. (a) *Apollod. Bibl. l. 3. c. 9.* (b) *Apollon. Argon. et Val. Flacc.*
 (c) *Apollod. l. 3. c. 10.* (d) Id. *ibid.* (e) *Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 232.* *Apollod. Biblioth. l. 1.* (f) ἡγοῦνται
 ὅτι Σόλων ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἀρχειν καὶ ἔτι κατὰ
 ἄλλο κῆρδι ἱσχυίαν *Diogen. Laert. in vit. Thalet.*

remains about them, almost all is Fable; tho' I cannot but think, a careful Inquirer may still collect Particulars, and give them more Light, than they are generally thought capable of receiving. *Cres* was King of *Crete*, about the 56th Year of *Abraham* (g), *Talus* was Son of *Cres*, *Vulcan* of *Talus*, and *Rhadamanthus* of *Vulcan* (h): About the Times of this *Rhadamanthus* (i), we may place the *Daëtyli Idæi* (k): They were five Brothers, as many in Number as the Fingers of a Man's Hand, and for that reason called *Daëtyli* (l). One of these *Daëtyli* was probably named *Jupiter*; for there was a more ancient *Jupiter* than the Son of *Saturn* (m), who was Father of the *Curetes* (n), and Brother of *Ouranus* (o); so that *Ouranus* might be another of the *Daëtyli*: *Saturn* was Son of *Ouranus* (p), and *Jupiter* was Son of *Saturn* (q): From *Abraham* to *Moses* are seven Descents; *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Levi*, *Cobath*, *Amram*, *Moses*; and there are about as

(g) Euseb. in Chronic. (h) Cinæthon. in Pausan. Arcad. c. 53. (i) We are not to suppose the *Rhadamanthus* here spoken of, to be the same Person with one of that Name, who was Brother of *Minos*; nor the *Vulcan* here mentioned to be the same with *Vulcan* Son of *Jupiter*: Persons of later Ages frequently had the Names which their Ancestors had born Ages before them. (k) Diodor. Sic. p. 230. (l) Id. ibid. Strabo Geog. l. 10. p. 437. (m) Diodor. l. 3. p. 136. (n) Id. ibid. (o) Id. ibid. (p) Id. l. 5. p. 231. Apollod. Biblioth. l. 1. (q) Diodor. p. 233. Apollod. ubi sup.

many from *Cres* to *Jupiter*, namely, *Cres*, *Talus*, *Vulcan*, *Rhadamanthus*, *Ouranus*, *Saturn*, *Jupiter*: If *Ouranus* and the rest of the *Dactyli* were of the same Descent with *Rhadamanthus*, we have but six: But if they were in the Descent next after him, we have exactly seven, as in the Family of *Abram*. *Diodorus Siculus* mentions no Kings of *Crete* between *Cres* and the *Dactyli*; but it is observable, that he does not say that the *Dactyli* flourished in or next after the Times of *Cres*: *Diodorus* reckoned up the Worthies that lived between *Cres* and *Saturn*, whom the Ages which succeeded, had mentioned with Honour; and it is easy to imagine, that there might be two or three Descents between the Times of *Cres* and the *Dactyli*, in which nothing memorable was done, in the way of either great Actions or useful Inventions, to bear their Fame down to Posterity, and so the Names of those that lived in these Generations, might either not come to *Diodorus*, or he not think it worth while to mention them. If *Cres* himself had not excelled those that lived before him, in teaching his Countrymen many Things conducive to their public Welfare (r),

(r) Τὸν μὲν Βουλιὸν Φοῖτον καλλόμενον πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα κατὰ τὴν γῆν ἐπέβλεψεν τὰ διδασκόμενα τοῖς κοινὸν τῶν ἀποδιδόντων εἶναι ἀφελήματα. *Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 230.*

Diodorus had probably taken no notice of him: And had his Successors been as eminent as he was, their Names perhaps had been recorded by him. But after the Death of *Cres* (s), no Advance being made either in Arts or Government, until the *Dactyli*, the Names between *Cres* and their Times, were omitted by *Diodorus*.

Ouranus lived in the eastern Parts of *Crete*; for his Son *Saturn* afterwards removed westward (t): *Ouranus* married *Titæa* (u), who, according to the Custom of these Times, which was, to give the Names of the Elements and Lights of Heaven (they being the Deities now worshipped) to eminent Persons, took the Name of *Terra* or *Tellus*, as her Husband was called *Cælum* or *Ouranus*. The Children born of these two Parents were first the *Centimani*; namely, *Briareus*, *Gyes*, and *Cæus* (w): The fabulous Writers say, these Men had an hundred Hands and fifty Heads apiece (x): They were of bigger Size, of greater Strength (y), and perhaps of more Cunning and Contrivance than common Men; and Fable has given

(s) Perhaps *Cres* having none to succeed him, the useful Designs he attempted might drop at his Death, and tho' he had the Descendants we have mentioned, yet none of them might be Kings, nor any Government set up in *Crete* in their Names. (t) *Diodor.* p. 231. (u) *Id. ibid.* (w) *Apolod. Biblioth. l. 1. c. 1.* (x) *Id. ibid.* (y) Μεγέθει τε ἀνυπέβλητοι καὶ δυνάμει καθ' ἑσθήκεσαν. *Id. ibid.*

them the Hands and Heads of Multitudes, for their being superior to single Men in their Wisdom and their Valour. *Ouranus* sent them to inhabit the Land of *Tartarus*; for here we find them in Power and Command in the Days of *Jupiter* (z): What or where the Country was, which was thus named, may be difficult to determine: *Pluto* was afterwards King of it (a), and I should imagine it to be no Part of *Crete*; for when *Pluto* took away *Proserpine* from her Mother *Ceres*, *Ceres* fought her, *κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν* i. e. all *Crete* over, but could not find her (b); afterwards she heard that she was with *Pluto*; so that *Pluto's* Dominions were not in *Crete*, but in some foreign Country: We are told by *Apollodorus*, that the *Cyclopes* were sent into this Land of *Tartarus* (c), and *Homer* appears to think they lived in the Island of *Sicily* (d); and *Strabo* imagined him in this Point to have given us not Fiction, but true History (e); and we find *Thucydides*, tho' he had nothing to offer about the Rise or Exit of this Set of Men; whence they came hither, or whither they removed; yet not doubting but that they were of the most

(z) *Apollod. Biblioth. l. i. c. 2.* (a) *Id. ibid.* (b) *Δίμηντος ἢ μεταρραυτῶν τῶν ἰστέ καὶ ἡμέρας κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐπέσσα περὶ αὐτῆς.* *Apollodorus. Biblioth. l. i. c. 5.*
 (c) *Id. ibid. l. i. c. 1.* (d) *Odyss. 9.* (e) *Strabo Geogr. l. i. p. 20.*

ancient Inhabitants of this Island (*f*); and agreeably hereto, *Tartarus* the Father of *Typhon* appears from *Apollodorus*, to have lived in *Sicily* in the Age I am treating of (*g*); and in these Days probably this Island was called after his Name. This Land of *Tartarus* was said to be as far distant from the Earth, as the Earth is from Heaven (*h*): This might be the ancient *Cretan* Account of it, and by the Earth they might mean their own Island, and intend only to assert that *Tartarus* was at an unmeasurable Distance from their Shore; and unquestionably from *Crete* to *Sicily* was a considerable Voyage in those Ages. As *Pluto*, from his having been the Person who invented the Rites and Ceremonies that were (*i*) used at Funerals, came in After-ages to be called the God of the Dead; so the Country where he had been King, was reputed to be their Region, and all the gloomy Fictions imagined to belong to the State of the Departed, were related to have their Place in this Land of *Tartarus*; but it is obvious to remark, that these Fables were not invented, until Ages after the Times of the

(*f*) Thucyd. Hist. 1. 6. (*g*) Id. *ibid.* 1. 1. c. 6. §. 3.
 (*h*) Τόπος ὃ ἔτος τοσούτον ἀπὸ γῆς ἔχων διάστημα, ὅσον ἀπ' ἑρηνῆ γῆ. *Apollod.* 1. 1. c. 1. (*i*) Τὸν ὃ Ἀΐδων, λέγεται, τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφάς, καὶ τὰς εκφορὰς, καὶ τιμὰς τῶν τεθνεώτων καλεῖσθαι — διὸ καὶ τῶν τετελευτηκότων ὁ θεὸς ἔτος παρέληπται κνεῖδ'εν. *Diodor. Sic.* 1. 5. p. 233.

Centimani, and not until long after *Sicily* ceased to be called by this its ancient Name. 2. The *Cyclopes* were also Sons of *Ouranus* and *Tellus* (k): Their Names were *Harpes*, *Steropes*, and *Brontes*: They were said to have but one Eye apiece, and that situate in the middle of their Foreheads (l): These Men were the Archers of their Times, and they usually shut one Eye, to take their Aim in shooting (m); and this occasioned the Fable of their having one Eye only: *Ouranus* sent them to *Tartarus* unto their Brethren (n). 3. *Ouranus* and *Tellus* were the Parents of the *Titanes* also, whose Names were *Oceanus*, *Cæus*, *Hyperion*, *Crius*, *Japetus* and *Saturn* (o), and of the *Titani*des, who were *Tethys*, *Rhea*, *The-*

(k) Apollod. l. i. c. 1. (l) Id. ibid. (m) I have forgot, from whom I had this Conjecture: I think it is Euthalius's. But I would observe, that the ingenious Annotator upon the English Homer, whose real Worth, as well as Learning, makes it a pleasure to me to say, I have a Friendship with him, gives a better Account of this Fable of the Cyclopes; ascribing it to their wearing an Head-piece or martial Vizer, that had but one Sight thro' it. "The vulgar, says he, form their Judgments from Appearances; and a Mariner who passed these Coasts at a distance, observing the Resemblance of a broad Eye in the Forehead of one of these Cyclops, might relate it accordingly, and impose it as a Truth upon the Credulity of the ignorant. It is notorious, that Things equally monstrous have found Belief in all Ages." See Dr. Broome's Notes upon Homer's *Odessey*. B. IX. ver. 119. (n) Apollodor. ubi sup. (o) Apollodor. ibid. Diodor l. 5 p. 231.

mis, *Mnemosyne*, *Phæbe*, *Dione* and *Thia* (a). *Tellus* the Wife of *Ouranus* had also other Children, namely, *Phorcus*, *Thaumas*, *Ne-reus*, *Eurybæa*, and *Ceto*, by a Person named *Pontus*, who perhaps after *Ouranus*'s Death was her second Husband (b); and *Ouranus* had several Children by a Concubine named *Ops*; they were *Porphyryon*, *Halcyoneus*, *Ephialtes*, *Clytius*, *Enceladus*, *Polybotes*, *Gratian* and *Thoon*. *Tellus* made a Voyage into *Sicily*, and stayed there some time, until she had a Son named *Typhon*, by *Tartarus* a Person of the highest Eminence in *Sicily*, in these Ages (c). *Ops* was no *Cre-tan*, but a Foreigner; she came into *Crete* out of a more northern Nation (d): She is often taken to be the same Person as *Tel-lus*; but it is evident she was not so, probably she was the *Cybele* of the An-cients.

At the Death of *Ouranus*, his Son *Sa-turn* had his Kingdom: It is said that *Saturn* castrated and deposed his Father (e): But we have no reason to imagine, that he did so, or that what is told us of the Birth of the Furies from *Ouranus* (f) was real Fact: *Varro* judiciously thought these

(a) Apollodor. Bibl. l. 1. c. 1. Diodorus mentions only five, and calls them, *Rhea*, *Themis*, *Mnemosyne*, *Phæbe* and *Thetis*, l. 5. p. 231. (b) Apollodor. c. 2. (c) Id. c. 6. (d) Ω^ς πιν, μίαν των ἐξ ὑπερβορέων παραγι-
νομένων παρθέων. Id. c. 4. (e) Apollodor. c. 1. (f) Id. ibid.

Relations to be Parts of what he calls the *Mythic Theology* (g), which afforded many Narrations of imaginary Actions never really done, but founded upon the ancient Philosophy and Religion historically put together (b): *Saturn* married his Sister *Rhea*, and had by her three Sons and three Daughters, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, *Pluto*, *Vesta*, *Ceres* and *Juno* (i). It is said of *Saturn*, that he eat up his Children as soon as they were born, that *Jupiter* only escaped, by a Contrivance of his Mother *Rhea*, who bundled up a Stone in his Clothes, and sent it to *Saturn*, which, he not doubting but that it was his new-born Son, took and eat up instead of him. *Jupiter*, they tell us, was put out to Nurse by his Mother, to the *Curetes*: In Time, they bring *Saturn's* Children all upon the Stage again, and represent *Jupiter* as compelling his Father by a Drink, to discharge his Stomach of them, and of the Stone with them (k). *Varro* has given us a *philosophic*

(g) Vid. Varron. Frag. p. 13. (k) See what I have offered upon this Subject, Vol. II. B. 8. Saturnus — talcem habet ob Agriculturam. Quòd Cœlum patrem Saturnus caltrasse in Fabulis dicitur, hoc significat, penes Saturnum, non penes Cœlum, semen esse divinum; hoc propterea quantum intelligi datur, quia nihil in Cœlo de seminibus nascitur. *Varro in Frag.* p. 42. (i) *Diodor. Apollodor.* ubi sup. (k) *Apollodor. Bibl.* l. 1.

Solution of this Fable also (l); but I would observe, that *Saturn* was the first in these Parts, that introduced a Regularity of Diet amongst his People (m), and he might perhaps think it a Matter of Moment to begin from the first with his own Children: We find the nursing and feeding Infants with proper Food became a sort of Science in the Generation next after him, and had Directors appointed to take care of it (n): If *Saturn* had formed any Scheme of this Sort, and upon this Account took his Children as soon as born from their Mother; if as soon as they were fit for it, he sent them abroad for Education into some foreign Land; and the Figure they all afterwards made in Life, renders it highly probable, that they had had better Instruction, than *Crete* was at this time able to give them; this might be a sufficient Foundation for the Fable handed down to us concerning *Saturn*: *Rhea* sent *Jupiter* to the *Curetes*, and a Bundle of Clothes, with a Stone wrapped up in them to make them heavy, was carried where *Saturn* ordered instead

(l) Saturnum dixerunt, quæ nata ex eo essent, devorare solitum, quòd eò femina, unde nascerentur, redirent; et quòd illi pro Jove Gleba objecta est devoranda significat, manibus humanis obrui cœptas ferendo fruges, antequàm subtilitas arandi esset inventa. *Varro in Fragment.* p. 42.

(m) Diodor. l. 5. p. 231. (n) Ἄρτεμις ἢ φάτιν αἰεὶν τῷ τῶν νηπίων παιδίων δευάταν, καὶ τροφάς τινὰς ἀρμύρας τῇ φύσει τῶν βρεφῶν. Diodor. p. 235.

of him, and when *Jupiter* was grown up, and came home to his Father, and *Saturn* thought fit to have his other Children recalled from their foreign Education; as he was before said to have eat them, so now he might be represented to have vomited them up again: The Fancy of the *Mythologists* was extravagant beyond measure, and no Representation could appear so monstrous or ridiculous, but they could think it ingenious to dress up and disguise the plainest and most common Transactions of Life in it(o).

When *Saturn* died, *Jupiter* succeeded to his Kingdom(p): Here again the *Mythologists* give us Fable, and suggest to us, that *Jupiter* deposed his Father, and parted his Dominions between himself and his Brethren(q); but *Diodorus* informs us, that there were other Accounts of him; that he came to his Crown at *Saturn's* Death as his rightful Heir, without Attempts of his own to obtain a Succession, or Endeavours of others to prevent it(r). He married his Sister

(o) See Vol. II. B. 8. ἐν τῷ ταύτῳ αἰῶνι πολλὰ μὲν πάσαι συνέβησαν ἄτιστα εἶναι πεποιθήσασιν ἐς τὰς πολλὰς, εἰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐτοιμοδουμήντες ἐφάσμενα. Pausan.

(p) Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 233. (q) Apollod. l. 1. c. 2.

(r) Τινὲς μὲν οὖν οὖν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῷ θεῷ ἀνθρώπων τῶν Κρόνου μετέβησαν εἰς θεὸν διαδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν, ἢ εἰς ἀκαθάρτα πᾶν πατέρα, νομίμως δὲ καὶ δικαίως ἀξίωθεντα ταύτης τῆ τιμῆς. Diodor. l. 5. p. 233.

Juno (s), and by her had Children, *Hebe*, *Ilithya*, *Argos*, *Mars* and *Vulcan* (t). He had several other Wives, 1. *Metis*, by whom he had *Pallas*(u). 2. *Tbemis*, who bare him *Irene*, *Eunomia* and *Dica*, who were called the *Horæ*, and *Clotho*, *Lachesis* and *Atropos*, who were called the Fates (x). 3. *Euronome* was the Mother of *Aglaia*, *Euphrosyne* and *Thalia* (y). 4. Of *Styx*, or rather *Ceres* was born *Proserpine* (z). 5. Of *Mnemosyne* were born the *Muses*, who have commonly been said to be nine in Number: *Varro* thought they were originally three only (a). 6. *Latoia*

(s) Diodor. ibid. Apollod. Bibl. l. 1. c. 3. Hesiod
 Ὀσεγ. (t) Ibid. ibid. (u) Hesiod. ibid. Apollodorus
 supposes *Thetis* the Daughter of *Nereus* to have born *him*
Pallas. Bibl. l. 1. c. 3. (x) Hesiod. Apollod. (y) Ibid.
 (z) Diodor. p. 199. Hesiod. *oppon.* Apollod. l. 1. c. 3
 et c. 5. (a) Apol. l. 1. c. 3. *Varro* dicit, Civitatem
 nescio quam (neq; enim recorder nomen) locasse apud tres
 Artifices terna simulachra Musarum, que in Templo *Apel-*
linis, Deo poneret, ut quisquis Artificum pulchriora for-
 masset, ab illo potissimum electa emeret. Itaq; contigisse, ut
 opera sua quoq; illi Artifices æque pulchra explicarent, et
 placuisse civitati omnes novem, atq; omnes emptas esse, ut
Apollinis Templo dicarentur, quibus postea dicit *Hesiodum*
Poetam imposuisse Vocabula. Non ergo ait, *Jupiter* novem
Musas genuit, sed tres fabri ternas fecerunt. Tres autem
 non propterea civitas illa locaverat, quia in somnis eas vi-
 derat, aut tot se cujusquam illorum oculis demonstraverant,
 sed quia facile erat animadvertere omnem sonum, qui ma-
 teries cantilenarum est, triformem esse Naturâ; aut enim
 editur voce, sicut est eorum, qui faucibus sine instrumento
 canunt, aut flatu sicut tubarum et tiliarum, aut pulsû sicut
 in *Cythis*, et *Tympanis*, et quibusdam aliis, que percu-
 tiendo sonora sunt. *Varro*. in *Fragment*. p. 207. vid. *Au-*
gustin. de *Doctrin. Christian.* l. 2. c. 17.

bare him *Diana* and *Apollo* (b). 7. *Venus* was born to him of *Dione* (c). 8. *Mercury* of *Maia* (d). 9. *Bacchus* of *Semele* (e): and he had several other Children, both Sons and Daughters by divers other Women: But let us endeavour first to fix with a little more Certainty the Times in which *Jupiter* lived, and after that we may take a further View of the Transactions of his Life.

Jupiter lived about 8 or 9 Generations before the *Trojan War*: This may be very clearly computed by going thro' the Genealogies of those who are recorded to be his Descendants. Thus *Æthlius* King of *Elea* in *Greece*, was Son of *Jupiter*, and of *Protogenia*, the Daughter of *Deucalion* (f); his Son *Endymion* succeeded him (g): *Epeus* Son of *Endymion* succeeded him (h): *Ætolus* brother to *Epeus* was his Successor (i), and after *Ætolus* reigned *Eleus* his Nephew (k): At *Eleus's* Death, *Augeas* Son of *Eleus* had the Kingdom (l):

(b) Apollodor. l. 1. c. 4. Δίμωτες ἢ Ἀστὴν διεγ-
 γίνατο Δίω, καὶ ἔδ' Ἀπτεῖς, ἔνθα Ἀργυρτίων πὸν λίγρον, Ἀι-
 σὸν δ' ἐβίδαξεν Ἐυροείωας τὴς Ἑλλήνοσ. Pausan. in
 Arcad. c. 37. (c) Apollod. c. 3. (d) Id. l. 3. c. 10.
 (e) Vid. quæ sup. () Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 230.
 Strab. Geog. l. 10. p. 473. (f) Pausan. l. 5. c. 1.
 Apollod. Bibl. l. 1. c. 7. It ought to be here remarked that
 Æchlius was by some of the Antients thought the Son of
 Æolus. See Pausan. l. 5. c. 8. (g) Apollod. ibid. §. 5.
 Pausan. ubi sup. (h) Pausan. ibid. (i) Apollod. § 6.
 Pausan. ubi sup. (k) Pausan. ibid. (l) Pausan. ibid.

Agasthenes Son of *Augeas*, succeeded his Father (*m*), and *Polyxenes* Son of *Agasthenes*, Grandson of *Augeas*, commanded at *Troy* (*a*); and thus if we count from *Jupiter* to the *Trojan War*, we find nine Successions, or computing *Epeus* and *Ætolus*, who were Brothers, to be in the same Line of Descent, 8 Generations. In the Family of *Thoas* the Son of *Andraemon*, who commanded the *Ætoli*ans in the *Trojan War* (*b*), there are ten Descents; for *Thoas* was six from *Ætolus* (*c*), and *Ætolus* as above was four from *Jupiter*. In like manner we find 10 Descents from *Jupiter* to *Diomedes*, four to *Ætolus* as before; *Pleuron* was Son of *Ætolus* (*d*), *Agenor* of *Pleuron* (*e*), *Oeneus* of *Agenor* (*f*), *Tydeus* of *Oeneus* (*g*), and *Diomedes* of *Tydeus* (*h*). If we go into another Branch of *Jupiter's* Family, we shall find Accounts much the same. *Arcas* was Son of *Jupiter*, born of *Callisto* Daughter of *Lycaon* (*i*): *Arcas* succeeded *Nyctimus* the eldest Son of *Lycaon* in the Kingdom of *Arcadia* (*k*): *Azanas* Son of *Arcas* succeeded him (*l*): *Clitor* Son of *Azanas* succeeded his Father (*m*): *Epitus* a Nephew

(*m*) Pausan. ibid. c. 3. (*a*) Pausan. ibid. Hom. II. 2. v. 623. (*b*) Pausan. ubi sup. Hom. II. c. v. 630.
 (*c*) Pausan. ubi sup. (*d*) Apollod. B. 6. l. 1. c. 7.
 (*e*) Id. ibid. (*f*) ibid. (*g*) ibid. (*h*) ibid.
 (*i*) Hyg. Fab. 155. Apoll. Bibl. l. 3. c. 8. Pausan. in Arcad. c. 3. (*k*) Pausan. ibid. c. 4. (*l*) Id. ibid. (*m*) ibid.

of *Azanas* succeeded *Clitor* (*n*), and *Aleus* another Nephew succeeded *Epitus* (*o*); at *Aleus's* Death his Son *Lycurgus* had the Crown (*p*), and at his Death he left it to *Echemus* (*q*): *Agapenor* Grandson of *Lycurgus* succeeded *Echemus* (*r*), and led the *Arcadians* to *Troy*: And thus from *Nyc-timus* who may be supposed to be *coæta-neous* with *Jupiter*, to *Agapenor* are 9 Successions, and, counting *Clitor*, *Ipitus*, and *Aleus*, who were Brother's Children, to be in the same Line of Descent, at least 7 Generations. In *Laconia* we find *Lacedæmon* King of that Country was Son of *Jupiter* and of *Taygete* Daughter of *Atlas* (*s*), *Amyclas* the next King was his Son (*t*): *Argalus* succeeded his Father *Amyclas* (*u*): and *Cynortas* *Argalus* (*x*); and *Cynortas* left his Crown to *Oebalus* (*y*); when *Oebalus* died, *Hippocoon* gat possession of the Throne, and for a Time defeated *Tyndareus* the Son of *Oebalus* (*a*), but after some Years *Tyndareus* ejected him (*b*) and recovered the Kingdom. *Tyndareus* had two Sons, *Castor* and *Pollux* (*bb*), but they both died before him (*c*): he married his Daughter *Helen* to *Menelaus* the

(*n*) Pausan. in Arcad. c. 4. (*o*) *ibid.* (*p*) *ibid.* (*q*) *ibid.*
 (*r*) *Id.* c. 5. Hom. Il. C. v. 609. (*s*) Hygin. Fab. 155. Apol-
 lod. Bibl. l. 3. c. 10. Pausan. in Laconic. c. 1. (*t*) Pau-
 san. *ibid.* (*u*) *Id.* *ibid.* (*x*) *Id.* *ibid.* (*y*) *Id.* *ibid.*
 (*a*) Pausan. *ibid.* (*b*) *Id.* *ibid.* (*bb*) Apollod. Bibl.
 l. 3. c. 9. (*c*) *Id.* c. 10.

Son of *Atreus* (*d*), and at his Death *Menelaus* succeeded him in his Kingdom (*e*); and thus from *Lacedæmon* the Son of *Jupiter* to *Helen* and *Menelaus*, for whom the *Greeks* warred at *Troy*, are 8 Reigns and 7 Descents; or 8 Descents from *Jupiter*. Again, *Dardanus* King of *Troy* was Son of *Jupiter* and *Eleëtra*, Daughter of *Atlas* (*f*), *Erichthonius* of *Dardanus* (*g*), *Tros* of *Erichthonius* (*b*), *Ilus* of *Tros* (*i*), *Laomedon* of *Ilus* (*k*), *Priamus* of *Laomedon* (*l*): *Priamus* was an old Man when the *Greeks* warred against him, his Son *Hector* was then in his full Strength, and about the Age of the *Greek* Commanders, and from *Jupiter* to *Hector* are eight Descents. We might examine the Accounts we have of other Families, and in all, of whom we have sufficient Remains, we should find *Jupiter* about 8 or 9 Generations before the *Trojan* War: Successions in Families vary enough to cause this Difference of a Descent or two, but we have no Genealogies that will allow us to place him later than the Times of *Moses*; for *Moses* lived from A.M. 2433 to A. M. 2550 (*m*), take the middle of his Life A.M. 2493,

(*d*) Apollod. Bib. l. 3. c. 9. (*e*) c. 10. (*f*) Apollod. Bib. l. 3. c. 11, Diodor. Sic. Hist. l. 5. p. 223. Hom. Il. 7. v. 215. (*g*) Diodor. l. 4. p. 192. Hom. Il. v. v. 219. (*b*) Diodor. ubi sup. Hom. Il. 7. v. 230. (*i*) Diodor. Hom. ibid. (*k*) Id. ibid. (*l*) Id. ibid. (*m*) See Vol. II. B. 9. Deut. xxxiv. 7.

from thence to the War at *Troy* are about 300 Years, supposing *Troy* to have been taken about A.M. 2796 (n) and if we count 8 or 9 Descents in this Space of Time, we go between 30 and 40 Years to a Descent, and the Generations we have examined being for the most part by the elder Sons, this may pretty well agree with the Length of such Generations in these Times.

As what I have offered does abundantly hint, that *Jupiter* lived about the Age of *Moses*; so the Particulars of his Life do further confirm it, and may perhaps enable us to settle more exactly the Time when he flourished: For, 1. *Jupiter* visited *Lycaon* King of *Arcadia* (o), and had a Son named *Arcas* born of *Callisto* *Lycaon's* Daughter (p): Now *Lycaon* was contemporary, and of about the same Years with the elder *Cecrops* (q): *Cecrops* reigned in *Attica* from A.M. 2423 to A.M. 2473 (r): *Lycaon* was advanced towards Old-age when *Jupiter* visited him, for his Children were all grown up, and of Age to build Cities and govern Nations (s): *Jupiter* therefore visited him about the

(n) See Vol. II. B. S. (o) Hygin. Fab. 176. Apollodor. Biblioth. 1. 3. c. 8. (p) Ibid. ibid. Pausan. in Arcadic. c. 3, 4. (q) Διὰ τὴν ἐργασίαν Κερροπι ἐλπίαν τοῦ *Cecrops* ἄσαισι Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀργείων ἄνευ τῶν θυτῶν. Pausan. in Arcad. c. 2. (r) See Vol. II. B. S. (s) Vid. Pausan. in Arcad. c. 3.

End of the Life of *Cecrops*, and not earlier than the 40th Year of *Moses's* Age: But we may fix this Matter, with still greater Certainty: *Lycaon* died by the Hand of *Jupiter* (t), at his Death *Nyctimus* his eldest Son had his Crown (u): *Nyctimus* was made King of *Arcadia* just upon the Time of *Deucalion's* Flood (w), and the Ancients imagined that Flood to have happened A.M. 2476 (x), so that about this Year *Jupiter* was in *Arcadia*, namely 3 Years after the Death of *Cecrops*, and in the 43d Year of *Moses*. *Jupiter* was undoubtedly of Years of Wisdom, Authority, and Experience of the World, when he transacted the Affairs of *Lycaon's* Kingdom, and to this agrees, 2. What we further find from the Marble, that *Mars* the Son of *Jupiter* was tried at *Athens* for the Death of *Halirrothius* the Son of *Neptune*, A.M. 2473 (y); so that before *Jupiter's* Expedition to *Arcadia*, his Sons were grown up and engaged in the World. 3. *Epaphus* was Son of *Jupiter*, born of *Io* (z): Here indeed some of the *Genealogists* make a Mistake; for they suppose *Io* to be the Daughter of *Inachus*; this would argue *Jupiter* to have

(t) Apollod. ubi sup. (u) Pausan. ubi sup. Apollod. ibid. (w) Νυκτίμου ἢ Βασιλείου παραλαβῆς ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλιθεὶς ἐγένετο. Apollod. ubi sup. (x) Marmor Arundell. Ep. 4. (y) Id. Ep. 3. (z) Hygin. Fab. 155. Apollod. l. 2. c. 1.

lived 300 Years earlier than the Times we are treating of, for *Inachus* reigned at *Argos* about A.M. 2154.(a). But *Apollodorus* has observed and corrected this Error: He remarks, that *Io* the Mother of *Epaphus* was not Daughter of *Inachus*, but of *Jafus* (b): *Jafus* the Father of *Io*, was Son of *Triopas* King of *Argos*(c), so that *Io* was *Triopas*'s Grand-daughter. *Triopas* was the sixth King of *Argos* from *Inachus* (d); for *Apis* ought not to be inserted amongst the *Argive* Kings (e), and if we count the Number of Years from the first Year of *Inachus* to the last Year of *Triopas*, we shall find them to amount to 315 (f); compute then 315 Years from A.M. 2154 the first Year of *Inachus*, and we come down to A. M. 2469, and in that Year *Triopas* died: If *Triopas* lived to see his Grand-daughter matched to *Jupiter*, as certainly he well might, then *Io* might marry to him about 7 or 8 Years before *Jupiter*'s Expedition into *Arcadia*, or if she was not grown up until some Years after her Grandfather's Death, yet *Jupiter*'s Acquaintance with her proves very well his living in these Times. 4. *Minos* is said to have been the Son of *Jupiter*,

(a) See Vol. II. B. VI. (b) Apollodor. Bib. 1. 2. c. 1. (c) Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 16. (d) Castor in Euseb. Chron. (e) See Vol. II. B. 8. p. 267. (f) Vid. Castor. in Chron. Euseb.

born of *Europa* Daughter of *Agenor*(g): This I am sensible is a false Account of *Minos*, and therefore tho' it might easily be made to coincide with the Times of *Jupiter*, as *Europa* is generally said to have been the Sister of *Cadmus*; yet, as it would not be a true Account of *Minos's* Ancestors, it would be trifling to offer any thing about it: The *Minos* so much talked of amongst the *Greeks* was contemporary with *Dædalus* (h), and *Dædalus* was the Son of *Eupalamus* (i), who had a Daughter that was married to the second *Cecrops* (k), and his Son *Dædalus* with *Minos* flourished about the Times of *Ægeus* (l), who reigned at *Athens* from A. M. 2697 to A. M. 2745 (m), so that this *Minos* lived about 150 Years after *Moses's* Death: The placing this *Minos* about these Times agrees perfectly well with the Accounts we have of his Descendants down to the *Trojan War*; for he was in the third Generation before that Expedition; for the Sons of *Minos* were *Deucalion* and *Molus*, and their Sons *Idomeneus* and *Meriones* warred at *Troy* (n).

(g) Apollod. Bibl. l. 3. c. 1. Hygin. Fab. 155. (h) Apollod. Bibl. l. 3. c. 14. Diodor. Sic. l. 4. (i) Apollod. ibid. (k) Id. p. 233. (l) Id. l. 3. c. 14. (m) Cecrops began his Reign in Attica A. M. 2423. See Vol. II B. 3. Count the Years of the several Reigns of the Attic Kings in Chronic. Euseb. down to Ægeus, and Ægeus's Reign will fall in the Years I have allotted to it. (n) Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 238. Homer. Il. 2. v. 450. Il. 6. v. 650.

ther of *Teſtamus* the Progenitor of this Family, was about *Jupiter's* Age; for *Amphictyon*, who was Brother of *Hellen(s)*, ſucceeded *Cranus*, and reigned at *Athens* in the Year 2484(t) i. e. about 8 Years after *Jupiter's* being in *Arcadia*: now count down from *Hellen* to *Idomeneus*, who warred at *Troy*, and we have *Hellen*, *Dorus*, *Teſtamus*, *Aſterius*, *Minos*, *Lycaſtus*, *Minos* the ſecond, *Deucalion* and *Idomeneus*, that is, nine Generations from *Hellen* who was contemporary with *Jupiter*, to the *Trojan* War: We find a Generation more in the Families of *Ubois* and of *Diomedes* abovementioned, and a Generation leſs in the Family of *Agamemnes*: In the *Arcadian* Roll of Kings we have but 7 Deſcents from *Nyctimus* to *Agapenor*; but agreeable to this in another Line of *Hellen's* Deſcendants we have exactly 7 down from *Hellen* to *Glaucus*, who exchanged Armour with *Diomedes* in the Fields of *Troy(s)*, namely, *Hellen*, *Pho-lus*, *Sifyphus*, *Glaucus*, *Bellerophon*, *Hippolochus*, and *Glaucus(w)*, who commanded the *Lycians(x)*: And thus allowing the Difference arising from Deſcents happening by the elder or the younger Children, the true Account of *Minos's* Genealogy

(t) Apollod. Bibl. l. 1. c. 7. (u) Id. l. 2. c. 1. (v) Id. l. 2. c. 1. (w) Id. l. 2. c. 1. (x) Id. l. 2. c. 1. (y) Id. l. 2. c. 1. (z) Id. l. 2. c. 1.

fynchronizes with the Descents in other Families, and confirms the Times of *Jupiter* agreeably to them. 5. *Lacedæmon* was Son of *Jupiter* and *Taygete* Daughter of *Atlas*(y): According to the Marble *Lacedæmon* reigned at *Laconia* about A. M. 2489 (a). The Marble joins *Eurotas* and *Lacedæmon* together (b), but *Eurotas* was really *Lacedæmon*'s Predecessor: Whether the Composer of the Marble *Chronicon* apprehended his *Epoch* something too early for the Reign of *Lacedæmon*, and by joining *Eurotas* with him intended to hint, that the Year he fixed on, fell in *Lacedæmon*'s, or at most in *Eurotas*'s Reign; or whether he imagined that *Eurotas*, at the Time he mentions, took *Lacedæmon* into Partnership of his Kingdom, I cannot say: But take it either way, and the Time of *Lacedæmon*'s Birth must prove *Jupiter* to have lived in these Times. If *Lacedæmon* was taken Partner with *Eurotas* in his Kingdom A. M. 2489, he might be a young Man, when thus admitted to reign with him, perhaps not 30, and so might be born about A. M. 2460, and this Year falls 16 Years before *Jupiter*'s Expediti-

(y) Apollod. Bib. l. 3. c. 10. Hygin. Fab. 155. Pausan. in Laconic. c. 1. (a) Marm. Arundell. Ep. 8.

(b) Ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐπιγράμματος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου Λακωνικῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐστὶν ἡ Χρονικὴ ἑορταστικὴ Ἰστορία Ἰστορικῶν Μνημῶν. Marmor. ibid.

on to *Arcadia*: If the *Epoch* rather belongs to *Eurotas*, than to *Lacedæmon's* Reign, *Lacedæmon* still must have been born about the Time above mentioned, tho' he waited some Years, and was of riper Age, when *Eurotas* left him his Kingdom(c): 6. *Bacchus* was Son of *Jupiter* and of *Semele*, Daughter of *Cadmus*(d): Now *Cadmus* came to *Thebes*, A.M. 2486 (e): *Cadmus* did not marry *Harmonia* the Mother of *Semele* until after he was settled there (f): *Apollodorus* suggests 8 Years to have passed before he married (g): *Semele* born of these Parents could not be grown up for *Jupiter*, until above 20 Years after: Suppose her 21 when *Jupiter* fell in love with her, and we shall fix the Time of this Amour to about 30 Years after *Cadmus* came to *Thebes*, to A. M. 2516. *Jupiter* was now an old Man; for his Son *Mars* was grown up, and tried, as has been said, before the Court of *Areopagus*, 43 Years before this Time: *Jupiter* therefore must now have been above 90, perhaps about 95; an Age, we may think, too advanced for so gay an Amour; but

(c)—Ἐυρώτας, ὅτε ᾗ, ἐν ὄντων αὐτῷ παίδων ἀρρέτων, βασιλεύων καταλείπει Λακεδαιμόνα. Pausan. in Lacon. c. 1. (d) Hygin. Fab. 155. Apollod. Bibl. l. 3. c. 4. Diodor. Sic. l. 3. p. 186. l. 4. p. 147. (e) See Vol. II. B. 8. (f) Diodor. Sic. l. 4. p. 147. (g) Apollod. Bibl. l. 3. c. 4. p. 157.

we must recollect the Length of Men's Lives in these Ages, and consider, that when *Moses*, who was *Jupiter's* contemporary died at 120 Years of Age, he had not lived until either *his Eye was dim*, or *his natural Force abated* (b). And thus we find Reason to imagine *Jupiter* to have been about 95 Years old A. M. 2516, *i. e.* in the third Year after the *Israelites Exit* out of *Egypt*, and consequently, that he was born about A. M. 2421; that he was about 52, when his Son *Mars* was tried at *Athens*; about 55, when he made his Expedition into *Arcadia*; about 48, when he courted the Mother of *Epaphus*, and about 38, when he addressed *Taygete*, of whom was born *Lacedæmon*: And these Particulars are all so probable in themselves; so consistent with one another; and supported by concurrent Hints from such different Writers, that instead of imagining a Want of Proof of the Times of *Jupiter*, we have rather Reason to be surprized, that so many, such reasonable and concurring Intimations, can be picked up, to fix with any Appearance of Probability, the *Epoch* of a Man, whose whole Life and Actions have been for Ages disguised, by an almost infinite Heap of Fable blen-

(b) Deut. xxxiv. 7.

ded with them, not to mention the Defects of the ancient prophane History, and the thousands of Years that are between us and him.

I know of nothing that can be objected to the placing *Jupiter* in this Age, but some Accounts we have in the *Mythological* Writers of Persons said to be descended from him, who lived Ages later. Thus *Jupiter* is said to be the Father of *Hercules*, born of *Alcmena* Wife of *Ambitryon* (b), of *Castor* and *Pollux* born of *Leda* Wife of *Tyndareus* (bj), of *Perseus* born of *Danae* Daughter of *Acrisius* (i), of *Æacus* the Father of *Telemachus* and *Peleus* (k), of *Arceus* the Ancestor of *Ulysses* (l), and of many others: Now if he really was the Father of any of these Persons, he must have lived about three Generations only before the Trojan War: *Perseus* was indeed about five Descents before that Expedition; but the other Heroes I have named, were Grandfathers or Contemporaries with the Grandfathers or Fathers of the Warriors at *Troy*. But let us observe, that the *Mythologists* recorded many of their Heroes to be descended of the Gods, tho' other Persons were their real Parents: Thus *Autolycus* was said to be the Son of *Mercury*, when in truth *Dædalion* was

(b) Hyg. Fab. & al. (bj) Id. ibid. (i) Id. ibid.
 (k) Apollod. l. 3. Ovid. Metam. (l) Ovid. ibid.

his Father(m), and this happened either, 1. When an Hero had born the Name of one, who had lived Ages before him: In length of Time, the Father of the former came to be reputed the Father of the latter, both being taken for but one and the same Man. This was the Case of *Hercules*: There were two of that Name, one indeed a Son of *Jupiter*(n): He lived Ages before the Son of *Alcmena*(o); but the latter *Hercules* having copied after the illustrious Actions of the former, in length of Time both were taken for one and the same Person, and the History and Parentage of both ascribed to him(p), and a Fable was easily invented for the Wife of *Amphitryon*'s being with Child by *Jupiter*(q). Or, 2. When *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, *Mercury*, and the other Persons ranked with them, came to be deified, Princes and Rulers thought it not only an Honour, but good Policy, and conducive to the Management

(m) Ἀυτίλυκος—λεγόμενος δ' Ἐφοῦ παῖς εἶναι, Δαυδαλίανος ὃ ὦν τῷ ἀλκιδῆϊ λόγῳ Pausan. in Arcad.

(n) Diodor. l. 5. p. 236. (o) Ἡρακλῆα ἐκ Διὸς γεννῆσαι παμπόλλοις ἔτεσι πρῶτον τῷ γεννηθέντι ἔξ Ἀλκίμυνης. Id. ibid. (p) Τὸν δ' ἔξ Ἀλκίμυνης Ἡρακλῆα παιτελῶς νεώτερον οἶσα, καὶ ζήλωτι γινόμενον τῆς τῷ παλαιῷ περὶ αἰρέσεως, διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας τυχεῖν τε τῆς ἀθανασίας, καὶ χεῖρων ἐγγειομένων, διὰ τὴν ὀμωκυρίαν τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὰς τῷ πρῶτον προξείας εἰς ἑαυτὸν μεταπεσεῖν, ἀγνοοῦντων τῶν πολλῶν τ' ἀλκιδῆς. Id. ibid.

(q) Vid. Apoll. Bibl. l. 2. c. 4.

of their Affairs, to derive their Pedigree from some of them. *Alexander* the Great would have done it in his Day (*r*), and Reasons of State were his Motives to it (*s*), and *Arrian* thought him to have as good a Title to it as the more ancient Heroes (*t*), and if the Matters were rightly considered, not to be blamed for attempting it (*u*): It raised them high in the common Estimation, and they were reputed to have the greater Influence, Powers, and Protection, the greater the God was they could derive their Descent from (*w*); thus *Pausanias* thought that he might assert, that the Son of *Phobroneus* would never have been esteemed equal to the Son of *Niobe*, upon a Supposition that *Jupiter* was *Niobe's* Son's Father (*x*), and this was *Homer's* Reason for

(*r*) *Arrian*. de Exped. Alex. l. 4. *Plutarch*. in Alexand. Quint. Curt. l. 5. (*s*) Illud penè dignum Risu fuit, quod *Hermolaus* postulat à me, ut averfaret Jovem, cujus oraculo agnoscor.—Obtulit nomen Filii mihi: recipere ipsis Rebus quas agimus haud alienum fuit: Utinam Indi quoq; Deum esse me credant: Famà enim Bella constant, et sepe etiam, quod falsò creditum est, veri vicem obtinuit. *Curtius*. l. 8. § 8. (*t*) *Arrian*. l. 7. p. 504. (*u*) ὅτι ὅς τις θεὸν τῶν γενέσιν τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναφέρει, εἰδὲ τὸτο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ εἶναι πλημμέλημα, εἰ μὴ καὶ σόφισμα ἢν τυχὸν ἐς τὰς ὑποκρίσεις τὰ σεμνὰ ἔνεκα. *Arrian*. ibid.

(*w*) ————— χαλεπὸν τοι εἰσιθεῖος Κρείωνος Παισὶν ἐειζήμεναι Ποταμοῖο. περ ἐκγεγαῶτι. Τῶ κρείων μὲν Ζεὺς Ποταμῶν ἀλιμυρήνεται, Κρείων δ' αὐτὲ Διὸς γενεῇ Ποταμοῖο τέτυκ'.

Hom. II. c. v. 184.

(*x*) Ἐγὼ δ' εὖ οἶδα ὡς ἐκ ἔμελλεν ὁ παῖς αὐτῶν Νιόβης παιδί Ἰσα οἰσεῖσθαι, Διὸς τε εἶναι δοκῶντι. *Pausan.* in Corinthiac. c. 34.

Asteropæus not being able to cope with *Achilles*: *Asteropæus* was said to be the Descendant of a River-God only, but *Achilles*'s Pedigree was deduced from *Jupiter* (γ): It is easy to imagine, that when these Opinions were in Repute, Kings and Governours would be fond of ennobling themselves by the Divinity of their Ancestors, and they might find it no hard matter to succeed in their Claims, when their Statesmen and Officers in the highest Employments might think Pretences of this Sort, how ill-grounded soever, yet capable of promoting the public good, by the Effect they might have upon both Prince and People (ε): Their *Vates* or their Oracles could secure them their Title (α), or History and Genealogies being but little known in these Times, it was easy to insert a God at the Head of a Family, and there might be no Necessity

(γ) Homer. ubi sup. (ε) Utile esse civitatibus, ut se viri fortes, etiam si falsum sit, ex Diis genitos esse credant: ut eo modo animus humanus, velut divinæ stirpis fiduciam gerens, res magnas aggrediendas presumat audacius, agat vehementius, et ob hoc impleat ipsas securitate felicius. *Varro in Fragment.* p. 45. Λεγέσθω γὰρ τὸν ἄριστον ὁ λόγος ἀληθείᾳ χρημένος, ὡς ὁσάν τιν' ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀλλ' ὅτις ἀρχαὶ θεῶν, καὶ ἐστὶ κερδὴν αὐτοῖσι ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν ἀειψόξων. *Plato de legib.* l. 4. p. 830. Edit. Vicin. (α) Οὐδὲ ζῶντι Ἡρακλεῖ θεοῦ τιμὴν ἐθέτοισιν. ἢ τὴν τελευτήσαντι παρ' ὧν ἢ πρὸς τὰ θεῶν ἐν Διὶ οὐδὲ σπῆσαι τιθῆναι ὡς θεῶν τιμὴν Ἡρακλῆα. *Arrian. de Expedic. Alex.* l. 4.

of going far back to do it with Security, and some Families were so fortunate, as to be divine this way by both Parents; *Ulysses's* Descendants shone with this double Lustre (*b*). Or 3. The Gods were introduced into Families, to preserve their Honour, to prevent the Infamy of their Ancestors coming down to Posterity. Thus *Tyro* the Daughter of *Salmonus* had two Children before she married, namely *Pelias* and *Nelus* the Father of *Nestor* (*c*), she loved to walk upon the Banks of *Enipeus* (*d*), but we are not told, who the Gallant was, she so often met there: When she came to be delivered, she took care to be in private (*e*), and got rid of the Children in the best manner she could (*f*), and was afterwards reputably married (*g*); thus she behaved in every step, like a Person sensible of having exposed her self to Infamy, but desirous to avoid it. Posterity derived Honour to her Descendants from the Accident: *Neptune* was said to have been in Love with her, and in the Shape of the River *Enipeus* to have been the Father of her two

(b) Nam mihi Laertes Pater est, Arcefus illi,

Jupiter huic—

Est quoq; per matrem Cyllenius addita nobis

Altera nobilitas: Deus est in utroq; Parente.

Ovid. Metam.

(c) Apollod. Bibl. l. i. c. 9.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Ibid.

αὐτὰ κριτὰ δίδυμους. ibid.

(f) Παιδες ἐν κρημα---

ibid.

(g) Id. ibid.

Children (*b*). Thus again *Danae* the Daughter of *Acrisius* play'd the Harlot with *Prætus* (*i*), and her Father enraged at the Dishonour done his Family, would admit of no Excuse for her Misbehaviour, but expos'd at Sea both her and the Infant (*k*): In After-ages a Fable was sufficient to clear her Character: *Jupiter* was said to have been the Father of her Child, and to have wrought a Miracle to gain Access to her (*l*): The *Greeks* were not Historians in the early Times, and when their Poets and *Mythologists* began to dip into the Registries of Families, it would not have been born to have had the Vices of the Ancestors of the Great brought into open View, especially when Writers of *Genius* could readily, from the *Theology* then in Vogue and the Fable of the Age, find a reputable and secure Cover for them: And one or other of these Reasons may evidently be assign'd for the Instances to be met with of any of the reputed Gods of the Heathens being engag'd in Gallantries with the Ladies of later Ages, than about the Times of *Moses*, and in particular for the several Pretences of *Jupiter's* having Descendants later than can be consistent with the Time of Life above suppos'd to belong to him.

(*b*) Apollod. Bibl. l. 1. c. 9.
 (*k*) Ibid. (*l*) Ibid.

(*i*) Id l. 2. c. 4.

There is, I think, one Instance, which should not be intirely passed over without taking notice of it: It would place *Jupiter* not later, but a great deal earlier than his true Age. *Jupiter* is said to have been the Father of *Argus* by *Niobe* Daughter of *Phoroneus* (m). This *Argus* succeeded *Phoroneus*, and was King of *Argos* (n), and he began to reign there 110 Years after the first Year of *Inachus* (o) i. e. A. M. 2264 (p), which are 169 Years before the Birth of *Moses*; so that to suppose *Jupiter* to be the Father of this *Argus*, would be to place him above a Century and half earlier than the Times we have contended for: I might observe, that the most exact Writers took this Account of *Argus's* Descent to be rather common Opinion than real Fact (q): But there were two *Argus's*, one a King of *Argos*, who reigned there Ages before *Jupiter* was born; the other was surnamed *Panoptes*, and lived in *Jupiter's* Times, and *Juno* is said to have committed *Io* to his Custody (r), but neither of them were descended from *Jupiter*: The former *Argus* was the Son of *Arestor*, and hence *Ovid* was probably led into a Mis-

(m) Hygin. Fab. 155. (n) Apollod. Bibl. 1. 2. c. 1.
 (o) Vid. Castor. in Euseb. Chronic. (p) For the first
 Year of *Inachus's* Reign was A. M. 2154. See Vol. II.
 B. 6. (q) Vid. Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 22. c. 34.
 (r) Apollod. ubi sup.

take, to think *Panoptes Argus*, whom he calls *Arestorides* (s), the Son of this Parent. *Arestor* married *Inachus's* Daughter (t), and by her had *Argus*, who upon *Phoroneus* leaving no Son (u), succeeded to his Kingdom. The latter *Argus* was Son of *Aganor*, the Son (w), or perhaps Brother (x) of *Jafus*: *Jafus*, as has been said, was Father of *Io*, one of *Jupiter's* Concubines; so that this *Argus* and *Jupiter* were indeed Contemporaries; tho' *Argus* was not descended from him. We must expect to meet some seeming *Contrarieties* in the Genealogies of these Times (y): But whoever will search may find such a Concurrence in the Accounts of so many different Families, for the placing *Jupiter* where we have supposed him, and the Solution is so easy of most, if not of all, that can be offered to contradict it; that if this of *Argus* or any other single Instance could not be clearly refuted, yet it would not weigh against the Number that agrees to it.

When *Jupiter* succeeded his Father in his Kingdom, he found his People in some measure disposed for civil Life. *Saturn* had reduced them to some Regularity,

(s) Ovid. *Metam.* l. 1. v. 627. *Arifloridæ fervandam tradidit Argo.* (t) Pausan. in *Corinth.* c. 10. (u) Id. c. 34. (w) Apollod. *Bibl.* l. 2. c. 1. (x) Pausan. in *Corinth.* c. 10. (y) Οἱ μὲν ὃ Ἑλλάδας λόγους διαφέρει τὰ ἄλλα, ἢ ἔχ' ἕκαστα ἐπὶ τοῖς γένεσιν αὐτῶν. Pausan. in *Arcad.* c. 55.

both of Diet and of Manners(*z*): Rites of religious Worship were instituted, and Rules thought of to promote the Peace of Society (*a*): Care had been taken to form their Language and their Sentiments (*b*), and by these means a Sense of Duty to their Gods, and a good Understanding, and Spirit of Justice and Integrity were promoted amongst them towards one another (*c*), and all this *Saturn* had done, not by Rigour of Power and Compulsion, not by Laws established with penal Sanctions (*d*), without Magistrates to enforce his Dictates (*e*), or to execute Vengeance upon, or restrain Offenders. He had trained them to a Simplicity of Manners, and they were led by the Influence and Authority of his Direction only, to pursue and practise what he dictated for the publick good, (*f*), and the great Peace and

(*z*) Τὰς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπους ἔξ ἀγέλης διαίτης εἰς εἶον ἕμεσιν μεταστήσαι. Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 231. (*a*) Μαρτείας καὶ θυσίας καὶ θεσμῶν τὰς περὶ τῶν θεῶν εἰσηγήσασθαι, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀνομίας καὶ εἰρήνης καταδείξαι. Id. *ibid.* (*b*) Λογισμῶν ὁρᾶν, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀνομιῶν θέσεις. Id. p. 232. (*c*) Εἰσηγήσασθαι ἅπανσι πῶς τε δικαιοσύνην, καὶ τῆς ἀπλοῦς τῆς ψυχῆς. Id. *ibid.*

(*d*) Sponte suâ sine Lege fidem rectumq; colebat,

Pœna metusq; aberant; nec vincla minantia ferro

Ære ligabantur—————

Ovid. *Metam.*

(*e*) ————— nec supplex Turba timebat

Judicis ora sui, sed erant sine Judice tuti. Id. *ibid.*

(*f*) Διὰ τὴν ἁπλοῦς τῆς ἀνομίας, ἀδικήματα μὲν μηδὲν ὄλος ὑπὸ μηδενὸς συντελεσθῆναι, πάσης δὲ τῆς ὑπὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τότε τεταγμένης μακάριον εἶον ἐξῆκόντος τάσεως ἡδονῆς ἀνεμπόδιστος ἀπολαύσεως. Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 231.

Quiet, Ease and Content in which they lived, sensible of no Wants, but what they had a Supply for, induced Posterity to call their Times the golden Age (a). When *Jupiter* became King, he brought in a new Scene of Life and Action: He taught his People to build Houses (b); to gather Corn, which till then had grown wild amongst the other Fruits of the Earth (c); and to preserve and use it for Food, and afterwards to sow and reap it in its Season (d): He introduced a Sense of Property, appointed Magistrates to dispense Justice, and directed his Subjects to bring their Differences and Disputes before them, and to submit to their Determinations (e): Under his Encouragement, the Arts of working divers Sorts of Me-

(a) Ovid. *Metam.* Hesiod. Ἔργ. κ' Ἡμερ' Diodor. ubi sup. (b) Τὸν ἐπιπύρον καλασιδάμῳ δ' ἔργον. Diodor.

Tum primum subiere domos, domus antra fuerunt,
Et densi frutices, et junctæ cortice virgæ.

Ovid. *Métam.*

(c) Diodor. l. 5. p. 232. *In Saturn's Days.*

Contenti cibis nullo cogente creatis,
Arbutos fetus montanaq; fraga legebant,
Cornaque, et in duris harentia mora rubetis,
Et quæ deciderant patula Jovis arbore glandes. Ovid.

(d) Καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑργασίαν αὐτοῖς [Σίτε], καὶ σουλακῶ ἐπιπύρον, καὶ σπάρρον καταδείξαι. Diodor. ubi sup.

Semina tum primum longis Cerealia sulcis
Obruta sunt. Ovid.

(e) Πρῶτον μὲν ἢ ἀπόντων καταδείξαι περὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τὸ δίκαιον ἀλλήλοις διδόναι τὰς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὰ ἕκαστα περὶ τῶν ἀποσπῆσαι. κείτοι δ' καὶ δικασθεῖν τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις διαλύσαι. Diod. p. 233.

tals were attempted (*f*), Arms were invented for a Soldiery, and Men were trained and disciplined for War (*g*): Shooting with the Bow was much practised (*h*), Improvements were made in Navigation (*i*), and Endeavours used for the taming and managing of Horses (*k*): Rules were agreed upon for the nursing and educating of Children (*l*), Musick and Physick were considerably advanced (*m*), and decent Rites appointed for the Funerals of the Dead (*n*): And thus by a Variety of useful Designs he was adding Strength and Beauty, Ornament and Politeness to his Kingdom; for the Increase of which he in the next Place attempted a Correspondence with foreign States, and to this End assigned to one of his Sons the Office of Embassies, and made him his He-

(*f*) Λέγουσιν ἄρετῶν γενέσθαι τὴν περὶ τὸν σίδηρον ἐργασίας ἀπάσης καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν χαλκὸν καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα τῶν ἐν τῷ πυρὶ ἐργασίαν ἐπιδέχεται. Diodor. l. 5. 235. (g) Πρῶτον κατασκευάσαι

παροπλίαι, καὶ στρατιώτας καθοπλίσαι, καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαῖς ἐναγώνιον εὐέργειαν ἐσηγήσασθαι. Id. *ibid.*

(*h*) Ἐυρετῶν δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν γενόμενον διδάξαι τὸς εἰσχωεῖς τὰ περὶ τῶν τοξέων. Id. *ibid.* (i) Πρῶτον χρή-

σασθαι ταῖς κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργασίας. Id. p. 233.

(*k*) Περσάπεισι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ τὸς ἵππους δαμάσαι πρῶτον. *Ibid.* (l) Ἐυρεῖν τῶν τῶν νηπίων παιδίων θραπείαν. p. 235.

(*m*) Τῆς κηδείας ἄρετὴν ἀναγορεύσει, καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτῶν μουσικῆς ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἰατρικῶν ἐπισήμων ἐξενεφέων. *Ibid.* (n) Λέγεται τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφάς καὶ τὰς ἐκφορὰς καὶ τιμὰς τῶν τεθνεώτων καταδείξαι, τὸν περὶ τὸ χεῖρον, μεμερίαις ὕψους ἐπιμελείας περὶ αὐτῶν.

Ibid.

rald to proclaim Peace or War, and to conduct his Treaties and Alliances with the neighbouring Kingdoms (o). These were the Arts, by which *Jupiter* endeavoured to cultivate his People; tho' we must not imagine that any of them were in his Days carried up to a Perfection, like what they were brought to in After-ages, nor that so many and such divers Designs could be at once set on foot by him. The Persons, that are recorded to have been Assistant to him, and to have presided in their respective Provinces over the Designs committed to their Management, were *Neptune* and *Pluto* his Brothers, *Juno* his Wife, *Vesta* and *Ceres* his Sisters, *Vulcan*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, *Venus*, *Diana*, and *Minerva* his Children (p), and afterwards *Bacchus* became the Author of Inventions, which caused his Name to be added to them (q): *Jupiter* must have been of Years of Maturity, before he could be ripe for the forming such a Kingdom as he projected, and consequently his Children must be grown up

(o) πρὸ ἢ προσέλαβον τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις γυμνάσιον ἀπικερυαίας καὶ διαλλαγὰς καὶ σπονδὰς. Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 236. (p) Id. p. 233—236. (q) Διὸς υἱὸς ὁ μυθολογᾷσιν ἀρετῶν γενεῶν τὴν ἀμύλην καὶ τὴν εὐκαταστάτην ἐργασίας, ἐστὶ δὲ ὁμοτιμία, καὶ τὰς πολλὰς τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπάρας νοσηρῶν ἐπιδησιάζων, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ τὰς τεσσάρων παρέχων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ ἀρετῇ γυμνῶν. Id. p. 236.

for the Employments he designed them; and we must imagine him not to have assigned them their Provinces, and consequently the Arts, which they were the Directors of, not to have been remarkably advanced, until they were of Age to cultivate and conduct them; and if we examine, we may find, that a due Time for all these particulars may be very well pointed out in the Term of *Jupiter's* Life, as we have above settled it. *Pluto* one of *Jupiter's* Brothers was appointed not only to direct what Rites and Ceremonies should be used at Funerals, but also to declare what Honours should be paid to Persons deceased (*r*), in order to convey their Names, according to their Deserts, down to Posterity. And as *Jupiter* took care himself to settle the Measure of his own Fame (*s*), and of the illustrious (*t*) Persons engaged with him in the Execution of his Designs, as well as to determine, what sort of Honours should be decreed to those who should come after them (*u*), it might well happen, that *Jupiter* and his Associates should come down to After-ages in a Degree of

(*r*) Λέγεται τιμὰς τῶν τεθνεώτων καταδύξαι. Id. p. 233. (*s*) Vid. Diodor. p. 234. (*t*) Eund. ibid. (*u*) Τὸν ἐν Δία. λέγεται, τοῖς ἀρίστοις τοῖς θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων, ἔτι ἢ ἀνδρῶν τὰς ἀξίας ἀποδίδμεν τιμὰς, &c. Diodor. p. 234.

Honour higher than what any that lived after them could attain to, or than what would be given to any of his Ancestors or other Contemporaries, he having thus settled both his own and their Fame in such manner and measure, as he and the Person under his Direction thought fit to record it. And from hence it might happen, that when the ancient *Greek* Heroes came to be reputed Gods, twelve only attained the highest Honours. They had their one common Altar at *Athens* (ω), and it was usual to swear by them (x); the *Romans* called them the *Di consentes* (y), which Word is supposed to mean the same as *consentientes*, and to intimate, that these Gods consulted and agreed together about what was to be done, and so, as has been hinted, the twelve *Cretan* Worthies did about their publick Institutions. The *Cretan* Worthies abovementioned were six Men and six Women, and thus the *Di consentes* were generally distinguished, as *Varro* suggests to us (z). *Ennius* has put the Names of the twelve *Di consentes* into the following *Distich*,

(ω) *Πιστὴ τοῦ ἑοῦς τῶν δωδεκα θεῶν.* Plut. in Nicia. p. 531. (x) *Μὰ τὰς δωδεκα θεῶς.* Aristoph. (y) Et quoniam (ut aiunt.) Dei facientes adjuvant, prius invocabo eos: nec ut Homerus et Ennius, Muſas, sed xii Deos consentes. *Varro de re Rusticâ* l. 1. c. 1. p. 3. (z) ---Eos urbanos, quorum Imagines ad Forum auratæ sicut, sex mares et foeminae totidem—*Id. ibid.*

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

and these are the very Names of the twelve illustrious Persons, by whose joint Endeavours the ancient *Cretan* (*aa*) Polity was formed. They were enrolled with, and subordinate to *Jupiter* their President, in the Roll of Fame, settled for him and them in the Age they lived in; and hence it came to pass, that when he in After-ages, came to have divine Honours paid to him, they also, next to him, were revered above other Deities.

We must not imagine, that *Jupiter* found a ready and universal Concurrence of all the *Cretans* to submit to his Institutions: Undoubtedly he met with many Oppositions, tho' in Time he surmounted all: This, I think, we may well imagine, from the Character of his Times handed down to us. He was at the Head of but the silver Age (*bb*): The Commotions that were in his Days, gave the

(*aa*) For *Juno* is the Person, whom *Diodorus* calls *Ἐιλέθυρα* or *Lucina*. *Ἐιλεθυραν ἢ λαβῶν σεὶ τὰς τίκτας σὰς ἐπιμέλειαν.* *Diodor.* p. 235. *Juno Lucina, fer opem.* *Ter. in Andriā. Act. 3. Scen. 1.*

(*bb*) *Sub Jove mundus erat, subitq; argentea Proles.*

Ovid. Metam.

Poets

Poets a Pretence to paint, in the best of Colours, the great Peace of his Father's Reign, when Wars and Fightings (a) were not heard of, and to say of *Jupiter's* Times, *that the former Days were better*, tho' they did not judge *wisely concerning this Matter* (b). After-ages felt still greater Troubles; so that *Jupiter's* Times were happier than what followed (c), tho' they were not thought to be without Alloy: The ancient Writers hint to us, that many of the Descendants of his Ancestors lived under his Government, or were in Alliance with him: The *Curetes*, who were descended from his Grandfather's Brother (d), lived with their Families in his Kingdom: Their Dwellings were in the Groves and shady Valleys: They were Shepherds and Managers of Cattle (e): He had part of his Education amongst them (f), and we may suppose them well affected to him, and ready to support him with all their Influence and Strength in executing the Designs, for which they in some measure

(a) *In Saturn's Reign,*

Non Tuba directu, non æris cornua flexi,

Non Galeæ, non Ensis erat, sine Militis usû:

Mollia securæ peragebant otia Gentes. *Ovid. Met.*

(b) *Eccles. vii. 10.* (c) *Tho' Jupiter's Age was thought to be auro deterior, yet it was sulvo pretiosior ære. Ovid. ubi sup.*

(d) *Diodor. l. 3. p. 136.*

(e) *Id. l. 5.*

p. 231.

(f) *Id. p. 233. Apollod. Bibl. l. 1. c. 1.*

had perhaps formed him (g): The *Centimani* lived, as I have observed, in *Tartarus* (h): They were in Alliance with *Jupiter*; for he sent his Captives in War to them, and they sent him out (i) of their Dominions such Persons as he might want, or could be of Service to him: The *Cyclopes* were his *Artificers*, and made him *Armour*, and *Instruments of War*, for his *Soldiery* (k): The only considerable Families that opposed him, were the *Titanes*, who were *Brothers* of his Father *Saturn* (l), and their *Dependants*, and the Children of *Ops*, who were the *Giants* of their Age and Country (m): With the *Titanes*, we are told, he had a ten Years War (n); but that at length he took them Prisoners, and sent them to *Tartarus* (o): *Diodorus Siculus* gives an excellent Character of these Men (p), and *Homer* feigns them to have

(g) *The Pastoral Life was in high Esteem in the early Times, and it was thought not foreign to the Education of a Prince, for him to be in some measure acquainted with the Arts of it.* Xenophon says, Πασταλιοντα εργα ειναι νομεως αγαθη η βασιλιος αγαθη. τιντε γδ νομια χριτω, τον δεδαιμοια τα εβηη ποιοντα χριτω αυτοις, τιντε βασιλια σταυλω δεδαιμοιας πολεις η ανθρωπος ποιησε χριτω αυτοις. Xenoph. de Institut. Cyri l. 8. (h) Vid. que sup. (i) Apoll. l. 1. c. 2. (k) Ibid. (l) Diodor. p. 131. Apoll. l. 1. (m) Apollod. l. 1. c. 6. (n) Apoll. l. 1. c. 2. (o) Ibid. (p) — ὄνδεκατον τινων ὄρετην γενέδω τοις ανθρωποις, η δια την ει σταλιε δεργεσιαν τυχειν τιμων η μημενε αυταυ. Diodor. p. 231.

become

become the Gods of the Country (*q*) into which they were thus sent as Captives: *Pausanias* indeed remarks, that *Homer* was the first that said this of them (*r*); but probably he might be led to it by some Opinion of their having been useful Persons in the Place they lived in, agreeable to what *Diodorus* afterwards thought of them: When the *Titanes* were no longer able to head the Opposition, *Jupiter* soon composed Matters with their Children: He married several of their Daughters; and their Sons removed out of *Crete*, and planted Kingdoms in other Lands. With the Giants *Jupiter* had several Engagements: These Men would not be tied down to any social Laws; They took for their Subsistence what the Earth afforded, where-ever they could find it, and the Improvements made in *Jupiter's* Dominions invited them to frequent Incurfions, to plunder the Inhabitants: They would come under no Direction of *Jupiter's* Appointments for the Preservation of Property; but took away from those, who lived near their Dwel-

(*q*) ———— Θεὸς δ' ἄβριμπεν ἅπαντας
Τὸς ὑποταρταρέυς, οἱ Τιτῆνες καλεῖνται.

li. ξ. v. 279.

(*r*) Τιτῆνας ἢ πρῶτος εἰς ποίησιν ἐπέγαγεν Ὀμηροῦ, θεὸς ἵναί σφᾶς ὑπὸ τῷ καλεμίν Ταρταρῷ. *Paulan.* in *Arcad.* c. 37.

lings, whatever they had a (*a*) mind to; so that there could be no publick Safety, until a stop could be put to this Licentiousness, which in a little Time was effected by the Deaths of these Men, who were all slain by *Jupiter* and his Associates (*b*).

When *Jupiter* had settled his Affairs in *Crete*, he and his Worthies obtained themselves great Fame in foreign Lands: *Diodorus* says, they travelled over almost all the World (*c*); but their visiting the Cities and States of *Greece* was enough to cause this Report of them: There were several Kingdoms growing up in these Countries at this Time; but the political Arts were here but in their Infancy, and so great a Master of them as *Jupiter*, from what has been said of him, must appear to have been, may very well be supposed to be capable of instructing others in many Points conducive to their public Welfare: He and his Agents were at all Times ready to assist, with their Persons or Advice, any Kingdom that thought fit to apply to them, and they always acquitted themselves so honourably, to the several States that had made

(*a*) Σώματος ὑπόστασις ἢ ῥώμης πεποιθότας καταδεδῶσθαι μὲν πλεῖστοις χώροις, ἀπειθεῖν δὲ τῷ δικαίῳ τιθεμένῳ νόμῳ. *Diod.* l. 5. p. 234. (*b*) *Apollod. Biblioth.* l. 1. c. 6. (*c*) Ἐπελθεῖν τῷ δικαίῳ νόμῳ ἔπειτα. *Diodor.* l. 5. p. 234.

them Application, and were so signally useful and beneficial to them, that a great Sense of the good they had done went down to Posterity, and in After-ages when they were deified, each City took for its tutelar Divinity some one of these *Cretans*, him or her, to whom their Ancestors had been obliged in this manner: And this is what *Apollodorus* suggests to us: He says the Gods chose their Cities, in which each was to have their particular Honours (*d*); and thus *Minerva* became the Deity of the *Athenians* (*e*), *Juno* of *Samos* (*f*) and others of them the Gods of other Cities: I would observe that the Time, which *Apollodorus* fixes for this Choice of their favourite Cities, suits exactly with the Age in which we place *Jupiter*: He says it was in the Days of *Cecrops* (*ff*), probably a little before his Death, about A. M. 2472 (*g*). *Neptune* and *Minerva* went at this Time to *Attica*, but they differed when they came there in their Advice to the *Athenians*: *Neptune* thought their Situation ought to direct them to Sea-affairs: *Minerva* was for having them lay the Foundation of

(*d*) Ἐδοξε τοῖς θεοῖς πόλεις καθ' ἑκάστην, ἐν αἷς ἕμελλον ἔχειν τιμὰς ἰδίαις ἑκάστου. Apollod. 1. 3. c. 13.
 (*e*) Id. ibid. Plutarch. Sympos. 1. 9. Qu. 6. (*f*) Plutarch. ibid. (*ff*) Apoll. ubi sup. (*g*) *Cecrops* died A. M. 2473. See Vol. II. B. 8.

their Prosperity upon other Arts: We are told that *Neptune* and *Minerva* were so warm in this Contest, that *Jupiter* came over to decide it (*b*); and that *Minerva's* Advice was at length agreed to be taken, and thus *Athens* came to be reputed to be her City (*i*). *Mars* at this time was probably amongst other Attendants upon *Jupiter*, as *Halirrothius* the Son of *Neptune* might come with his Father: *Agraulos* one of the Daughters of *Cecrops* was given to *Mars* to be his Wife, and *Halirrothius* attempted to force her, upon which *Mars* killed him (*k*), and this was the Crime for which *Mars* was tried in the Court of *Areopagus* A. M. 2473 (*l*), and thus as to Time, the several Hints we have of the Lives and Actions of these Men do perfectly well agree to what is above fixed for the *Epoch* of them.

About the Year of the World 2476, *Jupiter*, as has been before hinted, made an Expedition into *Arcadia*: *Lycaon* was King there, a Prince of some Fame, and surrounded with a numerous Offspring (*m*), but of most savage Manners: He shed human Blood at his Sacrifices (*n*): He re-

(*b*) Apollod. ubi sup. (*i*) Id. ibid. (*g*) Apollod. ibid.
 (*l*) Id. ibid. Marm. Arundell. Ep. 3. See Vol. II. B. 8.
 (*m*) Pausan. in Arcadicis. Apollod. Bibl. l. 3. c. 8.
 (*n*) Id. ibid.

ceived *Jupiter* with an Appearance of Hospitality, but at the Entertainment the Body of a Child was served up to the Table (o): *Jupiter* moved at the sight of such a Preparation, with the Help of his Attendants attacked *Lycaon* (p): *Lycaon* is said to have been turned into a Wolf (q), and some learned Writers have imagined, that a frantic Madness seized him, and that he died of a Distemper, that might countenance this Fiction (r): I should rather think, that he fell by the Hand of (s) *Jupiter*, and that the Fable of his being turned into a Wolf was invented Ages after his Death. By an Hint we have in *Pausanias*, it looks as if the *Arcadians* did not leave off their barbarous Custom of eating human Flesh, at the Death of *Lycaon*; for he tells us of a Man, some Years after *Lycaon*, who was turned into a Wolf for ten Years, upon his partaking of a Banquet of human Flesh; and adds, that if in that ten Years he had not entirely abstained from such Food, he must have continued a Wolf all his Life after (t): *Plato* treats the Representation of this Person being turned into a

(o) Pausan. in Arcad. Apol. ibid. (p) Apollod. ubi sup.
 (q) Pausan. ubi sup. (r) The learned Writers who were
 of this Opinion, are cited by the present Lord Bishop of Dur-
 ham, in his most excellent Vindication of his Defence of
 Christianity, p. 25. (s) Vid. Apollod. (t) Pau-
 san. in Arcad. c. 2.

Wolf as a Fable, and moralizes it to express his having been a Tyrant, such an one being indeed as a Wolf to his People (*u*). In Length of Time the *Arcadians* extinguished from amongst their People the savage Appetite abovementioned; and perhaps the Method by which they reformed them was by an annual Commemoration of the Benefits they had received from the Hands of *Jupiter*. In After-ages they erected an Altar to him by the Name of *Lycæus*, and instituted the *Lupercalia* to his Honour, and when they performed the Services appointed at this Solemnity, perhaps the Barbarities of *Lycaon*, and of some other Person, who was afterwards for ten Years not unlike him, might be recited to the People in such a manner as to occasion the Fable, that was told afterwards of both of them. *Pausanias*, as well as *Apollodorus*, imagined *Jupiter* to have really been a Deity at the Time of these Transactions (*w*): *Pausanias* supposes *Lycaon* himself to have at this time been a Worshipper of *Jupiter*; that he had dedicated the Altar, and instituted the *Lupercalia* (*x*): But the Marble suggests a more probable Time for the Rise both of the Games and Altar; namely, in the

(*u*) Plato de Repub. l. 8. p. 724.
Arcadic. Apollod. Bibli. l. 3. c. 8.

(*w*) Pausan. in
(*x*) Ibid.

Reign of *Pandion* the Son of the second *Cecrops*, who was King of *Athens* above 200 Years after the Times of *Lycaon* (y): *Pausanias* and *Apollodorus* had neither of them formed a true Judgment of the Progress of the Heathen Idolatries, nor were they apprized, that the *Greeks* did not worship Heroe-Gods in these Ages; but that the *Elements* and *Lights* of Heaven were at this Time the Objects of their Devotion (z): *Jupiter* himself paid his Worship to these Gods: He offered his Sacrifices to the Sun, to the Heaven, and to the Earth (a); so that it must be impossible, that whilst *Jupiter* was alive, and known to be but a mortal Man, and was himself a Worshipper of Divinities of a superior Nature, any King or People whatever could imagine him a God, and erect Altars and offer Sacrifices to him. We cannot at this distance of Time form any certain Judgment of the then State of the *Arcadians*: But from the Stay *Jupiter* made in this Country, from the appearing good Understanding between him and *Lycaon's* Children, and from

(y) Marmor. Arundell. Ep. 18. (z) φαίνοσθαι μὲν εἶναι τὸν τῶν ἀθεωμένων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλὰδα τῶντες μὲν θεὸς ἡγάσθαι, ὅσπερ τῶν πολλοὶ τῶν βασιλέων, ἡλίον, καὶ σελήνην, καὶ γῆν, καὶ ἀέρα, καὶ ἕρως. Plat. in Cratyllo. (a) Περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς τῶν ἡρώων τῶν ἐν Κρήτῃ, λεγόμενα τῶν Δία ὄντων ἡλίω καὶ ἀερῶ καὶ γῆ. Diodor. l. 5. p. 234.

the Honour which the *Arcadians* paid to his Memory in After-ages, we may justly imagine, that *Lycaon's* Cruelties had made both his Children and Subjects weary of him; that they were all ripe for a Revolt, and that *Jupiter* found it no hard matter to deliver his Subjects out of his Hand, and to settle their Affairs to their universal Satisfaction. *Apollodorus* indeed reports all the Sons of *Lycaon*, except *Nyctimus*, to have been killed by *Jupiter* (b); but from *Pausanias* this appears not to have been Fact; for after *Lycaon's* Death they separated into divers Parts of the Country, and built each his City, except *Oenotrus*, who went away with a Colony into *Italy* (c). *Nyctimus* succeeded *Lycaon* in his Kingdom (d), and *Jupiter* stayed some time with him, and probably assisted him in the settling his Affairs, and during his Stay courted *Callisto* Sister of *Nyctimus* (e), of whom was born *Arcas*, who, at the Death of *Nyctimus*, was made King of *Arcadia* (f).

Jupiter and his whole Family were at *Thebes* in *Bœotia* at the Wedding of *Cadmus* (g). *Jupiter* then gave *Harmonia* to *Cadmus* to be his Wife; for *Harmonia* was not the Daughter of *Mars* and *Ve-*

(b) Apollod. ubi sup. (c) Pausan. in Arcad. (d) Ibid.
 (e) Ibid (f) Pausan. et Apollod. (g) Apollod.
 l. 3. c. 4.

nus, as many of the ancient Writers suggest (*b*); but the Daughter of *Jupiter* and Sister of *Dardanus* (*i*): *Cadmus* married about 8 Years after he came to *Thebes* (*k*); so that his Wedding was celebrated about A. M. 2494, and in this Year therefore *Jupiter* and his *Cretan* Worthies made him this Visit: About one or two and twenty Years after, when *Semele*, who was born of this Marriage, was grown up, *Jupiter* came to *Thebes* again, and grew enamoured of *Semele*: The *Mythologists* say of *Semele*, that she wished to find *Jupiter's* Embraces such as *Juno* had experienced them (*l*): *Semele* was very young when *Jupiter* address'd her; but *Jupiter* was above ninety Years old (*m*): *Semele* might not be fond of the Disparity of his Years; but would have liked him better, if he had been no older than when he married *Juno*: However, she was with Child by him, and probably died of hard Labour at the Birth of *Bacchus*, and her being thus lost, and the Child preserved, added to some such

(*b*) Apollod. l. 3. c. 4. Pausan. in Bœotic. c. 5. Hygin. Fab. 148. (i) Vid. Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 223.
 (*k*) Vid. Apollod. l. 3. c. 4. (l) Vid. Diodor. Sic. l. 3. p. 138.

Qualem Saturnia, dixit,
 Te solet amplecti, Veneris cum secdus initis,
 Da mihi te talem————— Ovid. Metam.
 (*m*) Vid. quæ sup.

Story, as I have suggested, about the Difference between her Age and *Jupiter's*, was ground enough for the *Mythologists* to invent all they offer about the Death of *Semele*, and the Birth of the *Grecian Bacchus* (n).

We are not told how long *Jupiter* lived, nor who succeeded him in his *Cretan* Dominions; and I am apt to imagine, that when he died, no one Person became King of the whole Island: The *brafen* Age came next after the silver *Times* of *Jupiter* (ff); an Age of great Wars and Commotions in the then known World (gg): Colonies about this Time marched from many Countries to find Settlements; and *Crete* seems to have been invaded by some of them (bb), and not to have been united again under one Head until the Days of *Minos* (ii): and the unsettled State the Island might come into by this new Scene, might occasion a Failure of its History as to the Deaths of *Jupiter*, and the illustrious Persons who had acted with him; tho' the Records of their great Exploits settled before their Deaths might come down to all Posterity. After-ages took *Jupiter* for a God, nay for the supreme God of both Hea-

(n) Diodor. ubi sup.
"Εργ. 2) Ημερ. lib. 1.
Sic. l. 5. p. 238.

Ovid. Metam.
(gg) Ibid.
(ii) Ibid.

(ff) Hesiod.
(bb) Diodor.

ven and Earth (*o*), and when these Notions of him took place, whatever Memoirs there might have been found of his having once been a mere Man, would of course be disregarded, and in Time lost: The *Cretans* pretended, that they had in their Country the Tomb of *Jupiter* (*p*); but *Callimachus* thought the Divinity of *Jupiter* to be a sufficient Confutation of all they had to offer about it: He says,

Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὧ ἀνα,
σείο
 Κρήτες ἐτεκλήναντο· σὺ δ' ἐδάνας, ἔσσι γὰρ
 αἰεὶ (*q*).

Whether the *Cretans* had really such a Monument as was pretended; or whether what the *Scholiast* writes, was the Fact, we cannot say: The *Scholiast* upon *Callimachus* remarks, that the Inscription of the Monument was originally ΜΙΝΩΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΤΑΦΟΣ. i. e. *The Tomb of Minos Son of Jupiter*; that Length of Time had worn out the Word ΜΙΝΩΟΣ, so that the remaining Part was only, ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΤΑΦΟΣ, or what we in *English* should render, *The*

(*o*) Vid. Hesiod. Homer. et al. (*p*) Cretensem, Saturni Filium, cujus in illâ Insulâ sepulchram ostenditur. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 21. (*q*) Callimach. Hymn. 1. in Jovem. v. 8.

Tomb of Jupiter, and that the unobserving Reader, not taking notice of the Word, which Time had defaced, took it for *Jupiter's Sepulchre*, when it was only *Minos's*, who had the Honour to be thought to be descended from him (r).

If we consider *Jupiter's Politics*, we must allow him to have been a Man of as great natural Wisdom and Sagacity, as perhaps any Age ever produced: His Father *Saturn* had taken some Steps towards civilizing the People: In *Saturn's* Days, the forming a Language and introducing a Method of Reasoning was made a Science (s), and undoubtedly a rational Foundation might be thus laid for Government and Society: Good *Maxims* (t) might be agreed upon for a right way of Thinking; or in other Words, good Principles instilled, and an uninformed Populace led insensibly to Sentiments conducive to Peace and good Order: But all the Happiness that might this way be promoted, would not, without further Methods to establish and support it, have been either of a large Extent or a long Continuance. When *Saturn* opened to his People the Prospects of the

(r) Vid. Marsham. Can. Chronic. p. 243. (s) Φασὶ Μνημοσύνην λογισμὸς εἶρᾶν, καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀνομάτων θέσεις ἐκάστω τῶν ὀντων τάξαι. Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 232. (t) Αἱ γὰρ ἀμεσοὶ περὶ τὰς ἀρχαί. Aristot. Analyt. post. l. 1. c. 32.

golden Age, the Scene was new, and it was a Scene of Plenty without Trouble, and I can apprehend no great Difficulty there could be, to lead Men to like it: He reduced them from a savage to an human Diet (u),

Sylvestres homines—————

Cædibus et fædo Victu deterruit---(w).

He persuaded them, not to eat and devour one another; but to live in Peace and Security, and enjoy the Plenty, which from the living (x) Creatures, and the natural Fruits of the Earth, their Island would afford in abundance for all of them: But this Happiness must have had an End. As their Numbers increased, their Flocks and Herds not duly managed would have failed; the natural Produce of the Isle, not improved by Tillage, would have been eat up, and *the Land*

(u) Ἄνθρωπος ἔσθ' ἀγρίαις διαίτησις ἐς βίον ἠμερόν μετα-
σῆσαι. Diodor. p. 231. (w) Horat. lib. de Arte Poe-
tic. (x) The Poets imagine that Men eat no Flesh in
their golden Age: Thus Ovid,

At vetus illa Ætas, cui fecimus Aurea nomen,
Fœtibus arboreis, et quas humus educat herbis
Fortunata fuit, nec polluit ora cruore.

Metam.

but I should imagine, that this was not true of the Days of Saturn: The Heathen Writers found Memoirs of Men's having anciently lived on a vegetable Diet, and for want of true History they affirmed of many subsequent Ages, what perhaps was Fact only until the Days of Noah.

in Time would not have been sufficient to bear them: This was what *Jupiter* had to provide against, and in order to it he settled Property; introduced Arts; brought his People to be willing to quit the Ease and Inactivity of *Saturn's Halcyon-Days*, and to engage in a Variety of Cares and Labours each in his own Province, that Improvements might be made; a Plenty produced of all the Conveniences of Life, and a due Course settled, for their circulating in a proper Method to all Sorts and Ranks of Men: And this was a Scene of Life, which tho' Reason would clearly point to, yet Argument alone would not have been able to maintain against Opposers. We find that, when the Limitations of Property were introduced into Society, the ἀσεβείς and the ληστὰι (y), Men, that would not be tied down to them, appeared in every Country: These Men would have argued themselves to have had *Natural Rights* to the *Common Life*, and all *Saturn's* Art of reasoning and persuading might not have prevailed upon them to depart from it. But *Jupiter* had a *Genius* for Business as well as for Speculation, and knew how both to project, what was proper to be agreed upon, and to give his Schemes a full Effect amongst the People, and in order

(y) Diodor. Sic. l. 5.

hereto, 1. He married the Lady, who had the Province of forming the Reasonings of the *Cretans* (z), and this undoubtedly was a wise Step; for hereby he secured himself, that nothing should proceed from her Art to oppose or contradict him; rather he became able to dispose all her Influence and Art to promote the Purposes which he intended. 2. In the next Place, he gathered a Soldiery, and disciplined them for War (a). He provided himself a Power, to give weight to his Directions, to protect all that would come into them, and to discourage and suppress those that might oppose him. But 3. He did not exercise this Power so as to render himself odious, but rather he gained the Affections of his People by his Use of it: He appointed Magistrates, and communicated a Share of his Authority, and this in a manner so popular, that tho' he was the first that appears in this Country to have had any true Power to govern, yet he obtained the Character of an Opposer of Tyranny, and was thought not to advance the Prerogative of Kings, but to be a Promoter of the Liberties of the People (b):

(z) Diodor. l. 5. p. 232. Apollod. Bibl. l. 1. c. 3. Helioid. θεογον. (a) Diodor. p. 235. (b) Ἐπειθεὶν ὃ αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἐικασμένην σχεδὸν ἄττασαν — ἰσότητα καὶ τὴν ἰσημοκρατίαν ἐσηγόμενον. Diodor. l. 5. p. 234. Κεῖσε ὃ γενόμενον ὑπὸν Δία τὸν ἐναντίον τῷ πατρὶσι βίον ζηλωσάν, καὶ παρεχόμενον αὐτὸν πᾶσιν ἐπεκαὶ καὶ ἐλατίθρων, &c. Diodor. l. 3. p. 136.

4. *Jupiter* appointed his Wife *Juno* and his Children to teach the several Arts and Sciences that were necessary for the Improvement of his People, and *Diodorus Siculus* has recounted to us the several Provinces that belonged to each of them (e).
 5. His Brother *Neptune* (f) had the Care of his Navy. 6. *Pluto* had the Province of determining what Ceremonies should be used at Funerals, what Honours should be decreed to dead Persons, who had deserved well of the *Public* (g); so that hereby all were excited to endeavour to promote the public Welfare, and by Rewards of the greatest Influence over the most active Spirits (h), and the most likely to raise an Emulation, to support the Government (i), rather than to be a means to enable any to weaken and undermine it.
 7. He diligently watched over and severely punished every Attempt that might be made by any private Man, to disengage his People from a strict Adherence to the public Institutions, and therefore made an Example of the unhappy *Pro-*

(e) Diodor. l. 5. (f) Ibid. p. 233. (g) Τὸν δ' Ἄδων, λέγεται τιμὰς τῶν τεθνεώτων καταδῆσαι. ibid. Τὸν ἔν Δία λέγουσι μὴ μόνον ἄρδων ἕξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίσαι τὰς ἀπεθῆς ἢ ποιηρὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς ἀξίας ἀπονῆμαι τιμὰς. Id. p. 234. (h) Οἱ μὲν ἔν πολλοὶ ἀνδραποδώδεις φαίνονται βωσκημάτων εἶον περαιομένοι. — οἱ δ' ἁελίητες καὶ τραχίτικοὶ τιμῶν. Aristot. de Morib. l. i. c. 3. (i) Vid. Polyb. Hist. l. 6. p. 633.

metheus, who ventured to teach Men the Arts he was Master of, without having obtained a publick Appointment for his teaching them.

I am sensible that the *Mythologists* have so disguised the Story of *Prometheus*, by their manner of telling it, that it may be thought impossible to ascertain what was in Fact either his Crime or his Punishment: But let us examine and then judge of what they say about it. *Hyginus* relates, that before *Prometheus*, Men were wont to ask for Fire from Heaven, and did not know how to keep it from going out, when they had it; that *Prometheus* brought it down to the Earth on a *Ferula* (k), and taught Men to preserve it in Ashes; that *Mercury* hereupon at the Command of *Jupiter* nailed him down to *Caucasus*, and set an Eagle to eat his Heart, which grew by night as the Eagle eat it by Day; that after 30 Years (l) *Hercules* killed the Eagle, and set *Prometheus* at Liberty. Thus *Hyginus* relates

(k) *The Commentators upon the Greek Poets seem to have thought the νάρθηξ or Ferula a sort of Tinder-Box, ὅτι γὰρ πρὸς ὄρωσιν φυλακτικὸς ὁ νάρθηξ, ἢ τῖαν ἔχων μαλακότητα καὶ τρέσσειν τὸ πῦρ, καὶ μὴ ἀποσβεῖν οὐκ ἀδυναμένῳ. Procl. ad Hesiod. ἔργ. καὶ ἡμέρ. and perhaps Hyginus was of this Opinion. He says that Prometheus, after he had got the Fire, lætus volare non currere videretur, ferulam jactans ne spiritus interclusus vaporis extingueret in angustia lumen. Poetic. Astronom. c. xv. (l) In another Place he says 30000 Years. Astronom. c. xv.*

the Fable of *Prometheus* (*m*); he has enlarged it, in some Circumstances, in his Astronomy (*n*): According to this Account, the teaching Men how to kindle Fire seems to have been what *Prometheus* was famous for, and this Opinion may seem to be countenanced by an Hint of *Diodorus Siculus* (*o*); by the Account we have in *Pausanias* of an Altar erected in the Academy at *Athens* (*p*); and by what *Plato* said of *Prometheus* (*q*): But I cannot think this was the Fact; for 1. The ancient *Greek Mythologists*, and those who copied from them, tell the Story quite another way (*r*): Their Accounts are, that he made Men and animated them with Fire. 2, The supposed Fact upon which *Hyginus's* Fable depends, was not true, for it was not *Prometheus*, but *Phoroneus* who first taught the *Greeks* to kindle Fire (*s*). 3. The Altar at *Athens* mentioned by *Pausanias* was either of no Note, very modern, or more probably, what was said of it in *Pausanias's* Time relating to *Prome-*

(m) Hyg. Fab. 144.

(n) Poetic. Astronom. c. xv.

(o) Περὶ ἀλήθειαν εὐρετὴν γενόμενον τῶν πυρῶν, ἐξ ὧν ἐκκαίεται τὸ πῦρ. Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 232. (p) Ἐν Ἀκαδημία ἦ ὄρετο Προμηθεὺς θωμὸς, καὶ δέκτιν ἀπ' αὐτῆ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες καίμενας λαμπάδας· τὸ ἦ ἀγῶνισμα, ὁμοῦ τῶ δόμοιο φυλάσσει τὴν δόδα ἐτι καίμενην, ἐστίν. Pausan. in Attic. c. 30. (q) Πῦρ μὲν πρὸς Προμηθεὺς. Plato in Politic. p. 539. (r) Apollodor. l. 1. c. 7. Fulgentii Mythol. l. 2. c. 9. Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. (s) Pausan. in Corinthiac.

theus, was not true; for *Lucian* is express, that *Prometheus* never had Temple or Altar any where dedicated to him (t). 4. What *Plato* says of *Prometheus's* giving Men Fire, was not meant in the literal Sense; but in Allusion to the *Greek* Fable of his having made Men (u). 5. If his teaching Men how to kindle Fire had been the Fact committed by him, how could this have deserved Punishment? *Lucian's* Ridicule of this Notion is sufficient to induce any one to think, that the Ancients could never have imagined a Man condemned for an Invention of such Use and Service to Mankind. And for these Reasons I should think, that this Account of *Hyginus* was not the true ancient *Mythos* about *Prometheus*; but rather an Opinion of some later *Fabulists*, who thought they could this way find an easier Solution of what was said about him. The Soul of Man was thought, by Philosophers more ancient than the *Stoics*, to consist of Fire: It was an ancient Opinion that the *Hebrew* Word [*Aish*] for Man, was derived from [*Aesh*], which in that Language signifies *Fire* (w), and very probably the Philosophy of the Times, in which what is said of *Prometheus* was first recorded, led those, who

(t) Vid. *Lucian*. in *Prometheo*. (u) Vid. *Platon*. *Protag.* p. 224. (w) *Euseb.* *Præp.* *Evangel.* l. xi. c. 6.

framed the *Mythos* of him, to say he gave Fire to his Men; but not in that low and vulgar Sense, in which some Writers of later Ages imagined (x). But let us see what the *Greek* Writers say of him. They tell us, that having made Men of Water and Earth, he gave them Fire, without *Jupiter's* Knowledge; that *Jupiter* for this Fact ordered *Vulcan* to nail him down upon Mount *Caucasus*, where an Eagle for many Years preyed upon his Liver, until at length *Hercules* delivered him (y): This is their Account of him: Let us now examine, what they could design to intimate by it. *Lucian* indeed tells us, that the *Athenians* called the Potters, who made earthen Vessels and hardened them with Fire, *Prometheus's* (z); but then he owns them to be the Wits that talked thus (a), and this is indeed making a Jest of, but not explaining the ancient Fables: The Philosophers treated these Matters in a more serious Way (b): We have in *Eusebius* what one of them would have

(x) Nec vero Atlas sustinere cœlum, nec Prometheus affixus Caucaſo—traderetur, nisi cœlestium divina cognitio nomen eorum ad Errorem Fabulæ traduxisset. *Cic. Tuscul. Disput.* l. 5. c. 3. (y) *Apollod. Bibl.* l. 1. c. 7. (z) *Lucian. in Prometheus.* (a) *They were the Jestors upon Prometheus's Materials, the ἐπισκόπωντες ἐς τὸν πηλόν, καὶ τὴν ἐν τριεὶ σπίνων.* *ibid.* (b) *Vid. Platon. in Protag. Cic. ubi sup.*

said upon the Subject (c): *Prometheus*, he says, was fabulously reported to have made Men, because being a wise Man, he reformed by his Instructions Men, who were in a State of the grossest Ignorance, and *Plato* tells us, what the Fire was, which he stole and added to them; namely the Arts, which *Vulcan* and *Minerva* taught the People (d). Science is the Fire, the Life of Man, and tho' none but God did ever form *Man of the Dust of the Earth, and breathed into him the Breath of Life*, so as to cause *Man to become a living Soul* (e); yet, what is said of *Prometheus*, taking it in the Sense we have now offered, is not inelegant; tho' Fables and Similitudes are not to be too strictly taken; nor can instructing Men be absolutely said to be making, and giving Life to them. And now we may see how *Prometheus* offended *Jupiter*, and why *Jupiter* put a stop to him: *Jupiter* had appointed proper Persons to instruct his *Cretans*, and agreeably to what was the Sense of *Joshua*, who attended upon *Moses* (f), he thought it po-

(c) Προμήθευς—ὃς πλάτηεν ἀνθρώπους ἐμυθᾶτο. σφίς γὰρ οἶν εἰς παιδείαν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγῶν ἰδιωτικῆς μετέπλατηεν. Euseb. in Can. Chronic. an. 332. (d) Ἀνδραποῦ σοφίαν πῶ πολιτικῶ ἐκ εἶχεν—εἰς ὃ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἡρακλῆος ἀίτημα τὸ κοινὸν ἐν ᾧ ἐπιλοτεχνεῖται, [Προμήθευς] λαθὼν ἐσέρχεται, καὶ κλέψας πυρὸς ἐμπυρῶν τέχνην πῶ σε Ἡρακλῆος, καὶ πῶ ἄλλων πῶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, δίδασκεν ἀνθρώπων. Plat. in Protag. p. 224. (e) Gen. ii. 7. (f) Numbers xi. 28.

litically unsafe to permit any to be their Teachers, but those who derived their Authority from him, and therefore *Prometheus*, who had no such Authority, was treated by him as a Corrupter and Seducer of the People. It is not so easy to say, what the Punishment was, which *Jupiter* inflicted on him: What is told of the Eagle preying upon his Heart or Liver, is indeed a mere Fable, and we have Hints, that lead to the Rise of it: *Herodotus* remarks, that the *Greeks* had the Names of almost all their Gods out of *Egypt* (g), and *Diodorus* observes, that there had been Men in *Egypt* of all the several Names, which the illustrious *Greeks* were afterwards distinguished by: *Sol*, *Saturn*, *Rhea*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Vulcanus*, *Vesta* and *Mercurius* were Names, that had been given to famous *Egyptians* (h), and thus the *Egyptians* had their *Prometheus* (i), and he

(g) Herod. l. 2. c. 50. (h) Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 8. We must not understand either Herodotus to mean, that the Greeks took the Egyptians Words for the Names of their Gods, or Diodorus, that the Egyptians had called their Heroes by the Greek Names; the Fact was this, the Greeks formed Names for their Gods and Heroes of the same Import in their Language, as the Egyptian Names were in the Egyptian, as Homo the Latin Word for Man expresses in Latin, what Adam the Hebrew Word does in Hebrew, both being of a like Analogy to the Word, which in each Language signifies the Ground. and this is what Herodotus and Diodorus intended of the Greek and Egyptian Names; viz. that, as Diodorus expresses it, μεθερμηνευομένων αὐτῶν ἑπωνόμας ὑπάρχουσιν, they were analogous to one another. (i) Diodor. ibid.

was one of their Kings (*k*): In his Time the River Nile was called the *Eagle* (*l*), and great Inundations happened in his Reign from the overflowing of the River, and the Concern he had for his Country threw him into the deepest Melancholy (*m*). But *Hercules*, an Egyptian so called; for there were three *Hercules*'s, and the first and most ancient was an Egyptian (*n*); *Hercules*, I say, embanked the River, retrieved the Country, and hereby (*o*) relieved the King from the Grief and Concern that preyed upon him; and from what was mentioned in the Egyptian Records of this Fact, the Greek Fabulists took occasion to say, that an *Eagle* preyed upon the Heart or Liver of *Prometheus*, until *Hercules* delivered him (*p*). And thus this Part of the *Mythos* was not originally intended of the Greek *Prometheus*; nor does it at all belong to him. However, he was bound down to Mount *Caucasus*: I imagine *Jupiter* banished him to some uncultivated

(*k*) Diodor. *ibid.* (*l*)— Διὰ τὴν ὀξύτητα, καὶ τὴν
 βίαν τῆς κατενεχθείσης ῥάματος, τὸν μὲν ποταμὸν
 Ἄετὸν ὀνομαθῆναι. Diodor. p. 11. (*m*) Τὸν δὲ Προμηθεῖα,
 διὰ τὴν λύπην κινδυνεύει, ἐκλιπῆν τὴν βίον ἐκ-
 σίως Id. *ibid.* (*n*) Diodor. l. 3. p. 145. (*o*) Lib. 1.
 p. 11. (*p*) Διὰ καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι ποιητῶν τινῶς
 εἰς μῦθον ἀγαγεῖν τὸ πρᾶχθῆν, ὡς Ἡρακλῆος τὸν Ἄε-
 τὸν ἀνηρηκότος τὸν τὸ τῆς Προμηθεῖως ἦπαρ ἐδίονηα. Dio-
 dor. p. 11.

Mountain called by that Name (*q*), where he was obliged to confine himself to live, until after some Years *Jupiter* recalled him again (*r*).

The Hints we have in the ancient Writers, are too short to enable us to pretend to give a large Account of the respective Lives of the several Persons, that engaged with *Jupiter* in the Scenes of Action, that made him and them conspicuous to the Age they lived in, and created them that Fame, which has come down to all Posterity: Fable has told us many Particulars of all of them; but a deal of this may be set aside, by considering what can, and what cannot belong to the Age they lived in. I imagine they did not all settle in *Crete* for their whole Lives. *Apollo* was a great Traveller, he visited divers Parts of *Greece*,

(*q*) *The Mountain Caucasus is generally placed by Geographers between the Euxine and Caspian Seas: Apollodorus calls it a Mountain of Scythia; but we cannot conceive Jupiter should dispatch Prometheus to such a Distance from Crete: I should rather think some Mountain of Crete was called by this Name. As in After-ages very distant Nations received the Names of their Deities from this Island, so they might the Names of Mountains, Cities and Rivers also. We find, the Fable of Prometheus travelled almost all the World over. In Alexander's Time, Mount Caucasus, the Scene of his War, was said to be in India. See Strabo l. 15. p. 688. as before it had been placed in Asia. The Fable of one Age perhaps removed it from Crete into Pontus, a still later, with as much Truth, might carry it thence into India.* (*r*) Apollod. l. 2. c. 4. § 11.

endeavouring to form all he conversed with to an orderly and social Life (s). Whether he began his Travels before or at the Death of *Jupiter*, I cannot determine: He came to *Athens* (t), went thence to *Panopæus* a City of *Phocis* (u), where he killed *Tityus*, a Man of huge Stature and Strength (w), and who oppressed and domineer'd over that Neighbourhood (x). From hence he went to *Delphos*, where *Themis* then lived (y): She was the Oracle of that Place (z), being probably a very wise Woman, capable of instructing the common People, in many useful Arts of Life. *Python* governed here with Violence and Cruelty (a), and would not have had *Apollo* admitted amongst his People: but *Apollo* prevailed against him and killed him (b): *Python* was also surnamed *Draco* (c), and hence the Fabulous Writers might take occasion to invent what they offer to us of *Apollo's* killing the huge Serpent called *Python* (d). *Apollo* seems to have lived the rest of his Life chiefly at *Delphos*; to have formed

(s) Καθ' ὃ χρόνον τὸν Ἀπίλλωνα πρὸ γυνὴ ἐπόρθε
 ἡμερῶν τὰς ἀνδρώτας ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἀημέρων καστῶν καὶ
 τῶν εἰσῶ. Strabo, Geog. l. 9. p. 422. (t) Id. ibid.
 (u) Id. Ibid. (w) Apoll. l. 1. c. 4. (x) Γίγισον
 ἔχε ἴα τὸν τέτον, εἴαιον ἄνδρα καὶ παρὰ νόμον. Strabo ubi
 sup. (y) Apollod. ubi sup. Strabo, ibid. (z) Apol-
 lodor. (a) Id. ibid. (b) Id. ibid. (c) Strabo
 ubi sup. (d) Ovid Metamorph. Strabo p. 223.

and instructed the People here; and to have been so much respected and admired by them, that Posterity afterwards fixed him a Temple in this Place, and supposed him the God that gave the Oracles here, which were so much sought to in After-ages.

We read of *Pluto* that he left *Crete* and went to *Tartarus*, and carried away *Proserpine* the Daughter of *Ceres* with him (e): *Ceres* her self after her Travels in search of her Daughter (f), settled in *Attica* (g), where she became so famous for the Method she taught for nursing *Deiphon* the Son of *Celeus* King of *Eleusis*, as to be said by a particular *Regimen* to have made him immortal (h): By Agreement with *Pluto*, her Daughter *Proserpine* was to live with her two thirds of the Year, and the other third Part in *Tartarus*; and this occasioned the Fable that *Proserpine* lived a third Part of the Year with *Pluto*, and the rest of her Time with the Gods above (i). The *Arundel* Marble may seem to fix the Time of *Ceres*'s being in *Attica* something late, namely to A.M. 2596 (k), which is about 80 Years after the 95th Year of *Jupiter* (l): But

(e) Apollod. l. 1. c. 5. (f) Id. ibid. (g) Antonin. lib. Metamorph. c. 23.
 (i) Id. ibid. (k) Ep. xii. (l) Vid. quæ sup.

Ceres was Sister of *Jupiter* (*m*), and therefore can hardly be supposed to have come into *Attica* so many Years after *Jupiter* must have been dead. But I would observe that the Marble *Epoch* records that *Ceres* taught *Triptolemus* the Son of *Celeus* to sow Corn, and sent him to teach other Nations. It is not likely, that *Triptolemus* began his Travels before he was two or three and thirty, and his Father *Celeus* might be born forty Years before *Triptolemus*: Now *Ceres* nursed *Celeus* when an Infant (*n*): Let us count back from *Triptolemus*'s Travels to teach the sowing Corn, to the Infancy of *Celeus*, when *Ceres* came into *Attica* 73 Years, and we shall fix her coming into that Country A. M. 2523. *i. e.* near the Time of *Jupiter*'s Death, 7 Years after his 95th Year; and about this Time she may indeed be thought to have settled in *Attica*: Perhaps nothing more was intended in the Marble *Epoch* than to fix the Time of *Triptolemus*'s Travels, and it seems to have fixed them agreeably enough to what might be the true Time of his Life, and *Ceres* might be said to teach him his Art, merely because at the Composing the Marble *Epoches*,

(*m*) Apoll. l. 1. c. 1. Diodor. Sic. l. 5. p. 232.

(*n*) Apollod. l. 1. c. 5.

Ceres was esteemed the Goddess, that presided over this Part of Husbandry. *Neptune* was the great Master of the Seas with *Jupiter* and his Family; and we may suppose he managed and conducted all the Voyages made by any of them. *Plato* tells us, that he settled and planted his Children in the Island *Atlantis* (o), which seems from *Strabo* to have been either an Island near *Eubœa* (p) or in the *Ionian* Sea near to *Elis* (q) a City of *Peloponnesus*. In these and the adjacent Seas *Neptune* had exercised his Skill in sailing, and in some Isle of these Seas we may well suppose him to have lived, when he gave over a Seaman's Life. *Mars* and *Minerva* were frequently at *Athens*, if they did not constantly live there (r): *Vulcan* is supposed to have gone to *Lemnos* (s); *Ops*, who was also called *Rhea*, removed from *Crete* to *Phrygia*, and dwelt on Mount *Cybelum*, and became famous there (t), and the *Arundel* Marble fixes the Time of her appearing there to A. M. 2499 (u), which falls towards the latter End of *Jupiter's* Life, and very well agrees to the Times we have supposed him to live in. *Ops* was afterwards called *Cybele* from the Moun-

(o) *Plato* in *Critiâ*. p. 1103. (p) *Strab. Geog.* l. 1. p. 60, c. 1. (q) *Lib.* 7. p. 346. (r) *Apollod.* l. 3. c. 4. c. 13. (s) *Apollod.* l. 1. c. 3. (t) *Diod.* l. 3. *Strabo* l. 10. (u) *Epoch.* x.

tain she lived in: She brought Arts and Sciences from *Crete* into these Parts, and hence it came to pass, that in After-ages divine Honours were paid to her in this Country, tho' in *Crete* no Rites were ever instituted for her Worship (ω). *Cybele's* travelling from *Crete* into *Phrygia* might occasion some Places as well as Persons in *Phrygia* to have Names given them, the same that had before been the Names of Persons and Places in *Crete*. Thus we read of a Mount *Ida* (χ), and of the *Idæi Dactyli* in both Countries. *Juno, Vesta, Venus, Diana* and *Mercurius* were occasionally in divers Parts of *Greece*, and celebrated in all for the Arts they excelled in: And thus, although I do not find it to have ever been Fact, that *Crete* obtained an universal Empire over all the States of *Greece*, tho' *Aristotle* thought it well situated and qualified for the acquiring such Dominion (ψ); yet it appears, that its ancient Inhabitants were most signally instrumental in introducing the first Rudiments of Polity into many of these Nations, instructing both their Kings and People to know how to be useful and beneficial to one another.

(ω) *Φησὶ δὲ πάλιν ὁ Σκῆψιος ἐν τῇ Κρητῇ τὰς τὸ Πραξι-
τιμὰς μὴ νομιζέσθαι μὴδὲ ἐπιχραιοῦσθαι.* Strab. l. 10.
p. 472. (χ) *Ἰδὴ γὰρ τὸ ὄρος τὸ τε Τραικῶν, καὶ τὸ Κρη-
τικόν.* Ibid. (ψ) *Δοκεῖ δ' ἡ νῆσος [ἢ Κρητικὴ] καὶ πρὸς
τὸ ἀργυρῶ πτωχὸν ἠλλωτικῶ περιμέναι καὶ καθεστὴ καλῶς.*
Aristot. de Rep. l. 2. c. 10.



The SACRED *and* PROPANE

H I S T O R Y

Of the WORLD *Connected.*

B O O K XI.



WHEN the *Israelites* saw, that *Moses* did not come down to them out of the Mount, they were greatly surprized, and gathered about *Aaron*, and required him to make them a God to be carried before them (a): *Aaron* asked them for their Ear-rings, which they forthwith brought him, and *Aaron* had them melted down, and a golden Calf was made of them, and the People made Acclamations, *This is thy God, O Israel, who brought thee up*

(a) Exodus xxxiii. 1.

out of the Land of Egypt (c): Aaron, when he saw the Image received with such Applause, built an Altar before it, and proclaimed a Feast unto the Lord (d), and accordingly next Day they met, and offered Sacrifices to their Idol, and celebrated their Feast, and rose up to the Games with which they were to end it (e): Moses at this time came down from the Mount (f), and when he entered the Camp, and saw the Calf, and the People dancing before it, he was exceedingly moved, and throwing down the two Tables of the Law, which he had in his Hands (g), he took the Idol and melted it; then he reduced the Lump of Gold to Powder, and mixed the Powder with Water, and made the Children of *Israel* to drink it (h). After this he expostulated with Aaron, what could induce him to lead the People into so great a Sin (i): Aaron made the best Excuse he could; represented the perverse Disposition of the People; that they would not believe they

(c) *The Hebrew Expression ver. 4. rendered by our Translators, These be thy Gods, O Israel which brought thee up out of the Land of Egypt, may at first sight seem to hint that the Israelites had made Gods in the Plural Number; but the Word Elohim is known to be often taken as a Noun Singular, and the Image here alluded to was but one, namely the Calf, and it was dedicated to but one God, the Lord; so that the Words ought to have been translated in the Singular Number.* (d) Exodus xxxii. 5. (e) ver. 6. (f) ver. 15. (g) ver. 19. (h) ver. 20. (i) ver. 21.

should

*... within on both sides... How - cut this? ...
 ... this have been done? See ...
 ... from whence - Exod. 32. 10 -*

should ever see *him* more, and that he could not avoid yielding to their Impor-tunity (l).

The *Rabbins* think they can intirely excuse *Aaron* (m): They say, that he was forced to a Compliance; that the People had massacred *Hur* for opposing their Demands, and would have killed *Aaron*, if he had not yielded to them. What Authority they had for these Assertions, I cannot say; I think we no where read of *Hur* as alive after the time of this Af-fair: But if what they offer be true; yet I cannot see, that *Aaron* was innocent: No Obstinacy of the People could have forced him without his own Fault (n), and he should have been willing to die, rather than to have consented to, and been Partaker of their Sins. It may per-haps be imagined, that *Aaron's* Compli-ance was attended with some Circum-stances that mitigated the Fault of it, from *Moses* not replying to the Apology he made (o), and from what is said of the People in relation to the making of the Calf; that *they made the Calf, which*

(l) Exodus xxxii. 22—24. . (m) Vid. Poole's Synopf. in loc.

(n) Justum et tenacem Propositi Virum,
Non civium Ardor prava jumentium,
Non vultus instantis Tyranni
Mente quatit solidâ, &c. Hor. Car. L. 3. Ode 3.

(o) Exod. xxxii. 21—24.

Aaron

Why did the people make choice of
figure for the god? Nec: they
could not see the error of their
way.

why not get it up as an idol - an
id - live cal? - see Hamberton 21. 2. 2.

128 Connection of the Sacred Book XI.

or picture
on his part
p. -
in creation
the same
flourish
of Prophecy

Aaron made (p); as if the making of it was imputed rather to them, than to him. Aaron indeed endeavours to clear himself of having had an Hand in the actual making the Idol: *I cast it*, says he, *i. e.* the Gold, which they gave me, *into the Fire, and there came out this Calf (q)*: The Expression is somewhat obscure, and the Rabbins tell us, that Aaron only cast the Gold into the Fire; that the Calf came out by *magic* Art; the melted Gold being formed into the Shape of an Idol, not by Aaron, but by some invisible Agent: This was one of their Fancies; but Aaron could intend no such Intimation: He designed only to plead that he was not actually the Maker of the Image; but that other Persons, and not he, were the Founders of it. He represents, that they required him to make them a God; that hereupon he asked them for Materials; that they brought him their Gold; then, says he, *I cast it into the Fire*, I delivered it out of my Hands to the use it was designed for, into the Furnace in which it was to be melted, *and there came out this Calf (r)*, *i. e.* I was no further concerned in what was done, the next thing I saw was the Calf: What was done further was done by others, not by me: The Workmen

(p) Exod. xxxii. 35. (q) ver. 24. (r) Ibid. made

made the Calf and brought it to me : And to this Account, I should think, what is related in the 4th Verse of this Chapter, should be agreeable : We render the Verse, *And he received them at their Hand, and fashioned it with a graving Tool, after he had made it a molten Calf, and they said, These be thy Gods — &c.* The present *Hebrew* Text does indeed require a Translation to this Purpose : But if the Fact was as this Verse seems to represent it, surely *Aaron* was the Person chiefly concerned in the Workmanship of the Image, and there could be no room for him to pretend to plead, that not himself but other Persons were the Makers of it : Upon this Account I am apt to suspect, that the present *Hebrew* Text in this Verse has suffered a little, thro' the Mistake or want of Care of very ancient Transcribers ; that *Moses* most probably wrote the Verbs, which we translate, and *he fashioned it, and he made it,* not in the *singular*, but in the *plural* Number, like the Verb [*vejaomeen*], and *they said*, which follows them : The Variation of the Words thus miswritten is not so considerable, but that it might easily be made, without any great Inattention in Writing, especially, when the first *Verb* in the Period, [*and he took them,*] being *singular*, might lead to it. And if we may take the Liberty to make this

Correction, the Verse would run thus. *And he received [it, i. e. the Gold] at their Hands: and they formed it in a Mould (s), and they made a molten Calf, and they said, This is thy God O Israel (t). And thus this Verse would agree to what is suggested in other Places, that Aaron indeed received the Gold that was brought him; but that the forming it in the Mould, and the making it into a Calf, and proclaiming it a God, was not done by Aaron, but by others, by the Workmen or Artificers, and the People. But notwithstanding all this, whatever may hence be offered in mitigation of Aaron's Fault, yet certainly all will be too little to prove him innocent; and agreeably hereto we find a great share of the Guilt was imputed to him: The Lord was very angry with him to have destroyed him, but that Moses prayed for him (u).*

(s) I should take the Word *חרט* to signify here not a graving Tool, as we render it: That is indeed its general Acceptation; but it is used in a very different Sense, 2 Kings v. chap. ver. 23. It there signifies a Bag, or little Chest, and by an easy Metaphor from this use of it, it may denote a Mould made to shut up like a Chest, to contain and form the Metal to be poured into it.

(t) The Words of the Text would be

וַיִּקַּח מִדָּם וַיּוֹצֵרוּ אֹתוֹ בַּחֶרֶט וַיַּעֲשׂוּ עֵגֶל מַסְנֶה
וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵיךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל :

(u) Deut. ix. 20.

Moses was commanded to punish the People for the Wickedness they had committed: And upon finding them unarmed, and upon no Guard, incapable of making Opposition, he stood in the Gate of the Camp, and said, *Who is on the Lord's side? Let him come unto me: And all the Sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto him: And he said unto them: Thus saith the Lord God: Put every Man his Sword by his side, and go in and out from Gate to Gate throughout the Camp, and slay every Man his Brother, and every Man his Companion, and every Man his Neighbour: And the Children of Levi did according to the Word of Moses, and there fell of the People, that Day, about three thousand Men (x).*

Our *English* Version does not intirely come up to the *Hebrew* Expression in the 25th Verse: We render the Verse, *When Moses saw, that the People were naked (for Aaron had made them naked to their shame, amongst their Enemies):* The *Metaphor* is indeed easy, to say they were naked, as being unarmed, and the *Hebrew* Verb [*Paran*] is capable of being thus used; but this is not its whole Signification, and it hints more than this in the Place before us. The first and natural Signification of the Verb [*Paran*] is, to

(x) Exodus xxxii. 26, 27, 28.

free or to set at liberty (y): It is thus used by Moses (z): The King of Egypt said unto them, Wherefore do ye, Moses and Aaron, [taprinu ætb hanam mimmanasbaiv (a)] let the People, or set them free from their Works. From this Sense the Word was easily applied to express the Freedom or Liberty that People had on Holy-days, or came to signify in general to keep Holy-day, and we find it thus used in Judges v. 2. for a true Translation of that Verse would be, Praise the Lord in [or at] keeping the Feasts, [or Holy-days] of Israel (b): To these the People willingly offered themselves (c): They came [behithnaddeb nam (d)], every one as his Spirit made him willing (e), i. e. every one without Compulsion, just as his Inclination led him, and they behaved at them with the same Freedom; for we must not imagine, that the public Games of any Nation were at first under the Regulations which time introduced; but rather, they were a sort of voluntary

(y) Vid. Avenar. et al. Lexicograph. in Verbo פָּרַע.

(z) Exod. v. 4.

(a) תפריעו את העם ממעשי. Heb. Text.

(b) The Hebrew Words are פָּרַע פְּרָעוֹת בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל
Israel in ferias feriando in.

(c) Judges v. 2. (d) Text Heb. בְּהִתְנַדְּב עָמָם.

(e) This is the Signification of the Verb נָדַב: It is thus used Exodus xxxv. 21. 29. where the People came voluntarily to make their Offerings, every one giving, without any exaction, just what his Inclination led him to.

Mectings,

Meetings, where Authority of Magistrates and Subjection of Inferiors were laid aside; and every one headed a Party, or acted his Part, or took his Place to see the Diverſion as it happened, or as his Fancy led him: And in an high Scene of ſuch Diverſion *Mofes* found his People, [*ci paran bua*] (*f*); for they were *keeping high Holy-day*, and at full Liberty: The Expreſſion is remarkable: It is not [*ci paran*], which had been enough to expreſs, that they were at Liberty, or keeping Holy-day, but [*ci paran bua* (*g*)]: In the *Hebrew* Tongue the uſe of this Pronoun [*Hua*] has ſometimes a Peculiarity, which I think has not been taken notice of: Generally it ſignifies no more than THIS or THAT, or HE or THE *emphatically*; but it is ſometimes uſed to denote a Perſon's doing a thing, *of his own Head*, as we ſay in *Engliſh*, or without regard to the Direction of any other. Thus in the Caſe of *Balaam*, when God had allowed him to go with the Meſſengers of *Balak*, if they came in the Morning to call him (*b*), becauſe he was more haſty than he ought to have been, and went to them, inſtead of ſtaying until they ſhould come to him (*i*), it was ſaid of him, not [*ci balak*],

(*f*) כִּי פָרַע הוּא. Heb. Text. Exod. xxxii. 25.

(*g*) Ibid. (b) Numbers xxii. 20. (i) ver. 21.

that he went, but [*ci bolel bua (k)*] i. e. that he went of his own Head, or without being called: And thus in the Plural Number [*hem*] is used in *xcv Psalm*: We translate the Place, *It is a People that do err in their Hearts (l)*; but the Hebrew Words express more: *In his Heart* had been [*belibbo (m)*] or [*bilbabo (n)*]: *In their Hearts* had been [*bilbabam (o)*], or [*belibbam (p)*]; but the Words here used are [*lebab hem*] which suggest, that People erred in Heart, *from acting of their own Heads*; from pursuing their own Ways, or following their own Imaginations; for this was the perpetual Crime of the *Israelites*, and this was what the *Psalmist* here intended, as appears by the close of the Verse, *for they have not known my Ways*. And thus the Word [*Hua*] is here used in the Passage before us: The People [*paran bua*] were at loose Hand, under no Command or Controul: Distinctions and Authority were laid aside, and every one at the Games was his own Man, and consequently the Camp must have been in no Condition of being called to Order and a Posture of Defence, if a sudden Exigence had required it.

(k) Numbers xxii. 22. (l) Psalm xcv. 10.
 (m) Psalm xiv. 1. (n) xv. 2. (o) xxviii. 3.
 (p) lxxiv. 8.

From what I have said about the use of the Word [*Paran*] it is easy to see, what the Verse I am treating of expresses to us, namely, 1. That the People were upon no Guard; in no Posture of Defence; under no Direction or Command of their proper Officers; but were scattered up and down the Plain at their Games, as their Fancy led them. And this the LXX took to be the meaning of the Place, and accordingly translate it, Ἰδὼν Μωϋσῆς τὸν λαόν, ὅτι διεσκέδασαι (s), *i. e. Moses seeing the People to be scattered, or dispersed.* They were in no formed Body to be able to make Head against an Enemy; and 2. They were free of their Armour, or unarmed, naked in this Sense, not cloathed to defend themselves against any Violence that might be offered to them (t). This was
the

(s) Exodus xxxii. 25. (t) *The Word Paran, as I have observed, primarily signifies, to free or set at Liberty, and from hence by an easy Metaphor it denotes to free our selves from, or put off any Dress which we had upon us. Thus (paran Roth) to free the Head is the Expression for the High Priest's putting off the Attire he wore upon his Head, Levit. xxi. 10. and likewise for Womens putting off their Head-dresses, Numb. v. 18. And this use of the Word intimates to us, whence St. Paul took an Expression in his Epistle to the Corinthians. The Woman, he says, ought to have Power on her Head, he means ought to be covered; for to have the Head free, under no Restraint, Authority, Power, is the Hebrew Expression for being uncovered, and therefore not to have the Head free, Ἐξυστῆσαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆ κεφαλῆς. 1 Corinth. xi. 10. to have*

the Condition in which *Moses* found them exposed to their shame (a), or in a shameful manner amongst their Enemies: And certainly *Aaron's* Conduct was very inconsiderate in this particular; for their Enemies were not far distant. The *Amalekites* had not long before attacked them (b). And what might have been the Fate of the whole People, if any considerable Attempt had been now made, when they were so unguarded, that a small Body of Men, such as *Moses* here appointed from amongst the *Levites*, might go in and out (bb) from Gate to Gate of the Camp, and without Difficulty kill as many as they would of them?

Some learned Writers have wandred far from what *Moses* intended here to hint to us, by taking the Expression of the Peoples being naked in too strict a Sense, as if the People were indeed literally so, when *Moses* came to them. *Monceius* imagines, that *Aaron* had stripped them of their Cloaths; but the Reasons he gives for the doing it are very whimsical: He supposes, that the Persons,

have Power on the Head may denote the contrary, or to be covered. The *Apostle* seems to have put an Hebrew Idiom into Greek Words, which, unless we consider what a like Expression in Hebrew would suggest to us, do not at first sight express very clearly, what he intended by them. (a) Exodus xxxii. 25. (b) Exodus xvii. (bb) Exod. xxii. 27.

who had been guilty of the Idolatry, had a Tumor upon their Groin, occasioned by their drinking of the Water, into which *Moses* had strowed the Powder of the Idol (c), and that *Aaron* had stripped them, either, 1, to prevent an Increase of their Infection, or, 2, to discover to *Moses*, who were guilty, and who were innocent, or 3, to cause the innocent to separate from the guilty, that they might escape their Punishment. But the whole of this Fancy is without Foundation. It is like a Whim of some of the Fathers, who imagined, that the Beards of those who drank of the Water abovementioned, turned Yellow. *Bochart* mentions a Version made in the XIIIth Century, wherein the 27th Verse of this Chapter of *Exodus* is thus rendred. *Slay ye every one his Brother, his Friend, his Neighbour, even all those who have golden Beards.* And the Gloss upon the Text adds, that those who worshipped the Calf, had their Beards turned into a gold Colour; for the Powder stuck to the Hair miraculously: And *Saurin* tells us, that he had a Bible printed at *Antwerp* in the Year 1531 with this Gloss in it (d): But the Reader may be furnished with many Fancies of this sort, if it can be worth while to

(c) Vid. Pol. Synopf. Critic. in loc.

(d) Dissert. 53.

search for them (w). There are indeed other Writers who contend, that the *Israelites* were found by *Moses* really naked, and they endeavour to defend their Opinion with a better Appearance both of Argument and Learning. They suppose that the *Israelites* were dancing naked before their Idol, and that the *Egyptians* had very ancient Rites in their religious Institutions, in Imitation of which the *Israelites* might celebrate their Feast with this lewd Diversion: They remark, that the *Egyptians* had dedicated a golden Calf (x) to one of their Deities, from whence possibly the *Israelites* might take their Pattern, and that both *Plutarch* (y) and *Diodorus* (z) hint very indecent Practices in the Egyptian Sacra, and that there is a Passage in *Herodotus* (a), which suggests them to have solemnized Games, such as might lead the *Israelites* into the naked Dance here alluded to. This is the utmost that can

(w) Vid. Targ. Jonath. et Hierosolymit. (x) Βέν διαχρυσον — ἐπι πένθη τ' εἰς δεικνύσαι. Plut. in lib. de Isid. et Osirid. p. 366. We may be allowed to translate Βέν here by our English Word Calf, if it be considered, that Herodotus called the Egyptian Apis so. ἔχει δ' ὁ μόχος ἄτος ὁ ἄπις καλεόμενος. Herod. l. 3. c. 28. (y) in lib. de Isid. et Osirid. p. 358. (z) Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 13. (a) Τύπτονται μὲν γὰρ ἐν μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν πάντες εἰ πάσαι, μυριάδες κάρτα πολλὰὶ ἄνδράται. τὸν δ' [οὐκ ᾔδ' ὅ] τύπτονται εἰ μὴ ἴσθιν ἐστὶ γάρη. Herodot. l. 2. c. 61.

be offered for imagining *Aaron* to have really stripped the People. But to all this it is easy to answer: for, 1. The Passage in *Herodotus* does indeed seem to hint some Obscenity, which the *Historian* thought it not decent to give a full Narration of (b): but we must suppose a great deal more than is hinted by him, to make it come up to the Purpose for which it is cited (c): But 2. If what we find in *Herodotus* could be supposed to describe such a Dance as the *Israelites* are by these learned Writers said to have practised, yet it must be remarked, that what the *Historian* alludes to, as well as the obscene *Sacra* in the *Isiaca* and *Osiria* of the *Egyptians*, were all of later date, than the Times of *Moses*: They were said to be the Institutions of *Isis* (d), and they were not introduced until after the *Egyptians* worshipped Heroe Gods, and that happened not,

(b) Suspicietur aliquis rem turpem et obscenam, quam aures honestæ, vix etiam in rebus profanis nominandam audire sustineant: Quùm *Typhon* inventum *Osiridis* Cadaver in Partes XIV. divisum disjecisset, *Isis* perquirendo singulas reperit præter pudendam, quæ in Fluvium projecta mox a Phagro et Oxyryncho piscibus devorata fuerat: illius igitur loco ad ejus similitudinem factum τὸν φελλὸν consecravit, cui etiam nunc Diem festum Ægyptii celebrant: Hæc *Plutarchus*. Hoc etiam Phallo percuti solitos in sacris illis execrandis Ægyptios probabile est. Vid. Gronov. Not. in Herodot. l. 2. p. 111. (c) Quod opinantur aliqui, Ægyptios in his sacris saltasse nudos et nudas, ut pudenda Phallo percuterentur, hoc videtur gratis dictum. (d) *Plutarch.* in lib. de *Isid.* et *Osirid.*

until
 + I think *Warburton* proves (D. L. M.)
 that *Osiris* was at least as old as *Moses*

until many Years after the Death of *Moses* (e). And therefore, 3. Tho' the heathen Nations, when they had deserted that Knowledge of God, which by Revelation God himself had shewed unto them, did in time become vain enough in their *Imaginations* to admit shocking Turpitudes into their religious Institutions, yet they sunk into these things by Degrees, and we have no Reason to think the *Egyptians* were thus early so far gone, as to afford a Precedent in any of their sacred Games, for such a Dance as these Writers imagine; nor can I see, if they had, how *Aaron* can be conceived to have been so lost to all sense of Decency, as to have copied after such a Pattern.

In order to punish the *Israelites* for the Idolatry they had been guilty of, we are told, that all the Sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto Moses (f), and we cannot but think, from the strict Order that was given them (g), that they must have killed every one a Man; and yet the number of all that fell that Day, were but about three thousand (h): The Levites, Men and Children, were above two and twenty thousand (i): The Children indeed could not serve in the Employment; but they were more than eight

(e) Vol. II. B. 8. (f) Exod. xxxii. 26.
 (g) ver. 27. (i) ver. 28. (i) Numbers iii.

thousand of them from thirty Years old to fifty (*k*); and if but every one of these had killed a Man, there must have fallen near three times the Number abovementioned. The *vulgar Latin* Translation has the Number *three and twenty thousand*; but this is a Variation from the *Hebrew* Text, for which there is no Colour from any Copy or other Version: Some learned Men have indeed imagined, that *St. Paul* suggested the same thing; but they misrepresent the Design of the Place they refer to (*l*): *St. Paul* intended in the Verse they cite, to give the Number, not of those who were slain for this Idolatry, but who died of the Plague for their Fornication (*m*) in the matter of *Peor* and of *Cozbi* (*n*). There is I confess a difficulty in supposing, that but three thousand should fall, if so many Hands, as the whole Tribe of *Levi* afforded, had took up Arms against them. But the real Fact seems to have been this: Not the whole Tribe of *Levi*, but only all the Sons of *Levi*, who were amongst those unto whom *Moses* called, came together to this Service. That the whole Tribe were not engaged in it, is evident from the Charge which *Moses* gave them: They were to slay every Man his Brother (*o*), and every

(*k*) Numbers iv. 48. (*l*) 1 Corinth. x. 8.
 (*m*) Numb. xxv. (*n*) ~~iv.~~ 18. (*o*) Exod. xxxii. 27.
Man

Man his Son (p), if any so nearly related came within their reach; but this could not have been supposed, if all the *Levites* had taken up the Sword; for then all their Brethren and Children would have been with them, and there could have been none at the Games so nearly related as a Son or a Brother, to have been slain by them. But further; *Moses* stood in the (pp) Gate of the Camp, and called to the Persons, whom he employed, and the Persons he called to were not within the Camp; for he directed them to enter the Camp, *to go in and out from Gate to Gate of it.*(q): had he called to those who were at the Games, he needed not have gone to the Gate of the Camp, he would rather have called upon the Spot where they were playing them: I should therefore think, that there were Numbers out of every Tribe, who had retired from the Camp, whilst this Idolatry was acting in it: Unto these *Moses* called from the Gate, and from amongst these all the *Levites*, to about such a Number as might, in executing what he directed, kill about three thousand Men, *gathered themselves together unto him*: *Moses* had in-joined them to take up the Sword (r) for
God's

(p) Exod. xxxii. 29. (pp) ver. 26. (q) ver. 27. (r) The Commentators seem to suspect a difficulty in this Place, imagining the Verb נָטַח to be here used
not

God's Service, and, if they desired to acquit themselves, so as to be accepted by him, to be careful not to make the Work they were engaged in a Scene of their own private Passions and Partialities, but to execute the Vengeance strictly and indiscriminately upon all that should happen in their Way, how near and dear soever they might be to them. On the next Day *Moses* remonstrated to the People the greatness of their Sin; but promised to endeavour to intercede for them (s): God was pleased so far to admit his Intercession, as to order him to prepare the People to march for *Canaan* (t), telling him, that he would send an Angel before them to put them in possession of the Land (u); but that himself would *not go up any further in the midst of them* (w): upon *Moses's* acquainting the People herewith, they were greatly dejected (x): God hereupon appointed them a solemn Humiliation to avert his Displeasure (y), and *Moses* erected a Tent without the

not in its common Acceptation; but I am at a loss to find out what could lead them to any such Imagination. The Hebrew Text verbally translated would run thus: For Moses said, fill your Hands [i. e. with the Sword, or take up your Sword] to Day for the Lord, for each Man is to be against his Son and his Brother, that he [God] may give you a Blessing; the meaning of the Verse must be obvious to every Reader. (s) Exodus

xxxii. 30. (t) ver. 34. (u) Ibid. ch. xxxiii. 2.
(w) ver. 3. (x) ver. 4. (y) ver. 5.

Camp,

Camp, and called it the Tabernacle of the Congregation (α), and upon this the cloudy Pillar descended, in the sight of all the People, and here the Lord talked with *Moses* (a), and at length promised him, that his *Presence* should go with them, and give them Rest (b).

It cannot but at first sight seem a very monstrous thing to us, that the *Israelites* in the midst of what God was doing for them; whilst his Presence amongst them was so visible to them; whilst *the Sight of his Glory was like a devouring Fire on the Top of the Mount*; I say, whilst God was thus marvellously and evidently near to them, it may be thought very strange and unaccountable, that they should so presently fall away from what had been commanded them (c), and fall into what must appear to us a most gross and senseless Folly: To set up a Calf; to make it a God; to pay worship to it. It is generally said, that the *Israelites* dedicated the Calf in Imitation of what the *Egyptians* practised in their Religion: This was *Philo's* Opinion (d), and *St. Stephen* confirms it (e), and therefore what some have supposed, that *Aaron* formed the Calf to represent a *Cherubim* (f), is not

(α) Exodus xxxiii. 7. (a) ver. 9, 10, 11. (b) ver. 14. (c) xx. 4. (d) Phil. Jud. de vit. Moſis l. 3. p. 677. (e) Acts vii. 39, 40. [f] Spencer. de Leg. Heb. l. 1. c. 1. § 1. *Witſii Ægyptiac.* l. 2. c. 2.

only a mere groundless Fancy, but contradicts what the sacred Writer hints to us; namely, that their turning their Hearts back to *Egypt*, their inclining to have such *Sacra* as were there used, was what led them to set up this Object for their Worship (g). It has been argued by some, that the *Israelites* intended here to fall intirely into the *Egyptian* Religion, and that the Deity they made the Calf to, was some God of the *Egyptians* (h); but I think it plain that this was not the Fact: The *Israelites* evidently designed to worship in the Calf, the God who had brought them out of the Land of *Egypt* (i), and their Feast was accordingly proclaimed, not to any *Egyptian* Deity, but to *the Lord*; to *Jehovah* (k); to their own God; so that their Idolatry consisted, not in really worshipping a false Deity; but in making an Image to the true and living God: And this being the Fact, and this Fact being expressly condemned as Idolatry by the Apostle (l), the *Papists* are from hence unanswerably charged with Idolatry for their Image-worship, and they can in no wise justify themselves; for what they can offer, if it might be admitted, would vindicate the *Israelites* as well as them: It will be still

(g) Acts vii. ubi sup. (h) Spencer. ubi sup. (i) Exod. xxxii. 4. (k) ver. 5. (l) 1 Corinth. x. 7.

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said, What if the *Egyptian* Religion was indeed full of these senseless Superstitions, is it not strange that the *Israelites* should be so fond of continually imitating the Rites and Usages of that Nation? I answer: This must indeed seem strange and unaccountable, if we can imagine, that they were for copying after these Patterns merely because they were *Egyptian*; but the Fact appears in another Light; if we consider that the Wisdom of *Egypt* was in these Days of the highest Repute of any in the World, and that the *Egyptian* Institutions were not at this Time suspected to be absurd, unreasonable, or superstitious (n); but on the contrary Reason and Philosophy were thought uncontestedly to support the Practice of them (o): I cannot imagine the *Israelites* to have been such servile Imitators of *Egypt*, as some learned Writers are apt to represent them: We see in Fact they had rejected their *Gods*; being convinced, that the God who had brought them out of the Land of *Egypt*, was the only God to be

(n) Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλογον, ἔδὲ μυθῶδες, ἔδὲ ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας (ὡς περ ἔτι νομίζουσιν) ἐγκατεσοιχεῖτο ἱεροργίαις. Plutarch. in lib. de Isid. et Osirid. p. 353.
 (o) Καλῶς οἱ νόμοι τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν θεσφάσεων ἐταξάν· διὸ δὲ μάλιστα περὶ ταῦτα λόγον ἐκ φιλοσοφίας μυστηριώδην ἀναλαβόντας ὅτιος διανοήσῃ τῶν λεγομένων καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας ἕκαστον. Id. ibid. p. 378.

worshipped by them (*p*); and had they been as sensible that the Calf they made, was a real Absurdity, they would, I dare say, not have been at all induced to make it by any Knowledge or Imitation of the *Sacra* of the *Egyptians*; but according to *the Rudiments of the World* in these Ages, Reason was thought very clearly to dictate, that Images were necessary to a lively and significant Service of the Deity (*q*), and such a sort of Image as the *Israelites* now used, was accounted to be by Nature designed for this very Purpose (*r*); and the wise and the learned thought they worshipped φυσικῶς; and esteemed it a Part of natural Religion to dedicate these *Sacra*. And thus I should think, I might justly say of the *Israelites*, that in all they did in this Matter, *there had no Temptation taken them, but what is common to Man* (*s*): It is indeed true, God had made a Covenant with this People (*t*), and the Import and Design of it, was to engage them to *obey his Voice indeed* (*u*), and to *walk in the Ways* which he should command them (*w*), that they might not

(*p*) Exod. xxxii. 4, 5. (*q*) *Plutarch. ubi sup.* Antiquos simulachra Deorum conaxisse, quæ cum oculis animadvertissent, hi, qui adissent divina Mysteria, possent Animam Mundi ac Partes ejus, id est, Deos veros videre. *Varro in Fragment. p. 40.* (*r*) Τιμῶντας διὰ τέρας τὸ θεῶν ὡς ἐναργετέραν ἐστέλλων καὶ φύσει γεγενητόν. *Plut. ubi sup.* (*s*) 1 Corinth. x. 13. (*t*) Exod. xxiv. 5.—8. Deut. v. 3. (*u*) Exod. xix. 5. Jerem. vii. 22. 23. (*w*) Jerem. *ibid.*

walk in the Counsels of their own Hearts (x), but that they should *trust in the Lord with their whole Heart, and not lean to their own Understanding* (y): This was to have been their Wisdom, this their Understanding in the sight of all Nations (z); if they would have bowed their Hearts to adhere to it: But when or where has mankind been truly ready to pay unto God this Obedience of Faith? Our first Parents would not be restrained by a divine Command from what they thought in Reason was to be desired to make them wise (a): And thus the *Israelites* would have Images, when they thought Reason and natural Science to be for them, tho' God had said expressly, *Make no Image* (b): In the same Spirit and way of thinking, the learned *Greeks* in their Day would not admit the Doctrine of the Cross, tho' attested to come from God, by *the Demonstrations of the Spirit and of Power* (c), because it seemed Foolishness to them (d): And I need not remark how difficult it is at this Day, to persuade Men to have their *Faith stand, not in the Wisdom of Man, but in the Power of God* (e): *Vain Man would be wise, though Man be born as the wild*

(x) Jerem. vii. 24. (y) Proverbs iii. 5.
 (z) Deut. iv. 6. (a) Gen. iii. 6. (b) Exod. xx. 4.
 (c) 1 Corinth. i. 24. (d) ch. i. 23. (e) ch. ii. 5.

Affes Colt (f): A restless Inclination to pursue what seem the Dictates of human Wisdom, rather than strictly to adhere to what God commands, has ever been the *περασμὸς ἀνθρώπων* (g), I might say the human Foible, the Seducement, which has been too apt to prevail against us: Our modern Reasoners think they argue right, when they contend, that “if we find any thing in a Revelation, that appears contrary to our Reason, no external Evidence whatsoever will be sufficient to prove its divine Original; but that upon observing any thing in it so opposite to our natural Light and Understanding, we ought to give up such a Revelation as absurd, and therefore false, whatever extrinsic Proofs may be offered in support of it.” But was not this the Part which the *Israelites* here acted? To have no Images to direct their Worship, was according to the then *Theory* of human Knowledge contrary to what they called *Science* and Reason: As soon therefore as *Moses* was gone from them, they regarded not the Commandment that had been given them. The external Proof, which they had of its divine Authority, weighed but little with them, in comparison of what they ima-

(f) Job. xi. 12. (g) 1 Corinth. x. 13.

gined Reason to dictate very clearly in this Matter.

Some learned Writers endeavour to argue, that if the *Israelites* had not fallen into Idolatry by setting up the Calf, God would not have given them the ritual or ceremonial Part of the Law (g): They say, that at first God *spake not unto them, nor commanded them concerning Burnt-Offerings or Sacrifices (h), but gave them his Statutes, and shewed them his Judgments, which if a Man do, he shall even live by them (i)*, adding to these only his *Sabbaths, to be a Sign between him and them, that they might know him to be the Lord (k)*. They observe, that the ten Commandments, and the Statutes which follow to the End of the xxxiiiid Chapter of *Exodus*, do well answer to these Accounts of the Prophets, and were indeed such a Law of moral Righteousness, as *that the Man which doth those things, shall live by them (l)*, without any further Observances to recommend him unto God. But when the *Israelites* would not walk

(g) Antequàm offenderent Dominum, Idolum illud erigentes, Decalogum tantùm acceperunt; post Idololatriam verò et Blasphemias, ceremonias legales multas dedit, ad nihil aliud utiles, quàm ut eos remorarentur à Dæmonum cultu et sacrilegâ superstitione Gentium. *Isidor. Clar. Schol. in Ezek. Vid. Spencer. de legib. Heb. l. 1. c. 4. § 4.*

(h) Jerem. vii. 22.

(i) Ezek. xx. 11.

(k) Ver. 12.

(l) Rom. x. 5.

in God's Statutes, but despised his Judgments (*m*), and had their Eyes after their Fathers Idols (*n*), that then *the ceremonial Law was added because of their Transgressions* (*o*), then God gave them also, or over and above what he had before commanded them, *Statutes, that were not good, and Judgments whereby they should not live* (*p*); namely the positive and ritual Precepts, which *Moses* was then directed to deliver to them. We may find this Opinion at large in the Work called the *Apostolical Constitutions* (*q*), and there is an Appointment in the *xxth Chapter of Exodus*, which perhaps may be thought to favour it: An Altar of Earth, or of rough unhewn Stone, was commanded at the giving the Law, for all their Sacrifices (*qq*); but at the Institution of the ritual Injunctions a different Altar was appointed,

(*m*) Ezek. xx. 24. (*n*) Ibid. (*o*) Gal. iii. 19.

(*p*) Ezek. xx. 25. (*q*) Δέδωκεν νόμον ἄπλυν εἰς βούλησιν τῶν φυσικῶν, καθαρόν, σωτήριον, ἅγιον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ὄνομα ἐγκατέθετο, τελειόν, ἀνελλειπτόν, δέκα λογιῶν πλήρη, ἀμωμον, ἐπιδέροντα ψυχὰς.—Νόμος ὅστις ἐστὶν ἢ δεκάλογος, ἢν περὶ τῶν λαῶν μοχλοποιῖται.—θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἐνομοθέτησεν ἀκαθάρτη φωνῇ, ἕτος ὅστις δίκαιός ἐστι, διὸ καὶ νόμος λέγεται διὰ τὸ φύσει δικαίως τὰς κρίσεις ποιεῖν. Const. Apost. l. 6. c. 19, 20. Οἱ τότε ὅστις οἱ τῶν λαῶν τὰς ἀμνήμονες ὑπῆρξαν, καὶ μόχλον ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐπεκαλέσαντο.—τότε ὀργισθεὶς ὁ θεὸς ἔειπεν αὐτοῖς δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις, σιβώσῃ σαρτισμῶ, καὶ σκληρότητι κλαῖν. ibid.—ὁ τῶν θεῶν ἕδος.—τὰ ἐπίστακτα ἀκαθάρτη. c. 22. ἐκ ἀνελῶν τῶν φυσικῶν νόμοι, ἀλλὰ παύσας τὰ διὰ τὴν δευτερώσεως ἐπίστακτα. ibid. (*qq*) Exod. xx. 24.

of much Workmanship and of another Nature (*r*), which may seem to hint to us, that the Observances belonging to it, were not a Continuation of what was at first intended, but rather an Addition of new Rites, like the Altar they belonged to, and of a different Composition. But I answer,

I. What is contended for, that God did not intend and command the ritual Part of the Law of *Moses*, before the *Israelites* set up the Calf, is not true in Fact: The xxv, xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, xxix, xxx and xxxist Chapters of *Exodus* shew us undeniably, that the Tabernacle was ordered; the Utensils and Furniture of it directed; the Order of the *Levitical* Priesthood was appointed; the Persons designed for the Offices of it were named; their Vestments and Rites of Consecration, the Altars, and the daily Offerings were prescribed; in a word, the Foundation and Frame of the whole *Jewish* Law was laid and formed by the immediate Designation of God to *Moses*, before the People had corrupted themselves by their Idolatry: Had these Chapters followed after the making of the Calf; or had we any Reason to imagine that the Contents of them were not dictated

(*r*) *Exod.* xxvii.

to *Moses* until his second going up into the Mount (*s*), after he had made Intercession for the People (*t*); there would be some Appearance in Favour of the Argument above stated: but since the several Directions contained in these Chapters, were all evidently given to *Moses*, before the Lord intimated to him to get him down from the Mount, for that the People had corrupted themselves (*a*); whatever Men of Learning may think to offer, to prove the ritual Law not to have been intended until the *Israelites* fell into Idolatry, it is indisputably plain, that the Fact was otherwise; and that God was delivering to, and instructing *Moses* in all the Parts of it, before the Idolatry of the Calf was contrived or intended by the People. And agreeably hereto we may observe,

II. That, after *Moses* had made Intercession for the *Israelites*, and was commanded to renew the Tables (*b*); to erect the Tabernacle (*c*); and had a visible Sign of God's approving it, by the Clouds covering it, and the Glory of the Lord filling it, and God's speaking unto him out of it (*d*); we may, I say, observe that in all these things nothing new or before undesign'd was done; but the very Law

(*s*) Exod. xxxiv. 4. 28. (*t*) xxxii. 31. xxxiii.
 (*a*) xxxii. 7. (*b*) xxxiv. 1. (*c*) xxxv. xxxvi.
 xxxvii. xxxviii. xxxix. (*d*) xl. 34. Levit. i. 1.

was now further completed, which God before the Sin of the Calf had in part delivered to them, and it was completed exactly according to, and without any Deviation from the Directions, which had before the Commission of that Sin been given unto *Moses*; and the visible Signs of God's Presence upon the erecting the Tabernacle, were exactly according to what God promised him, the first Time of his being with him on the Mount, namely, that He would *meet him at the Door of the Tabernacle of the Congregation, and speak there unto him, and there meet with the Children of Israel, and sanctify the Tabernacle by his Glory, to sanctify the Tabernacle and the Altar, and Aaron and his Sons, and to dwell amongst the Children of Israel, and to be their God* (c): All these things were promised, before the *Israelites* set up their Idol, exactly according to what was afterwards performed; and therefore if there be indeed any Passages in Scripture, which represent the ritual Part of the Law to have been given upon Account of the Idolatry of the People, we must find some way to new-model the History of *Moses*, or it will not agree with them. But

III. There are no Texts of Scripture, which intimate the ritual Law to have

(c) *Exod.* xxxix. 42, 43, 44, 45.

been given, because of the *Israelites* Idolatry. The Abettors of this Opinion do indeed commonly cite the Words of St. *Paul* (d), or of the Prophets *Jeremiab* (e), and *Ezekiel* (f) to countenance their Assertion; but it is easy to shew, that the Passages they refer to, have no such meaning, as they would put upon them. For, 1. St. *Paul* indeed says, *The Law was added because of Transgressions* (g); but he does not here treat of the ritual Part of the Law in opposition to the moral, nor suggest, that any one Part of the Law was added for the *Israelites* not having punctually observed some other Part of it, but he speaks of the whole *Mosaical* Dispensation, and argues it to have been instituted upon Account of the Wickedness and Corruption of the World: When God brought the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, true Religion was almost perished from the Face of the Earth; Men in all Nations were greatly corrupted both in Faith and Manners; hereupon God was pleased to choose to himself the House of *Jacob*, to be a *peculiar Treasure unto him above all People* (h), and he revealed himself unto them, and gave them a Law, to recal, and to preserve them, from going after the Heathens to learn their Ways,

(d) Gal. iii. 19. (e) Jerem. vii. 22. (f) Ezek. xx. 11—26. (g) Galat. ubi sup. (h) Excd. xix. 5. *until*

until the Seed should come (i), and to shut them up unto the Faith, which should afterwards be revealed (k), and to bring them unto Christ (l): This is the Argument of the Apostle in the Place cited, and it suggests to us, not that God gave the *Israelites* first a moral Law, just and holy and good, and afterwards when they would not observe this, then a ritual, weak and unprofitable Law, to punish them for their Wickedness and Folly; but it represents, that God gave them the Law, the whole Law, as *Moses* has related, consisting indeed of divers Precepts, and various Commands, but all excellently adapted to have had a great Effect, if the *Jews* had not behaved themselves strangely, and defeated the Benefits which they might have received from it. But 2. The Prophet *Jeremiah* remarks, that God spake not unto the *Israelites*, nor commanded them, in the Day that he brought them out of the Land of Egypt, concerning *Burnt-Offerings* or *Sacrifices* (m), and from hence it is argued, that these were not a Part of the Religion, that was at first enjoined them: But we shall best see the Meaning of the Prophet by considering, what it was that God spake unto them at the Time he refers to. And we find, that when *Moses* went up unto God, the Lord called un-

(i) Gal. iii. 19.
(m) Jerem. vii. 22.

(k) Ver. 23.

(l) Ver. 24.

to him out of the Mountain, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the House of Jacob, and tell the Children of Israel; Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on Eagles Wings, and brought you unto my self. Now therefore, if ye will obey my Voice indeed, and keep my Covenant, then shall ye be a peculiar Treasure unto me above all People: for all the Earth is mine. And ye shall be unto me a Kingdom of Priests, and an holy Nation: These are the Words, which thou shalt speak unto the Children of Israel. And Moses came, and called for the Elders of the People, and laid before their Faces all these Words, which the Lord commanded him (n). And thus it was indeed Fact as the Prophet represents, that God did not speak unto them nor command them in that Day concerning Sacrifices or Burnt-Offerings; I might add, nor concerning the not being guilty of Idolatry, of Murder, Theft, or any other Wickedness; but *this thing* he then commanded them, saying, Obey my Voice, and ye shall be my People; for the Covenant was not limited to particular, or to any Set of Precepts, but it was a general Engagement to obey God's Voice indeed, and to do and perform all the Statutes, and Judg-

(n) Exod. xix. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

ments, and Laws, which God should think fit to give them. When *Jeremiah* prophesied, the *Jews* were guilty of the highest Abominations (*o*), and yet they came regularly to the Worship at the Temple, but without a Reformation of their Lives (*p*): Hereupon the Prophet's Message to them was, that if they continued in this Course, they might put their *Burnt-Offerings to their Sacrifices, and eat the Flesh* (*q*); they might even break thro', and not pretend to observe, the legal Institutions for their *Burnt-Offerings* (*r*); for that God would not accept them for an exact Performance of one Part of his Law only, when what he required of them was to *obey his Voice, and to walk in all the Ways that he had commanded them* (*s*). And thus the Design of *Jeremiah* in the Words before us, appears evidently to be, not to suggest to the *Jews* that *Burnt-Offerings* and *Sacrifices* were originally no Part of their Religion, but to remonstrate to them, that *Sacrifice and Offering* was but one

(*o*) Jerem. vii. 8, 9. (*p*) Ver. 10. (*q*) Ver. 21.
 (*r*) *The Law of the Burnt-Offering was, that it was none of it to be eaten, but the whole burnt and consumed upon the Altar, so that if the Jews had done what the Prophet bids them ver. 21. they had acted contrary to the Law for the Burnt Offering; and his directing them so to do, is only hinting to them, that it was of no Moment to be exact in their Sacrifices, without amending their Lives.*
 (*s*) Jerem. vii. 23.

Part, and that a Regularity of their Lives and Manners was another; and that a due Care, not of one or either, but of both these Parts of their Duty, was enjoined them, in the general Command given to them, to obey God's Voice in order to be his People. There remains to be considered, 3. A Passage in *Ezekiel* (t). *Ezekiel* represents that God gave the Jews, first his Statutes and his Judgments, which if a Man do, he shall even live in them (w), and afterwards, because they had not executed these Judgments, but despised his Statutes, that therefore, he gave them Statutes, that were not good, and Judgments, whereby they should not live (x). The former of these Statutes and Judgments are said to be the moral Law, and the Commands of the ritual Law are supposed to be the latter (y). But I would observe, 1. That whatever the Statutes were, which are thus said to have been not good, whatever were the Judgments, whereby they should not live, it appears evidently from the Prophet, that they were not given to that Generation of Men, who received the ritual Law, and consequently the ritual Law could not be any Part of these Statutes. The Prophet remarks, that the *Iraclites* after receiving

(t) Ezek. xx. 10. (w) xx. 11. (x) Ver. 24, 25.
 (y) Spencer, de legib. Heb. l. 1. c. 1. § 2. c. 14. § 3.

the Law, rebelled against God in the Wilderness (*z*); that God had said, he would pour out his Fury upon them to destroy them (*a*); but that for his Name's sake he had not executed this Vengeance (*b*); yet, that he did determine not to bring THEM into the Land of *Canaan* (*c*), tho' his Eye had spared them from destroying and making an end of them (*d*): And thus in five Verses he sums up what had happened in God's Dispensations to the *Israelites*, from the giving the Law, unto the Punishment of their Misbehaviour at the Return of their Spies out of *Canaan* (*e*), during which Interval, *how oft did they provoke God* (*f*)? Yet many a Time turned he his Anger away, and did not stir up all his Wrath (*g*), until at length, tho' his Eye spared them (*b*), and he would not kill all the People as one Man (*i*), which had indeed been to destroy and make an end of them in the Wilderness (*k*), yet he lifted up his Hand, that he would not bring them into the Land, which he had given them (*l*), but denounced against them, that all those that had seen his Glory and his Miracles, and had tempted him now ten Times, and not

(*z*) Ezek. xx. 13. (*a*) Ibid. (*b*) Ver. 14.
 (*c*) Ver. 15. (*d*) Ver. 17. (*e*) Numb. xiv. (*f*) Psalm
 lxxviii. 40. (*g*) Ver. 38. (*h*) Ezek. xx. 17.
 (*i*) Numb. xiv. 15. (*k*) Ezek. xx. 17. (*l*) Ver. 15.

hearkned to his Voice, should surely not see the Land, but fall in the Wilderness; but that their little ones should be brought into it (m): After this the Prophet proceeds to relate what happened to their Children; that God said unto them, *Walk ye not in the Statutes of your Fathers—but walk in my Statutes, and keep my Judgments, and do them* (n): But the Children rebelled against God (o), and because they had not executed his Judgments, but had despised his Statutes, therefore he gave them Statutes that were not good, and Judgments whereby they should not live (p). And thus it must be undeniably plain, that the Prophet could not, by the Statutes not good, mean any Part of the ritual Law; for the whole Law was given to the Fathers of those, whom the Prophet now speaks of; but these Statutes were not given to the Fathers, but to their Descendants. 2. If we go on, and compare the Narrative of the Prophet with the History of the Israelites, we shall see further, that *the Statutes and Judgments not good* are so far from being any Part of Moses's Law, that they were not given earlier than the Times of the Judges. On the first Day of the eleventh Month of the fortieth Year after the Exit from Egypt, (q) Moses, after he had

(m) Numb. xiv. (n) Ezek. xv. 18, 19. (o) Ver. 21.
 (p) Ver. 24, 25. (q) Deut. i. 5.

numbered the People in the Plains of *Moab* by *Jordan* near *Jericho* (r), and found that there was not left a Man of those, whom he had almost forty Years before numbered in the Wilderness of *Sinai*, save *Caleb* and *Joshua* (s), by the Command of God made a Covenant with the *Israelites* in the Land of *Moab*, besides the Covenant which he made with them in *Horeb* (t). The Fathers who had so often provoked God, were now all dead, and here it was, that God said unto their Children, *Walk ye not in the Statutes of your Fathers, neither observe their Judgments, nor defile your selves with their Idols—but walk in my Statutes, and keep my Judgments and do them* (u); here it was that God commanded them, *not to be, as their Fathers, a stubborn and rebellious Generation, but to set their Hearts aright, and to have their Spirit stedfast with God* (w); for this was the Purport of what *Moses* gave in Charge to them, *that they might teach their Children the same, that it might be well with them, and that they and their Children might hear, and learn to fear the Lord their God, as long as they lived in the Land, whither they were going over Jordan to pos-*

(r) Numb. xxvi. (s) Ver. 64, 65. (t) Deut. xxix. 1. (u) Ezek. xx. 18, 19. (w) Psalm lxxviii. 8.

self it (x): We do not find, but that from this Time to the Death of *Moses*, the *Israelites* were punctual in observing what he commanded, and after *Moses* was dead, they served the Lord all the Days of *Joshua*, and all the Days of the Elders, that over-lived *Joshua* (y); but when all that Generation were gathered unto their Fathers, then the Children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and followed other Gods of the Gods of the People, that were round about them, and provoked the Lord to Anger, and served Baal and Astartoth (z); so that here the Scene opens, which *Moses* had forewarned them of (v), and which *Ezekiel* alludes to (b), and accordingly what *Ezekiel* mentions as the Punishments of these Wickednesses (c), began now to come upon them. The Prophet remarks, that God said, he would pour out his Fury upon them, and accomplish his Anger against them (d), and agreeably hereto we find, that the Anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and he delivered them into the Hands of Spoilers, that spoiled them, and he sold them into the Hands of their Enemies round about; so that they could not any longer stand before their Enemies. Whithersoever

(x) Deut. xxxi. 12, 13. (y) Josh. xxiv. 31. Judges
 ii. 7. (z) Ver. 10, 11, 12, 13. (a) Deut. xxxi.
 29. (b) Ezek. xx. 21. (c) Ibid. (d) Ibid.

they went out, the Hand of the Lord was against them for Evil, as the Lord had said, and as the Lord had sworn unto them (e). The Prophet observes, that nevertheless God withdrew his Hand (f): He did not proceed intirely to extirpate them; and thus the Historian: *Nevertheless the Lord raised up Judges which delivered them (g): Many Times indeed did he deliver them*, but they went on to provoke him with their Behaviour; so that he determined, for their transgressing his Covenant, and not hearkning unto his Voice, that he would not henceforth drive out any from before them, of the Nations which *Joshua* left when he died (h); and hereby the *Israelites* became mingled with the *Heathen (i)*, or as the Prophet expresses it, they were scattered among the *Heathen*, and dispersed through the Countries (k); they had not a contiguous and united Possession of the whole Land, but dwelt among the *Canaanites, Hittites, and Amorites, and Perizzites, and Hivites and Jebusites (l)*: And thus what preceded the giving the *Statutes that were not good*, brings us down to the Days of the Judges, and therefore these Statutes were not given earlier than these Times. But, 3. Let us examine what these Statutes and Judgments really were,

(e) Judges ii. 14, 15. (f) Ezek. xx. 22. (g) Judges ii. 16. (h) ii. 20, 21. (i) Psalm cvi. 35. (k) Ezek. xx. 23. (l) Judges iii. 5.

and when and how God gave them to the *Israelites*; and in order hereto let us observe, 1. That God does in no wise give these Statutes and Judgments the Appellation by which he called the Appointments he had made and designed for his People: Of these he says, *I gave them my Statutes, and shewed them my Judgments* (m); these were indeed God's Laws, intended for the Use and Observance of his People; but of the *Statutes not good, and Judgments whereby they should not live*, he says, *I gave them also Statutes* [not my Statutes] *and Judgments* [not my Judgments] *whereby they should not live* (n); so that these Statutes and Judgments were not God's Statutes or God's Judgments, tho' they are said to have been given by him. But, 2. The 26th Verse suggests, that in giving them these Statutes and Judgments, God *polluted them in their Gifts, in that they caused to pass thro' the Fire all that openeth the Womb, that he might make them desolate*: What the Prophet here means, is fully suggested by himself in another Place. *Thou hast slain my Children, and delivered them, to cause them to pass through the Fire for them* (o): The Fact was, they had taken their Sons and their Daughters, and sacrificed them

(m) Ezek. xx. 11.

(n) Ver. 25.

(o) xvi. 21.

to be devoured (p), or as the *Pfalmist* represents it, *They shed innocent Blood, even the Blood of their Sons and of their Daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the Idols of Canaan (q)*, and the Institutions that directed such Performances, these were the *Statutes not good*, these were the *Judgments, whereby they should not live*; for these fully answer to the Prophet's Account: they polluted those, who used them, in their Gifts; by the observing them the Land was polluted with Blood, and the People defiled with their own Works (r); and they tended to make them desolate, by the Destruction of their Offspring. And God may be said to have given them these Statutes, either because he gave them up to their own Hearts Lusts, to walk in their own Counsels (s), to learn these Practices from their Heathen Neighbours: Thus God is said to have hardned *Pharaoh's Heart (t)*, when *Pharaoh* really hardned his own Heart (tt); and in like manner to have given a lying Spirit in the Mouth of *Ahab's* Prophets (u), when in Fact they prophesied out of their own Hearts (w); and follow'd their own Spirit, when they had seen nothing (x); and in this Sense

(p) Ezek. xvi. 20. (q) Psalm cvi. 38. (r) Ver. 38, 39. (s) lxxxii. 12. (t) Exod. iv. 21. vii. 3. ix. 12. x. 1, 20, 27. xi. 10, &c. (tt) vii. 13, 22. viii. 15, 19, 32. ix. 7, 34. See Vol. II. B. IX. (u) 2 Chron. xviii. 22. (w) Ezek. xiii. 2. (x) Ver. 3.

the *Chaldee Paraphrast* took the Passage of *Ezekiel* (y): Or more emphatically, God may be said to have given them these Statutes, because for their Punishment he delivered them into the Hands of their Enemies, and impowered those who hated them to rule over them (z): These their Enemies might set up their Abominations amongst them, and make *Israel* to sin, as their own wicked Kings did afterwards in divers Reigns. They might give them Statutes such as those of (a) *Omri*, and by their Power over them influence and oblige them to the Observance of them: And God may in a strong Sense be said to have given them these Statutes, by his giving their Enemies Power to impose them upon them. I have now fully considered this Passage of *Ezekiel*, and perhaps have been too large upon it; but I was willing to clear it as distinctly as I was able, because great Stress has been laid upon it: Dr. *Spencer* imagined this Text alone sufficient to support his *Hypothesis*; but I cannot but think, if what has been offered, be fairly considered, no honest Writer can ever cite it again for that purpose: However, that I may

(y) Projeci eos, et tradidi eos in manum Inimicorum suorum, et post Concupiscentiam suam insipientem abierunt, et fecerunt decreta non recta, et leges in quibus non vivetis. *Targ. Jonath. in loc.* (z) Psalm cvi. 41. (a) Micah vi. 16.

leave no seeming Objection to any Part of what I have offered, I would further take notice:

I. Dr. *Spencer* imagines the 26th Verse of the xxth Chapter of *Ezekiel*, which we render, *I polluted them in their own Gifts, in that they caused to pass through the Fire all that openeth the Womb, that I might make them desolate*, to refer, not to their causing their Children to pass thro' the Fire to the Idols of *Canaan*, as I have above taken it; but he supposes it to relate to God's rejecting the First-born of the *Israelites* from the Priesthood, and appointing the Tribe of *Levi* to the sacred Offices in their stead (b): He would translate the Verse to this purpose. *I pronounced them polluted in their Gifts [i. e. unfit to offer me any Oblations] in that I passed by all that openeth the Womb, in order to humble them, that they might know, that I am the Lord.* I answer: This cannot be the meaning of the Text: For the *Levitical* Priesthood was instituted, as I have remarked, in the Days of the Fathers; but the Prophet here speaks of something done in the Days, not of the Fathers, to whom the Law was given, but of their Children, of a Generation that arose after the appointing the *Le-*

(b) *S. con. de leg. Heb. l. i. c. 8. § 2.*

vites to the sacred Offices, and therefore cannot be here supposed to speak of that Appointment (c). Farther; The Expression here used [*behanabir col peter racham*] does not signify *to pass by or reject* the First-born: The Verb [*nabar*] in the Conjugation here used, does sometimes signify *to set apart or choose* (cc), but cannot have, I think, the Sense the learned Doctor would here give it. *Maas* מַאֵס is the Hebrew Verb for *to reject* (d), and would most probably have been the Word here used, if Rejecting from the Priesthood had been the Matter intended by the Prophet (e).

II. Another Objection to what I have offered above, may arise from the 21st and 23d Verses of the xxth of *Ezekiel*. The Prophet may seem in them to hint, that God's Anger against the Children was whilst they were in the Wilderness, and that it was in the Wilderness that he lifted up his Hand against them, to scatter them among the Heathen; and if so,

(c) Vid. quæ sup. Chorus est eruditorum virorum, qui de Præceptis ceremonialibus hæc intelligunt, et remotione Israelitarum ab Altari. Ego vero libere profiteor huic opinioni nunquam me potuisse consentire, ob rationes non leves sanè et futiles, sed solidas prægnantesque ex serie orationis, *συνάγωγος* insolentiâ, verbis aliis Textui immixtis, antecedentium, consequentiumq; nexu, et scriptururam *ἀλλὰ πάλαι* petitas. *Vitringa Observat. Sac.* l. 2. c. 1. (cc) Exod. xiii. 12. (d) Vid. 1 Sam. viii. 7. x. 19. xvi. 1. 2 Kings xviii. 20. Jer. vi. 30. xiv. 19. et in sexcent. 21, loc. (e) Vid. Hof. iv. 6.

their provoking God to this Anger must have been before they entred *Canaan*, and therefore not so late as the Time I have fixed it to. I answer: 1. The History of the *Israelites* contained in *Moses's* Books and those which follow, was wrote long before *Ezekiel* prophesied; and as his Prophecy could not alter what had been done, so the best Interpretation of what he related about them, must be that which agrees to their History, and we must not invent Facts, or change their History to suit it to any thing contained in his Prophecy: And according to their History, the Children's provoking God was, as I have above stated it. And thus the *Psalmist* fixes it. After God had *cast out the Heathen before them, and divided them an Inheritance by Line*, then it was that the Children *tempted and provoked the most high God, and kept not his Testimonies, but turned back, and dealt unfaithfully like their Fathers* (f). But, 2. The Threatnings of God against the Children of the *Israelites*, whenever they should provoke him, were indeed pronounced to them by *Moses* in the Wilderness, before they entred *Canaan* (g). 3. Perhaps this was all that the Prophet intended to express by the Word, *in the Wilderness*, in the Ver-

(f) Psalm lxxviii. 55—57. (g) See Deut. xxviii, &c.
fes

ses above cited. *Then I said, I would pour out my Fury upon them, to accomplish my Anger against them in the Wilderness:* The Words, *in the Wilderness*, do not hint the Place where the Anger was to be accomplished, but rather refer to *Anger*, and suggest the Anger to be, as we might almost say in *English*, the *Wilderness-Anger*, or the Anger which God had threatned in the Wilderness. Or 4. The Word [*be Midbar*] *in the Wilderness*, having occurred twice before, after Words the same that are used in these two Verses (z), I am apt to suspect, that the Transcribers, intent upon what they had a little before written, might insert the Word again inadvertently in the 21st and 23d Verses, when perhaps it was not there repeated in the Original Copy of the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*.

Moses having made Intercession for the People after their Idolatry of the golden Calf, at the Command of God made two new Tables of Stone, like unto those which he had broken, and went up a second Time with them to Mount *Sinai* (a): He continued again on the Mount forty Days and forty Nights, without eating Bread or drinking Water (b), during which time he wrote, as God directed

(z) Ezek. xx. 13.—15. (a) Exod. xxxiv.
(b) Ibid. ver. 28.

him, the ten Commandments upon the two Tables (c), and received the Commands set down in the xxxivth chapter of *Exodus*. After the forty Days he came down from the Mount with the two Tables in his Hand, and gathered the Congregation together, and instructed them in what had been appointed to him (d), and required them to make their Offerings for erecting the Tabernacle (e). In order to erect the Tabernacle, he had been commanded to tax every *Israelite* above twenty Years old half a *Shekel* (f), or about fifteen Pence of our Money (g): The Sum arising from this Tax was appointed to be for the Service of the Tabernacle (h), and we find, that *Moses* used it for the Sockets of the Sanctuary, and of the Vail, and for Hooks for the Pillars, and for their Chapiters (i). The number of those who were taxed, were 603550 Men (k), and the Sum arising from assessing them half a *Shekel* a Man, amounted to 100 Talents, and 1775 *Shekels* of *Jewish* Money (l); so that a *Jewish Talent* consisted of 3000 *Shekels*; for from 603550 half *Shekels* or 301775

(c) *Exod.* xxxiv. 28. (d) *ver.* 11—27. (e) xxxv. 4. (f) xxx. 12—16. (g) According to *Brerewood* the *Shekel* was a Silver Coin of about 2 s. 6 d. Value in our Money. *Dean Prideaux* makes it about 3 s. See his *Connec. V. I. B. 3. p. 196.* (h) *Exod.* xxx. 16. (i) xxxviii. 25.—28. (k) *ver.* 26 (l) *ver.* 25.

Shekels deduct an hundred times 3000, the number of Talents, and the Remainder will be 1775, which is the number of the remaining *Shekels* over and above the Talents, and the whole Sum raised, at fifteen Pence the half *Shekel*, amounts in *English* Coin to 3772 *l.* 17 *s.* 6 *d.* This Sum therefore *Moses* first raised by the Assessment, and after he had collected it, he moved the People to a voluntary Contribution (*m*) as God had directed him (*n*), which brought in a sufficient Quantity of all sorts of Materials that were wanted, to the full of what they could have occasion for (*o*); so that *Moses* gave Commandment to proclaim thro' the Camp, that the People should make no further Offerings (*p*). *Bezaliel* and *Aholiab*, being nominated by a special Designation from God himself, began the Tabernacle (*q*), and in some Months against the end of the Year, by their Direction, and the Assistance of the Hands employed under them (*r*), the Tabernacle and its Appurtenances, the Table of Shew-Bread, the Priests Garments, the holy Ointments, the golden Candlestick, and all the Vessels and Utensils for the Service of the Altar, were finished (*s*.)

(*m*) Exod. xxxv. (*n*) ver. 2. (*o*) xxxvi, 5.
 (*p*) ver. 6. (*q*) xxxv. 30. xxxvi. 1. (*r*) xxxvi. 1.
 xxxix 43. xl. 2. (*s*) xxxix. 32—43.

The marginal Reference in our *English* Bibles at *Exodus xxx. 12.* seems to hint, that this numbring the People for the raising the Tax for the Tabernacle, was the very same with that mentioned *Numbers i. 2—5.* The Number of the Poll appears indeed in each Place to be to (t) a Man the same, and this possibly might lead those who made the Reference to mistake, and think the People to have been in truth but once numbred; but it is evident, 1. That the Poll mentioned in the first Chapter of *Numbers*, was not taken until the first Day of the second Month of the second Year after the *Exit* from *Egypt* (u). 2. The Tabernacle was finished a Month earlier; for it was erected on the first Day of the first Month (w). 3. The Poll taken for raising the Assessment, was before the Tabernacle was finished; for the Silver which the Assessment raised, was applied to the making some Parts of the Tabernacle (x); so that the Poll for the Assessment must have preceded at least above a Month earlier, than that which is mentioned in the 1st Chapter of *Numbers*. 4. I should imagine it some Months earlier; for surely the numbring and assessing the People preceded the free Offering of those who

(t) Exod. xxxviii. 26. Numb. i. 46. (u) Numb. i. 1.
 (w) Exod. xl. 17. (x) Exod. xxxviii. 27, 28.

were willing (*y*), and was therefore before the Workmen began the Tabernacle; for when the Persons employed in the Work of the Tabernacle found, that the free Offerings had supplied as much of all sorts of Materials as were necessary, it was proclaimed thro' the Camp, that no one should offer any more (*z*), and therefore had these voluntary Offerings been made before the Assessment, the Assessment would have been superfluous; but we find it was not so, by the use made of the Silver, which came in from it (*a*): I should therefore think it most probable, that *Moses* first raised the Assessment, then ordered the Free-Will-Offering, and when the Materials were collected, he delivered them to the Workmen, and appointed them to begin the Tabernacle (*b*); and if he proceeded thus, the Poll mentioned in the first Chapter of *Numbers* was near six Months later, than this numbring and assessing the People; for the Tabernacle was probably about five Months in making, and the Poll in *Numbers* i. was taken a Month after the finishing and erecting the Tabernacle as above. But it may seem very odd, that two different Polls of one and the same People, taken

(*y*) Exod. xxxvi. 3. (*z*) ver. 6. (*a*) xxxviii.
27, 28. (*b*) xxxvi. 3.

thus at two different Times, should agree exactly to a Man; one would rather imagine, that in a growing People, the number of Deaths of the Aged could not answer to the Advance of young Persons to the Age they were polled at; but that in the space of one or of six or seven Months, there must be a considerable Variation in so great a Company as the Camp of the *Israelites*: And if we duly attend to it, we find this was the Fact in the Case before us. The Number of Men indeed in each Poll, is the same exactly, there being 603550 Men in each of them (c); but then the same Persons were not allowed to be taken down in both the Polls. To the first Poll came all the *Israelites* from twenty Years old and upwards (d); but in the second Poll the *Levites* were not numbred (e): When the first Poll was taken, I say all the *Israelites* were numbred, no Tribe excepted; for the *Levites* were not then separated from the Congregation (f); but at the taking the second Poll, the *Levites* were to be numbred by themselves, and in another manner (g): And thus at

(c) Exodus xxxviii. 26. Numb. i. 46. (d) Exod. xxx. 14. (e) Numb. i. 47. (f) *The separation of the Levites was at taking the second Poll.* Numb. iii. 6. God having directed them not to be numbred in it. chap. i. 48, 49. (g) i. 48. iii.

taking the first Poll, the whole Camp, *Levites* included, consisted of 603550 Men of and above twenty Years old (b); at the second Poll the Camp consisted of the like number of 603550 Men (i) of the Age abovementioned, without any *Levites* in the Computation; so that as many Persons were grown up to the Age of twenty Years in the space of time between taking the two Polls, as the number of *Levites* of twenty Years old and upwards at the first Poll amounted to, supposing, what I think may be allowed, that no one Person died in the Camp in this Interval (ii).

(b) Exod. xxxviii. 26. (i) Numb. i. 46. (ii) *If we consider the whole Body of the Israelites as under the Protection of a particular Providence, and in Hopes, each Person for himself and Children, of living to go into the promised Land: If we add to this, that Sickness and an early Death were not frequent in these Ages, but were thought Judgments for particular Sins. See Vol. II. Book IX. Numb. xxvii. 3. it will not be hard to imagine five or six Months to pass without a Death in the Camp. And if we further reflect, that the younger Part of the Camp were so numerous, as in about eight or nine and thirty Years to grow up into a Body of 601730 Men of twenty Years old and upwards, without the Levites, and without any of the Persons that were now twenty, except Joshua and Caleb, to be numbred amongst them, Numb. xxvi. 51, —64. it may not seem improbable that the Persons at this time near twenty Years old, but not completely so, should be sufficient to afford in five or six Months an Addition to the Camp, not only equal to the Number of Levites of twenty Years old and upwards, who were taken from it, and who were, I conceive, in Number not above 8 or 10000. See Numbers iv. 48. but also to a farther Number of aged Men, if any such must be supposed to have died in this Interval.*

On the first Day of the first Month of the second Year after the departure out of *Egypt*, *i. e.* about the middle of our *March*, A. M. 2514, *Moses* reared up the Tabernacle, and placed the Ark in it, and hung up the Vail, and put the Table of Shew-Bread in its Place, and set the Bread in order upon it, and put the Candlestick in its Place, and lighted the Lamps, and placed the golden Altar of Incense in the Tent before the Vail, and he burnt sweet Incense thereon, and he set up the Hanging at the Door of the Tabernacle, and set the Laver in its Place, and reared up the Court round about the Tabernacle and the Altar, and set up the Hanging of the Court-Gate. This is what *Moses* is represented (a) to have done this Day (b): and all the Parts of the Tabernacle being ready to be put together, and the Ark and Altar completely finished, fit for their respective Places, all this may very well be conceived to be done in the space of Time allotted to it, an Hour or two before Night: And when *Moses* had thus raised the Tabernacle, God was pleased to give

(a) Exodus xl. 17. — 33. (b) What is mentioned ver. 31, 32. that *Moses* and *Aaron* and his Sons washed their Heads and Feet at the Laver, was not now done, but at such Times as they went into the Tent of the Congregation, or approached the Altar, and is here set down only to tell the use of the Laver.

the People a visible and miraculous Demonstration, that it was erected according to his Directions; for a Cloud covered the Tent of the Congregation, and the Glory of the Lord filled the Tabernacle (c): And this visible Evidence of the divine Presence continued from this Time, until the *Israelites* had finished their Journeys thro' the Wilderness; for the Cloud of the Lord was upon the Tabernacle by Day, and Fire was on it by Night, in the sight of all the House of Israel throughout all their Journeys; and when the Cloud was taken up from over the Tabernacle, the Children of Israel went onward in all their Journeys: But if the Cloud were not taken up, then they journeyed not, till the Day that it was taken up (d): And thus God was pleased to appoint himself, as it were, a visible Dwelling amongst Men; for the Tabernacle was built, that he might dwell amongst his People (e), that there might be a known and determined Place, where he would at all Times vouchsafe to meet them and commune with them (f), and give them a sensible Evidence of his being nigh unto them in all Things, that they might have occasion to call upon him

(c) Exodus xl. 34.
Numb. ix. 15.—23.
xxix. 43.—45.

(d) Exod. xl. 36, 37, 38. See

(e) Exod. xxv. 8. (f) ver. 22.

for (g); and this was the first Structure that was erected in the World for the Purposes of Religion (h). The *Israelites* had a most strict Charge to *destroy utterly all the Places, wherein the Nations of Canaan had served their Gods*, whether they were upon the high Mountains, or upon the Hills, or under green Trees (i); but we do not find, that they had any Buildings to erase, rather all they had to do, was to overthrow their Altars, to break their Pillars, to cut down, and to burn their Groves with Fire, and to hew down the graven Images of their Gods, and to destroy the Names of them out of the Place where they had erected them (k). In After-times, when Houses were built for the idolatrous Worship, we find express mention of the demolishing them, by the Persons who engaged in reforming the People: Thus *Jebu* brake down the House of *Baal* (l), as did *Jehoiada* in like manner (m); and the *Israelites* would unquestionably have been as expressly commanded to demolish such Structures, had there been any, when they entred *Canaan*; the Heathen Nations had no Thought of building Houses to their Gods,

(g) Deut. iv. 7. (h) See Vol. II. Book VIII.
 (i) Deut. xii. 2. (k) ver. 3. vii. 5. Exod. xxxiv. 13.
 xxiii. 24. (l) 2 Kings x. 27. (m) 2 Kings xi. 18.
 2 Chron. xxiii. 17.

until after the *Israelites* had their Tabernacle.

When the Glory first covered the Tabernacle, *Moses* could not enter into it, because the Cloud abode thereon, and the Glory of the Lord filled it (*n*); and it continued to do so most probably for some Days, during which *the Lord called unto Moses, and spake unto him out of the Tabernacle of the Congregation* (*o*), and delivered to him, in an audible Voice, the several Laws recorded in the first eight Chapters of *Leviticus*; after receiving which, *Moses* proceeded to anoint the Tabernacle, the Altar, and all its Vessels, and to consecrate *Aaron* and his Sons to the Priests Offices (*p*). *Aaron* first officiated as high Priest on the eighth Day after the beginning of his Consecration (*q*), and his Consecration might be begun on the fifth Day of the Month; so that he might enter upon his Ministry on the Twelfth: We cannot suppose his Consecration sooner, allowing a due space of Time for the giving and receiving and recording the Laws above-mentioned; nor can we imagine it later upon Account of celebrating the Passover, which was to be on the fourteenth, and which was not celebrated until after the Deaths of *Nadab* and *Abihu*; for we find

(*n*) Exodus xl. 34, 35. (*o*) Levitic. i. 1. (*p*) viii. (*q*) ix. 1.—8.

at the Passover, that *there were certain Men, who were defiled by the dead Body of a Man, that they could not keep the Passover (r)*; and these I think must have been *Mijhael* and *Elzaphan*, who had carried *Nadab* and *Abihu* from before the Sanctuary out of the Camp (s), so that their Deaths happened just before the Passover, on the very first Day of *Aaron's* Ministration; for whilst he was ordering the Bullock and the Ram for the Peace-Offering (t), when the Fire came out from before the Lord and consumed the Burnt-Offering and Fat upon the Altar (u), *Nadab* and *Abihu*, two of *Aaron's* Sons, took each of them a Center, and put Fire therein, and put Incense thereon, and offered strange Fire before the Lord, which he commanded them not, and there went out Fire from before the Lord and struck them dead (w): This unhappy Accident could not but occasion some Interruption in the Ministration; *Aaron* and his two other Sons were undoubtedly affected with it, but *Moses* applied to them, and required them to suppress their Grief for the Calamity, and not to accompany the dead Bodies out of the Tabernacle, lest the Displeasure of God should arise against them (x). *Aaron's* Heart seems here to

(r) Numbers ix. 6. (s) Levitic. x. 4. (t) ix. 18.
 (u) *Id.* 4. (w) x. 1, 2. (x) ver. 6, 7.

have almost sunk within him; and I imagine, he would have taken some Refreshment to support his Spirits against the Load of Sorrow that now pressed heavy upon him, and that this occasioned the Command now given him, *Do not drink Wine, nor strong Drink, thou nor thy Sons with thee, when ye go into the Tabernacle of the Congregation, lest ye die; It shall be a Statute for ever throughout your Generations* (y). Moses ordered the dead Bodies of *Nadab* and *Abihu* to be carried out of the Tabernacle and out of the Camp (z), and then called upon *Aaron*, and his Sons that were left, to finish the Day's Service (a); but upon Inquiry he found, that the Sin-Offering, which ought to have been eaten by the Priests in the holy Place (b), was burnt and consumed (c): He represented to the Sons of *Aaron* their Mistake in this matter (d); but *Aaron* made excuse for it, and alledged, that such Judgments had been inflicted that Day, as to give him Reason to doubt, whether it might be proper for him to finish the Atonement. *Aaron* said unto *Moses*: *Behold, this Day have they offered their Sin-Offering, and their Burnt-Offering before the Lord, and such Things have befallen me; and if I had eaten the Sin-*

(y) Levitic. x. 8, 9. (z) ver. 4. (a) ver. 12—15.
 (b) vi. 26. (c) x. 16. (d) ver. 17.

Offering to-day, should it have been accepted in the sight of the Lord (e)? Some of the Commentators represent, that *Aaron* thought himself, upon account of the Grief and Concern he was then under, not to be in a fit Disposition to eat the Sin-Offering (*f*); others, that it would have been indecorous for him to have done it (*g*); but they do not consider the Charge which *Moses* had given him: The *Hebrew* Text suggests what I have hinted to be *Aaron's* Apology. *Aaron* said to *Moses*, Behold this Day have they offered their Sin-Offering and their Burnt-Offering, [ותקראנה אתי כאולרי] (*b*) *vattikrenab oti caelleb*, the Verb *vattikrenab* is the plural *fæminine*, and refers to the Offerings; and what *Aaron* suggests is, That the Ministrations already performed had called down upon him the Judgments that had been inflicted, and that for this Reason he feared they had prophaned the Services of the Day, and therefore that he did not presume to go on to finish them, but had burnt the Goat, instead of reserving it to be eaten, according to the Orders,

(*e*) Levitic. x. 19. (*f*) They comment upon the Words thus; Agnosco quidem comedendum fuisse et cum Lætitiâ, sed qui potui lætari? Malui igitur convivium negligere, quàm mæstus inire. *vid. Pool. Synops in loc.*

(*g*) Indecorum fuisset Patrem convivari carne Victimæ, in quâ offerentiâ duos Filios subito amiserat. *Cleric. Comment. in loc.* (*b*) The Verb וקראנה in the Conjugation here used, has this Sense, Jer. xxxii. 23.

which

which he should have observed, if their officiating had been so conducted, as to give him Reason to think it would have been accepted in the sight of the Lord. This indeed seems a reasonable Excuse, and we find *Moses* was contented with it (k), and pressed him no further to finish the remaining Offices of that Day's Service.

It may be here asked, What so great Crime were *Nadab* and *Abihu* guilty of, that they paid so dear a Price as to lose their Lives by an immediate Vengeance? But the Answer is easy; The great end and purpose of the *Mosaical* Dispensation was, to separate unto God a chosen People, who should be careful to obey his Voice indeed, and who, instead of being like other Nations, following and practising, as Parts of their Religion, what Men might invent, set up, and think proper and reasonable, should diligently and strictly keep to what God had enjoined, without turning therefrom to the right Hand or to the left, or without adding to the Word which was commanded them, or diminishing ought from it: But herein these young Men greatly failed; God had as yet given no Law for the offering Incense in Censers, all that had been com-

(k) Levitic. x. 20.

manded about it was, that *Aaron* should burn it upon the Altar of Incense every Morning and every Evening (*l*): Afterwards he received further Directions (*m*); so that these Men took upon them to begin and introduce a Service into Religion, which was not appointed, they offered *what the Lord commanded them not* (*n*); and this, if it had been suffered, would have opened a Door to great Irregularities, and the *Jewish* Religion would in a little time have been, not what God had directed, but have abounded in many human Inventions added to it. *Aaron* and his Sons were *sanctified to minister in the Priest's Office* (*o*) for this end, that they should *remember the Commandments of the Lord to do them*, not that they should *seek after their own Heart* (*p*): They could not have taken upon themselves the Offices of their Priesthood, if they had not been called of God to them (*q*); and as they were called of God to them, it was their indispensable Duty to be *faithful to him that appointed them in all his Words* (*r*), in every Part of the Dispensation committed to them. *This, said Moses, is that which the Lord spake, saying, I will be sanctified in them that come nigh me,*

(*l*) Exodus xxx. 7. (*m*) Levitic. xvi. 1—12.
 (*n*) x. 1. (*o*) Exodus xxxix. 44. (*p*) Numbers
 xv. 39. (*q*) Hebrews v. 4. (*r*) iii. 2.

and before all the People I will be glorified (s): They then only sanctified and glorified God, when they dispensed to his People, as Parts of his Religion, what he had commanded; but when they varied from it, or performed or enjoined, as Part of it, what he commanded not, then they assumed to themselves a Power that belonged not to them; then they spake and acted of themselves, and *be that* in these Points *speaketh of himself, seeketh not God's, but his own Glory* (t).

God had directed, that the *Israelites* should keep the Passover at its appointed Season (u), and accordingly they prepared for it against the fourteenth Day of the Month at Even, in order to observe it according to the Rites of it (w): But on the fourteenth Day there arose a Doubt about the Persons who had touched the dead Bodies of *Nadab* and *Abihu*, whether they were fit to keep the Passover (x); *Moses* inquired of God about them, and received an Order, that all Persons hindered by such an Accident, or that were in a Journey, should keep the Passover a Month after their Brethren (y). We have no Account of any Thing done more, until the first Day of the second Month; so that we have here sixteen

(s) Levitic. x. 3. (t) John vii. 18. (u) Numb. ix. 1, 2. (w) ver. 5. (x) ver. 6. (y) ver. 10, 11.

Days Interval, and in this space I imagine, the Laws recorded in *Leviticus*, from the Beginning of the xith Chapter to the end of that Book, were given, except the Laws contained in the three last Chapters; for these were given to *Moses*, not at the Door of the Tabernacle, but upon the Mount (*p*). The Son of *Shelomith* the Daughter of *Dibri*, of the Tribe of *Dan*, was stoned for Cursing and Blapheming about this Time (*q*).

On the first Day of the second Month, A. M. 2514. *Moses* was commanded to take the Number of the Congregation by a Poll of every Male, of twenty Years old and upwards (*r*), excepting the *Levites* who were not to be here numbred (*s*): And in order to the taking this Poll, twelve Persons were named to be Princes of the Tribes of their Fathers (*t*); and they assembled their Tribes, and gave in upon this first Day of the Month, each the Names and Number of the Persons in the Tribe he was set over (*u*): After this *Moses* received a Command to appoint the Order, in which the Host of the *Israelites* was to march and encamp (*w*): In the next Place he was directed to take the Number of the *Levites*, and to ap-

(*p*) *Levitic.* xxv. 1. xxvi. 46 xxvii. 34. (*q*) *Levit.* xxiv. (*r*) *Numb.* i. 1, 2, 3. (*s*) *ver.* 49.
 (*t*) *ver.* 4. — 17. (*u*) *ver.* 18. (*w*) *Numb.* ii.

point to their several Families their respective Services, and to set apart the whole Tribe for the Ministry of the Tabernacle (*y*): In the more ancient Times, the eldest Son in every Family was the Minister of Religion (*z*); but in the *Jewish* Institution God thought fit to dismiss the First-born from this Service, and to direct the *Levites* to be dedicated to him instead of them (*a*): As many as there were *Levites*, over and above the First-born of the *Levites*, who, by being the First-born, were before this Institution holy unto the Lord, so many of the First-born of the other Tribes were discharged from attending upon the Service of the Tabernacle, and accordingly there being twenty and two thousand *Levites* (*b*), these were accepted instead of so many of the first-born Males of the Children of *Israel*: The whole Number of the First-born of the *Israelites* were twenty two thousand, two hundred, threescore and thirteen (*c*); and the whole Number of the *Levites* were, of the Sons of *Ger-shon*, seven thousand five hundred (*d*); of the Sons of *Kobath* eight thousand six hundred (*e*); of the Sons of *Merari* six thousand two hundred (*f*); in all twenty

(*y*) Numbers iii. (*z*) See Vol. I. B. V. (*a*) Levit. iii. 12. (*b*, Numb. iii 39. (*c*) ver. 43. (*d*) ver. 22. (*e*) ver. 28. (*f*) ver. 34.

two thousand three hundred; and yet we are told that there were two hundred threescore and thirteen of the First-born of the Children of Israel more than the *Levites* (g), that is more than there were *Levites* to be accepted instead of them; but this is a difficulty easy to be accounted for; for of the *Levites* many were the First-born of their Families, namely three hundred of them; so that there remained twenty two thousand only, who were not First-born, and might therefore be accepted instead of the First-born of the other Tribes; and thus we must understand the 39th Verse of the *iiid Chapter of Numbers*. *All that were numbred of the Levites, which Moses and Aaron numbred at the Commandment of the Lord, throughout their Families, all the Males from a Month old and upward, were twenty and two thousand* (b): All that were numbred, *i. e.* in order to be taken instead of the First-born, were so many; for if the first-born *Levites* be included, if the Sum of the whole Tribe be taken, they amount to three hundred more, as any one may see by putting together the several Sums of the three Families (i); but there being three hundred first-born *Levites*, and twenty two thousand two

(g) Numbers iii. 4.
28, 34.

(b) ver. 39. (i) ver. 22;

hundred threescore and thirteen first-born *Israelites* of the other Tribes, there would indeed remain two hundred threescore and thirteen First-born more than there were *Levites* to answer them, and therefore for these God ordered five Shekels of the Sanctuary apiece, to be taken in lieu of each of them (*k*). The Laws mentioned in the vth and vith and viiith Chapters of *Numbers*, were given about this Time, and the *Levites* were consecrated to their Ministry according to all that the Lord had commanded (*l*); and when all this was done, and the Tabernacle hereby fully set up (*m*), all its Officers and Ministers being duly appointed, the Princes of the Tribes made their Offerings (*n*): The Princes offered each on a Day by himself (*o*); so that they were twelve Days bringing in their respective Offerings: The Camp began to march on the twentieth Day (*p*); the Offerings were therefore over probably a Day or two before the twentieth, and must therefore have begun on the fifth or sixth Day, and consequently what I have mentioned, as previous to the Princes

(*k*) The Shekel of the Sanctuary is, as I have before computed it, about 2 s. 6 d. of our Money; so that they paid each Man about 12 s. 6 d. for his Redemption. (*l*) Numbers viii. 20. (*m*) vii. 1. (*n*) ver. 2. (*o*) ver. 11. (*p*) x. 11.

Offerings, from the Polling the People to the finishing the Consecration of the *Levites*, took up four or five Days. About the eighteenth Day of the Month, *Moses* had two Silver Trumpets made, (*q*), for the calling of an Assembly (*r*) or to summon to a Meeting the Heads of the Congregation (*s*), or for the blowing an Alarm for marching the Camp (*t*); and on the twentieth Day the Cloud was taken off from the Tabernacle, and the *Israelites* prepared to march in due order (*u*), and by the Direction of the Cloud they journeyed three Days together from the Wilderness of *Sinai* into the Wilderness of *Paran* (*w*): Before they began their March, *Moses* asked *Hobab* the Son of *Jethro* his Father-in-law to continue with them, but he was desirous to return into his own Land and to his Kindred (*x*): *Moses* was

(*q*) Numbers x. 2. (*r*) Ibid. (*s*) ver. 4.
 (*t*) ver. 5. (*u*) ver. 11. (*w*) ver. 12. (*x*) *There*
appears some little Confusion in the Scripture Accounts of
Jethro, from the different Names given him in different
Places; but it is no unusual thing to find many Names
given to one and the same Person. From Numbers x. 29.
it appears that Jethro was called Raguel, and from
Judges iv. 11. that he was also called Hobab. He had a
Son also, whose Name was Hobab, Numbers x. 29. but
there is no room for a careful Reader to mistake the one
Hobab for the other. Some learned Writers have indeed
imagined, that Jethro did not leave Moses, but went with
him thro' the Wilderness; but Moses says expressly, that
Jethro went his way into his own Land. Exod. xviii. 27.
Hobab indeed went on with Moses, but not Hobab,
Moses's Father-in-law, which had been Jethro; but Hobab
the Son of Moses's Father-in-law, or the Son of Jethro.

unwilling

unwilling to part with him, and represented how serviceable he might be to them in their Travels (*y*), and made him such Offers as induced him not to leave them (*z*), and accordingly we find his Posterity settled afterwards in *Canaan* (*a*).

Upon the Cloud's resting in the Wilderness of *Paran*, the Camp being thereby stopped from marching any further, the *Israelites* grew uneasy (*b*), and complained, perhaps for their not being carried directly into *Canaan*: Their Uneasiness was offensive to God, and he destroyed many of them with Fire from Heaven for it (*bb*); but upon *Moses's* Prayer the Fire ceased (*c*). In a little time they murmured at their having nothing to eat but *Manna*, and were very vexatious to *Moses* in solliciting him to obtain them some other Diet (*d*). *Moses* quite tired out with their restless Humours, begged earnestly that God would be pleased, some way or other, to ease him of the great Burthen which lay upon him (*e*): Hereupon God ordered him to choose seventy Elders out of the Officers, whom he had employed over the People (*f*): After *Moses* had chosen them, God was pleased to give them a Portion of his Spirit to qua-

(*y*) Numb. x. 31. (*z*) Ver. 32. (*a*) Judges i.
 16. (*b*) Numb. xi. 1. (*bb*) Ibid. (*c*) Ver. 2.
 (*d*) Ver. 4.—6. (*e*) Ver. 11.—15. (*f*) Ver. 16.
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lily them for the Employment they were designed for (g): Sixty eight of the Seventy came up unto *Moses* to the Tabernacle, upon their being chosen: But *Eldad* and *Medad*, two, whom *Moses* had nominated, seemed desirous to decline the Honour that was offered them, esteeming themselves perhaps not equal to the Undertaking, and therefore they went not out unto the Tabernacle, but remained in the Camp (h): But God was pleased to convince them, that he could readily give Abilities for any Employment to which he should call them, and therefore he enabled them to prophesy in the Camp, as the others did at the Tabernacle (i). *Eldad* and *Medad's* prophesying in the Camp was soon reported to *Moses*, and *Joshua* the Son of *Nun* thought it would be expedient for *Moses* to forbid them (k), imagining it would lessen *Moses's* Authority, if these two Men, who, by their not coming up to the Tabernacle, might appear to have no Commission under him, should be thought to have, and be allowed to use this Privilege: But *Moses* having no Aim to his own Glory, remonstrated, that he wished *all the Lord's People were Prophets, and that the Lord would put his Spirit upon them* (l): This would have truly eased his Burthen; for

(g) Numb. xi. 17.

(h) Ver. 26.

(i) Ibid.

(k) Ver. 27, 28.

(l) Ver. 29.

if God would have thus immediately revealed his Will to every *Israelite*, all *Moses's* Labour would have been at an end, and the People, from the highest to the lowest, would all have known what they were to do as well as himself, and he not seeking his own Honour, nor having at heart his private Interest, but sincerely desiring to be *faithful to him that appointed him (m)*, would have sincerely rejoiced to see the Purpose and Design of God thus effectually taking place amongst his People: The Elders went down with *Moses* into the Camp (*n*), and God sent a Wind which brought great Quantities of Quails (*o*), which the People took and dried and salted for their eating (*p*): But tho' God

(*m*) Heb. iii. 2. (*n*) Numb. xi. 30. (*o*) Ver. 31.

Our English Version represents the Quails to have lain round about the Camp as it were two Cubits [or a Yard] high; but there is no Word in the Hebrew Text for the Number two: The Hebrew Word *עֲוֹנוֹן* signifies, as it were Cubits high, expressing no determinate Measure, but in general a considerable Height. In like manner we say, he that gathered leaft, gathered ten Homers, ver. 32, a surprizing Quantity, if an Homer be, as is by some computed, five of our English Bushels and an half: But perhaps the Word we here render Homers, was not intend'd to signify in this Place the particular Jewish Measure so call'd, but should rather have been render'd Heaps in general, without defining the Quantity, which each Heap contained. It is thus us'd Exod. viii. 14. and we may well imagine each Man to gather ten Heaps, but five and fifty Bushels a Man does not seem a Quantity likely to have been gathered by them. (*p*) This Management of Quails, in order to preserve them, was usual amongst the Heathens. Athen. Deipnos. l. 9. c. 11.

sent them this Food upon their Impatience, yet he punished them for their mutinous Temper (*q*), and by a Plague cut off those, that had required this Provision: They called the Name of the Place *Kibroth Hattaavah*, because they buried the People here that lusted (*r*). After the Plague ceased, they journeyed hence to *Hazeroth* (*s*).

At *Hazeroth* *Miriam* and *Aaron* spake against *Moses* for his having married a Foreigner, a Woman, who was not of the Children of his People; for he had married the Daughter of *Jethro* the *Cushite* or *Arabian* (*t*): *Moses* was very meek, above all the Men which were upon the Face of the Earth (*u*); and the exceeding Goodness of his Temper led *Miriam* and *Aaron* most warmly to oppose him upon this Subject: There appears to have been no Law given, which could directly affect the Case of *Moses*: Whether *Aaron* inferred his Marriage to be wrong, from what had been (*w*) enjoined the Priests, thinking *Moses* obliged in every Respect to as great Strictness as they could be, I cannot say: However, he and *Miriam* would admit of no Plea in *Moses*'s Fa-

(*q*) Psalm cvi. 15. lxxviii. 30, 31. Numb. x. 33.
 (*r*) Ver. 34. (*s*) Ver. 35. (*t*) Ch. xii. 1. See
 Vol. I. B. III. (*u*) Numb. xii. 3. (*w*) Levit.
 xxi. 14.

your; but contended that they knew as well as he, what was lawful, and what was not (*p*); for that God had revealed his Will to them as well as to him. This Dispute might have had a very unhappy Effect upon the People; for if the Persons, whom they all knew to have been favoured with immediate Revelations of God's Will, had thus evidently differed and contradicted one another about it, how should the Congregation know by whom to be directed? Parties and Divisions would have arisen from such Contests: But God was pleased to interpose upon this Occasion. *The Lord came down in the Pillar of the Cloud to the Door of the Tabernacle, and called Aaron and Miriam* (*q*), and observed to them, that he had never revealed his Will to either of them, or to any others in so extraordinary a manner, as he had done to *Moses* (*r*), and that therefore they ought to have been afraid to speak against and contradict him (*s*); and in order to justify *Moses* to the whole Congregation, *Miriam* was struck with a Leprosy, and ordered to be put out of the Camp for seven Days (*t*); after that, by *Moses's* Prayer for her, she was recovered (*u*): Upon her Re-admission into the Camp, the *Israelites* removed from

(*p*) Numb. xii. 2. (*q*) Ver. 5. (*r*) Ver. 6—8.
 (*s*) Ibid. (*t*) Ver. 10, 14. (*u*) Ver. 13.

Hazereth further on, in the Wilderness of *Paran* (z).

From the Place they were now encamped at, *Moses* by God's Command sent twelve Persons, having chosen one out of each Tribe, to go as Spies into the Land of *Canaan* (w), to take a view, and to bring an Account of the Land and its Inhabitants. The twelve Persons appointed took their Journey, and went over the Land, and in forty Days came back to the Camp again (v). At their Return the Congregation was summoned to receive their Report (y), which, as to the Fruitfulness of the Land, was very agreeable; but they represented the large Stature and Strength of the Inhabitants, so as to intimidate the People, and to induce them to think themselves in no wise able to conquer it (z). The Camp grew into a great Ferment upon this Representation, and a false Report of the Goodness of the Country gat about, and increased the Discontent, notwithstanding all that *Caleb*, who had been one of the Spies, could offer to appease it (a); and at last such a Spirit was raised amongst the People, that they were for making themselves a Captain to lead them back to *Egypt* (b). *Moses* and *Aaron*

(z) Numb. xii. 16. (w) xiii. 2. (v) Ver. 21—25.
 (y) Ver. 26—31. (z) Ver. 27—31. (a) Ver. 30—
 33. (b) xix. 4.

expressed the deepest Concern at this strange Infatuation (c), and *Caleb* and *Joshua* made the utmost Efforts to reduce the Camp to a better Temper. They remonstrated, that the Land was certainly exceeding good; that it was God's Design to give it to them; that since God was for them, the Strength of the *Canaanites* against them was not to be feared; that to return to *Egypt*, would be a Rebellion against God, who had so miraculously delivered, preserved, and appointed them for this Undertaking (d). What they said was far from having the designed Effect: The People were rather transported by it to greater Fury, and were for having *Joshua* and *Caleb* immediately stoned (e); but the Glory of the Lord appeared in the Tabernacle of the Congregation, in a manner visible to all the People (f). Such an Obstinacy as they were now guilty of, was an exceeding great Sin against God; however *Moses* was admitted to intercede, that the whole Congregation should not be destroyed (g): But God determined, that for this Offence, none of the Persons who had seen his Glory and his Miracles done in *Egypt*, and had thus rebelled against him, should come into the Land of *Ca-*

(c) Numb. xix. 5. (d) Ver. 6--9. (e) Ver. 10.
 (f) Ibid. (g) Ver. 11--20.

naan (b); for that their Entrance into the Land should now be deferred until forty Years were expired from their *Exit* out of *Egypt*, and that before that Time all the Generation that were twenty Years old and upwards, when *Moses* and *Aaron* numbred them after the *Exit* out of *Egypt*, except *Caleb* and *Joshua*, should die in the Wilderness (i): *Moses* told the People these things, at the hearing whereof they mourned greatly (k). They were now desirous to attempt to enter the Land; but *Moses* cautioned them against it (l), assuring them, that God would not now give them Success: However they would march; but the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* smote them and discomfited them unto *Hormah* (m). The Laws contained in the xvth Chapter of *Numbers*, seem to have been given within the forty Days the Spies were travelling over the Land of *Canaan*; and about this Time I imagine the Man to have been stoned, who gathered Sticks on the Sabbath-Day (n).

There is a Passage in the Speech of *Joshua* and *Caleb*, upon which the *Jewish Rabbins* founded a most whimsical Conceit: *Joshua* and *Caleb* represent, that, as

(b) Numb. xix. 22, 23. (i) Ver. 22—38.
 (k) Ver. 39. (l) Ver. 41, 42, 43. (m) Ver. 44, 45.
 (n) Num. xv. 32—36.

to the *Canaanites*, their Defence was departed from them (o): The *Hebrew* Word is צלם [*Tzillam*] *their Shadow*, upon which the *Rabbins* thus comment: They say, that on the Night of the seventh Day of the seventh Month, God shewed his People by the Moonshine, what should happen to them in the Year following (p): They pretended, that if any one went out into the Moonshine in that Night in a proper Dress, he would see the Shadow of his Body diverse, according to what would happen to him. The Shadow of his Hand held out would want a Finger, if he was to lose a Friend that Year: His Right-Hand would cast no Shadow, if his Son was to die; his Left-Hand, if his Daughter: If the Person himself was to die, then his Shadow would appear without an Head, or perhaps his Body cast no Shadow at all, *his Shadow being departed from him*. It would be trifling to endeavour to shew that *Caleb* and *Joshua* intended nothing of this Sort. The Use of the Word Shadow for Protection is an easy *Metaphor*: The Strength of the *Israelites* was thought by *Joshua* and *Caleb* to be the Lord's being with them, and under this Consideration they look-

(o) Numb. xiv, 9.
c. 16. p. 363.

(p) Buxtorf. Synagog. Judaic.

looked upon the *Canaanites* as deserted of God, and therefore unable to bear up against them, and this was the whole of what they endeavoured to represent to the People; but no Expression of Scripture can be so clear and express, but that Supposition may turn it to Fancy and Fable. The *Greeks* had a Whim about the Shadow of those who entered (*q*) the Temple of the *Arcadian Jupiter*, not altogether unlike this Fiction of the *Rabins*; and the *Monkish Tale*, which some of our vulgar People can still tell, of their Shadow in the Night of *St. Mark's Festival*, was perhaps derived from it.

Moses was ordered to lead the *Israelites* back towards the Red-Sea again (*r*), and after their unsuccessful Attempt against the *Canaanites* (*s*) they began their Retreat: We hear but little more of them for about thirty seven Years; during which Time they marched up and down the Wilderness, and made seventeen Encampments (*t*), from their leaving *Rithmah* in the Wilderness of *Paran* (*u*) to their coming to *Kadesh* in the Wilderness of *Zin* (*v*): Their being obliged to make

(*q*) Οὐδέποτε εἶπας, τὴς εἰς τὸ θεῖον Διὸς ἕλατον ἐν τῷ ἱερὲ καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. Vid. Polyb. Hist. l. 16. c. 11. (*r*) Numb. xiv. 27. (*s*) Ver. 44. 45. (*t*) xxxiii. 19—26. (*u*) Compare xii. 16. with xxxiii. 18. (*v*) xxviii. 36.

this Retreat, and the deferring their Entrance into *Canaan*, raised great Discontents amongst them, and very probably occasioned the Rebellion of *Korab*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*, which happened about this Time: Two hundred and fifty Princes of the Assembly were concerned in it (x), and many thousands of the People, as may be imagined from the Number of those who perished by the Plague (y), were swallowed up in the Earth (z), or consumed by the Fire (a): The Heads of the Conspiracy were *Korab* a *Levite*, *Dathan* and *Abiram* the Sons of *Eliab*, and *On* the Son of *Peleth* of the Tribe of *Reuben*. They contended, that there was no Reason for so great a Subjection to, and Dependance upon *Moses* and *Aaron* (b); that the Priesthood ought not to have been appropriated to *Aaron* and his Family; for that *all the Congregation was holy, every one of them, and the Lord amongst them (c)*; and they remonstrated against *Moses*, that he had brought them out of *Egypt* a very plentiful Country; that he had no real Intention ever to bring them into *Canaan*; that he designed only to carry them about, thro' innumerable Difficulties, until he could inure them to

(x) Numb. xvi. 1, 2. (y) Ver. 49. (z) Ver. 32.
 (a) Ver. 35. (b) Ver. 3. (c) Ibid.

Servitude, and make himself altogether a Prince over them (*d*); that to deny this to be his Aim, would be to suppose the People to have no Eyes to see the Situation of their Affairs, and the Prospects that were before them (*e*). *Moses* had by exprefs Command from God denounced to the Congregation, that not one of them, except *Caleb* and *Joshua*, should enter into *Canaan*; that all the rest of them, who were above twenty Years old, when they were polled after their coming out of *Egypt*, should die in the Wilderness, and the younger Generation only should come into the Land (*f*); and this had put them all into so great a Ferment, that even a miraculous Interposition of the divine Power, was not immediately sufficient to subdue the Spirit of their Rebellion; for we read, that on the Morrow after the Earth had swallowed up *Dathan* and *Abiram* and all that belonged to them (*g*), after *Korab* and his Company were consumed with Fire from the Lord (*b*), all the Congregation murmured against *Moses* and against *Aaron*, and accused them of having killed the Lord's People (*i*): But hereupon God sent a Plague amongst them, and took off fourteen thousand by

(*d*) Numb. xvi. 3, 13. (*e*) Ver. 14. (*f*) xiv.
28—33. (*g*) xvi. 32. (*b*) Ver. 35. (*i*) Ver. 41.

it (*k*), and also gave them a further Evidence by the blossoming of *Aaron's* Rod, that he was the Person whom God had appointed to be Priest for his People (*l*). After the Punishment of the Plague, and the Testimony of the further Miracle in *Aaron's* Rod, their Opposition ceased (*m*); *Aaron's* Rod was by divine Command laid up in the Tabernacle in memory of this miraculous Confirmation of his Priesthood (*n*): And the People expressed themselves convinced, that whoever presumed to intrude into the Service of the Tabernacle, would be pursued by divine Vengeance unto Death (*o*). The Laws mentioned in the xviiiith and sixth Chapters of *Numbers*, were given about this Time.

Whilst the *Israelites* were in the Wilderness, some Writers imagine that *Sesoftris* was King of *Egypt*, and that he raised a powerful Army, and conquered a great Part of the then known World. They suppose him the Son of *Pharaoh*, who in Pursuit of the *Israelites* was drowned in the Red-Sea: Archbishop *Usher* was of this Opinion (*p*), and the late learned Bishop *Cumberland* endeavours to support it (*i*). The Substance of what he argues upon the

(*k*) Numb. xvi. 49. (*l*) xvii. (*m*) Ibid. (*n*) Ver. 10. (*o*) Ibid. (*p*) *Annals*, p. 21. (*i*) *Sanchoniatho*. Sect. 4. p. 387.

Subject, amounts to, 1. That *Sesoftris* was the Brother of the *Grecian Danaus*, and therefore, since *Danaus* is confessed to have lived about the Times of *Moses* (*k*), that *Sesoftris* must be likewise placed in the same Age. 2. That according to the Testimony of ancient Writers, *Sesoftris* was the Son of *Amenophis*, the *Pharaoh*, who was drowned in the Red-Sea. If indeed either of these Assertions can be supported, *Sesoftris* must be placed in these Times: But if both these Arguments may be refuted, *Aristotle's* general Opinion, cited by the learned Bishop, that *Sesoftris* lived before *Minos* (*l*), or *Apollonius's* imagining him to have planted Colonies in *Colchis* before the *Argonautic Expedition* (*m*), or *Pliny's* hinting him to have lived before the *Trojan War*, will be of no great weight; for it is known, that very considerable Writers have mistaken the true Time of the Reign of *Sesoftris* (*n*).

1. Bishop *Cumberland* contends, that *Danaus* and *Sesoftris* were Brothers: But a supposed Citation from *Manetho* in *Josephus*, is the only Proof of this Fraternity (*o*): *Manetho* is supposed to have said, that *Sethosis* was called *Aegyptus*, and that *Ar-*

(*k*) See Vol. II. B. VIII. c. 10. (l) *Arist. Polit.* I. 7. (m) *Apollon. Argonautic.* I. 4. 276. (n) See *Pref. to Vol. II.* (o) *Joseph. contra Apion.* l. I. c. 15.

mais his Brother was *Danaus*. I must confess, I suspect the Passage: The Words cited seem to me to be not *Manetho's*, but *Josephus's* (p): *Josephus*, after having set down a large Citation from *Manetho*, adds, what I conceive, he inferred from him to be true: And I the rather think so, because nothing, that comes up to what is here cited, appears in the Remains of *Manetho*, as transmitted to us by either *Africanus* or *Eusebius*, tho' they have both of them given us the List of Kings cited by *Josephus*, and one of them some Words of *Manetho*, from which *Josephus* might probably make his Inference: *Africanus* transmits to us the *Series* of Kings, but has not remarked any Relation between any two of them (q): But *Eusebius* at the Name of *Armes* or *Armais*, calls him also *Danaus*, and records that he reigned in *Egypt* five Years, and then fled out of the Kingdom from his Brother *Ægyptus*, and went to *Greece*, and reigned at *Argos* (r); so that from *Eusebius* it looks probable, that *Manetho* had hinted *Danaus* and *Ægyptus* to be Brothers: *Josephus* imagined *Ægyptus* and *Setbosis* to be one and the same Person, and hence con-

(p) The Words in *Josephus* are, ἀγὼν δὲ ἔτι ἑμὴν Σέθωσις ἐκατέτο Ἀγυπτῶν, Ἄρμης δὲ ὁ ὀδυσσεὺς ἀγυρὴν Δαναῶν. (q) Vid. *Syncell. Chronograph. p. 72.* (r) *Id. p. 73. Euseb. Chron. p. 16.*

cluded,

cluded, that *Manetho* had suggested *Danaus* and *Sethosis* to be so related: This seems to me to be the Foundation of what is cited in and from *Josephus*.

That *Danaus* was indeed the Brother of *Ægyptus*, may be proved from many ancient Writers (*rr*); but it appears evident, from divers Circumstances recorded concerning each of them, that *Ægyptus* and *Sesoftris* were not the same Person. *Belus* the Son of *Neptune* and *Libya* married *Anchinoe* Daughter of *Nilus*, and had two Sons by her, *Ægyptus* and *Danaus* (*s*): Thus it appears, that these two Persons were Brothers: But if we pursue the History of *Ægyptus*, we may evidently see that he and *Sesoftris* were not the same Person. *Ægyptus* had fifty Sons, as *Danaus* had fifty Daughters (*t*), but *Sesoftris* had but six Children (*u*): *Ægyptus* was indeed treacherously dealt with by his Brother *Danaus*, and so was *Sesoftris* by a Brother; but in a manner very different: It is a known Story, how the fifty Daughters of *Danaus* were married, each of them to a Son of *Ægyptus*, and how all of them, except one, killed their Husbands, by the Order of *Danaus* their

(*rr*) Apollodor. l. 2. Chron. Alexandrin. Cedren. l. 1. Euseb. in Chronic. Prideaux in Not. Historic. ad Chron. marmor. (*s*) Apollod. l. 2. Not. Eustath. et Didymi in Homer. Il. æ. ver. 42. (*t*) Ibid. ibid. Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 25. (*u*) Herodot. l. 2. c. 107.

Father: Thus *Danaus* attempted to have his Brother's Family extinct (*w*): But the Attempt upon *Sesoftris* made by his Brother was of another sort: At *Sesoftris*'s Return home from his Conquests, his Brother invited him, his Wife and Children to an Entertainment, and fired the House where he received them, with design to burn them (*x*): *Sesoftris* enjoyed himself in *Egypt* after his Conquests many Years in Peace, and died in his own Country, and was succeeded in his Kingdom by his Son (*y*); but *Ægyptus* the Brother of *Danaus* was an Exile from *Egypt* as well as *Danaus*, and died and was buried in *Achaia* in *Greece* (*z*), and his only surviving Son *Lynceus* never was King of *Egypt*, but succeeded *Danaus* in the Kingdom of *Argos* (*a*), and was buried in that Country in the same Tomb with *Hypermetra* his Wife (*b*): And thus *Ægyptus* and *Sesoftris* were two different Persons, the Circumstances of whose Lives, Deaths and Children, will in no wise coincide, but are very divers from one another, and therefore it cannot be conclusive to argue *Danaus* to have been Brother of

(*w*) Apollodor. Eufath. et Didym. in loc. sup. citat. Pausan. in Corinthiacis. (x) Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 37. Herodot. l. 2. c. 107. (y) Diodor. ubi sup. et p. 38. Herodot. l. 2. c. 3. (z) Pausan. in Achaic. c. 22. (a) Id. in Corinthiac. c. 16. (b) Id. ibid. et c. 21.

Sesoftris, because *Danaus* and *Ægyptus* are recorded to have been thus related. *Diodorus Siculus* and *Herodotus* are very large in their Accounts of *Sesoftris* (c), and do both of them minutely mention the Circumstances of his Brother's Treachery (d); but they neither of them hint *Danaus* to have been his Brother. *Danaus* lived about the Times of *Moses* (e), and consequently *Ægyptus* in the same Age; but as *Ægyptus* appears not to have been *Sesoftris*, the Fraternity between *Ægyptus* and *Danaus* can have no Effect towards proving the Time of *Sesoftris's* Reign.

II. Bishop *Cumberland* contends, that *Sesoftris* was the Son of *Amenophis*, who was the *Pharaoh* that was drowned in Pursuit of the *Israelites* in the Red-Sea. He cites *Manetho* and *Chæremon* in *Josephus* to prove *Amenophis* to be the King, in whose Reign the *Israelites* went out of *Egypt* (f): This *Amenophis*, he says, was the Father of *Rameffes*, who was also called *Ægyptus*, and had *Danaus* for his Brother, and *Ægyptus* and *Sesoftris* were the same Person. But I. *Amenophis* was not the King in whose Reign

(c) Diodor. l. 1. Herodot. l. 2. (d) Diodor. p. 37. Herodot. l. 2. c. 107. (e) See Vol. II. B. VIII. Photii extract. è Lib. xi. Diodor. Sic. Photii Bibliothec. p. 1151. (f) Sanchonatho. p. 398.

the *Israelites* left *Egypt*: *Josephus* does indeed remark, that *Manetho* in one particular Place asserts it (*g*), and that *Chæremon* agrees with him in it (*b*): But then he remarks, that it was a mere Fiction of *Manetho's*, contrary to what he himself had expressly owned (*i*) in other Parts of his Works, and that *Chæremon* erred in agreeing with him in it (*k*); so that the very Authorities upon which the learned Bishop would argue *Amenophis* his supposed Father of *Sesoftris*, to have been the *Egyptian* King, who reigned at the *Jewish Exit*, have been long ago refuted by *Josephus*, the very Author from whom the Bishop had them, and in the very Place where he found them. But

2. If *Amenophis* was indeed the King who reigned at the *Jewish Exit*; if he was also the Father of *Ramesses*, or *Ægyptus* the Brother of *Danaus*; yet as it appears from what I above offered, that *Ægyptus* the Brother of *Danaus* and *Sesoftris* were in no wise the same Person, nothing can be concluded from the learned Bishop's Argument to prove *Sesoftris* to have lived in these Times. Here therefore I will leave this Subject, tho' it might be more largely refuted in every Particular belonging to it; but so

(*g*) Lib. contra Ap. 1. c. 26.
 (*i*) Joseph. ubi sup.

(*k*) Id. ibid.

(*b*) Id. c. 32.

nice a Discussion of it must surely be superfluous: One thing I confess I am surprized at: I much wonder such learned and judicious Writers, as the great Authors I have mentioned, could ever entertain a Thought of it. If *Sesoftris* had lived in these Times, and commanded such victorious Armies, as he was said to be Master of, would not the Camp of the *Israelites* have fallen in his Way? or should we not have had mention made of him amongst the Hints we have in Scripture of the *Canaanitish* Nations? He must have carried his Forces thro' these Countries; but they appear to have enjoyed an uninterrupted Peace, until *Josua* attacked them. But had the great *Sesoftris* lived in these Times, whence, or how should he have raised his Armies? When *Pharaob* pursued the *Israelites* to the Red-Sea, he took his People with him, all his Horses and Chariots, and all the Chariots of *Egypt* and his Horsemen and his Army (*l*): He and all these perished in the Sea (*m*): The Kingdom had been just before spoiled of its Treasure (*n*), and every Family weakened by the Loss of the First-born (*o*); and can it appear probable, that in such

(*l*) Exod. xiv. 6, 7, 9. (*m*) Ver. 28. (*n*) xii. 36. (*o*) Ver. 29, 30.

a deplorable *Crisis* of Affairs, a King of this Country should attempt and pursue a Variety of Conquests of foreign Nations? *Egypt* must at this time have been reduced so low, as that it might have been an easy Prey to any Invasion. The *Israelites* many times thought so, and were therefore frequently tempted to an Inclination to return thither, when they met with discouraging Difficulties in their Expectations of *Canaan*: When the Spies, that had been employed to search the Land, had intimidated the Congregation, by magnifying the Strength and Stature of the Inhabitants, the *Israelites* were for making a Captain to lead them back to *Egypt* (p): They knew the Fruitfulness of this Country, were sensible that it must be under a feeble Government; and tho' they imagined themselves not able to conquer the *Canaanites*, who were in their full Strength, yet they were not afraid of an exhausted Nation: And this indeed was a natural way of thinking: But that *Sesostris* should be the Son of *Pharaoh*, who was drowned in the Red-Sea, and that in the State, which his Father's Misfortunes must have reduced *Egypt* to, he should immediately find Strength sufficient to subdue

(p) Numb. xiv. 3, 4.

Kingdom after Kingdom, and to erect himself a large Empire over many great and flourishing Nations; this must be thought by any one that duly considers things, to seem at first sight a most romantic Fiction.

It may perhaps be expected that I should not only say, who was not, but who really was the *Pharaoh* that was drowned in the Red-Sea: But perhaps this is a Point, which I may not be able to determine, so as to have no Doubts remaining about it: However, as the *Egyptian* Antiquities have been the Study of many learned Writers in divers Ages, and great pains have been taken to settle and deduce a reasonable and consistent Account of them, it may not be unacceptable to such as have not opportunity of informing themselves better, if I here once for all, set before the Reader some Account of the Works or Remains, which are most commonly cited for these Antiquities, after which he may judge for himself, how far we can fix the particular Time of any Reign or Transaction, which belongs to the History of this People. And the Authorities most generally appealed to upon this Subject are,

1. The old *Chronographicon*.
2. The Tomes of *Manetho*.
3. The Catalogue of *Eratosthenes*.
4. Some Extracts from *Manetho* in *Josephus*.
5. The *Chronography* of *Africanus*.

Africanus. 6. The *Chronicon* of *Eusebius.*
 7. The *Chronographia* of *Syncellus.* And
 8. The *Canon Chronicus* of our learned
 Countryman Sir *John Marsham.*

I. We are told of an old *Egyptian Chronographeon*, and *Syncellus* has preserved us some Remains, or rather an imperfect Account of it: But I may offer the whole of what he gives us of it, in the following Translation of his Words, According to him it was thus (q) worded:

“ Time we do not assign to *Vulcan*,
 “ for he is ever: *Sol* the Son of *Vulcan*
 “ reigned 30000 Years: Then *Saturn*,
 “ and the other Gods being 12 reigned
 “ 3984 Years: Then the eight Demi-
 “ Gods, who were Kings, reigned 217
 “ Years: And after these were set down
 “ 15 Generations of the *Cynic Cycle*,
 “ taking up the space of 443 Years:
 “ Then came the $\overline{\text{XVI}}$ *Dynasty* of *Tanite*
 “ Kings, containing eight [Generations
 “ or] Reigns of 190 Years: Next
 “ to these $\overline{\text{XVII}}$ *Dynasty* of *Memphites*
 “ 4 Reigns, 103 Years. After them $\overline{\text{XVIII}}$
 “ *Dynasty* of *Memphites*, 14 Reigns, 348
 “ Years. Then $\overline{\text{XIX}}$ *Dynasty* of *Diospoli-*
 “ *tans*, 5 Reigns, 194 Years. Then $\overline{\text{XX}}$
 “ *Dynasty* of *Diospolitans*, 8 Reigns, 228
 “ Years. Next $\overline{\text{XXI}}$ *Dynasty* of *Tanites*,

(q) "Ουτω πῶς ἐπὶ λέξεως ἔχων· Ἡραίου χρόνος ἐκ
 ἔστιν — Syncell. p. 51.

“ 6 Reigns, 121 Years. Then $\overline{\text{xxii}}$ Dy-
 “ *nasty of Tanites*, 3 Reigns, 48 Years.
 “ $\overline{\text{xxiii}}$ *Dynasty of Diospolitans*, 2 Reigns,
 “ 19 Years. $\overline{\text{xxiv}}$ *Dynasty of Saitans*,
 “ 3 Reigns, 44 Years. $\overline{\text{xxv}}$ *Dynasty of*
 “ *Ethiopians*, 3 Reigns, 44 Years. $\overline{\text{xxvi}}$
 “ *Dynasty of Memphites*, 7 Reigns, 177
 “ Years. $\overline{\text{xxvii}}$ *Dynasty of Persians*, 5
 “ Reigns, 124 Years. - - - - - (r).
 “ $\overline{\text{xxix}}$ *Dynasty of Tanites* - - - Reigns,
 “ (s) 39 Years. $\overline{\text{xxx}}$ *Dynasty* completes the
 “ whole, consisting of 1 *Tanite* King, his
 “ Reign 18 Years.”

This is the Account we have of the ancient *Chronographeon*, and I would remark concerning it, 1. That excepting the three or four first Lines, it cannot be thought to be given us in the very Words of the *Chronographeon*; rather, it is an Abstract of what was supposed to be the Contents of it. The *Chronographeon* itself, as it particularized the Reign of *Sol*, and then of *Saturn*; so unquestionably it exhibited distinctly the Reigns of the other Gods, and distributed such a Part of the 3984 Years said to be the Sum of all their Reigns, as belonged respectively to, and was made up from the Course of each of them. In like manner, I ima-

(r) Thro' some defect of the Copy, we have here an Omission of $\overline{\text{xxviii}}$ *Dynasty*. (s) We have here a like Omission of the Number of the Reigns in $\overline{\text{xxix}}$.

gine, it recounted the 8 Demi-Gods, and the 15 *Cynic* Heroes, more distinctly and in a larger Narration, than we here find them; for in this Account, I take it, we have only the Beginning of the *Chronographeon*, and then the Sum or Heads of what followed, and not the Particulars at large, that were contained in it. But I would observe, 2. That we have Reason to think, that the foregoing Account was not originally intended for an Account of the old *Chronographeon* only, but rather for an Account of the *Chronographeon*, and of some other Work accommodated and connected to it. From the Beginning of the Account to the End of what is said of the Heroes of the *Cynic Cycle*, we have the Substance of the old *Chronographeon*: From what follows thus, *then the XVI Dynasty of Tanite Kings, &c.* we have the Contents, not of the old *Chronographeon*, but of some later *Chronicle*, which was thought to supply what the old *Chronographeon* did not contain, towards the completing the *Egyptian History*. In the old *Chronographeon*, next to the *Cynic-Cycle*, were Lists of the Kings of three Kingdoms, first of the *Auritan*s, secondly, of the *Mestraean*s, and thirdly of the *Egyptians* (x): And so many

(x) Πρῶτον μὲν τῶν Ἀυριτῶν, δεύτερον δὲ τῶν Μεστραίων, τρίτον δὲ Ἀιγυπτίων. Syncell. p. 51.

Names of Kings were probably contained in each List, as had reigned to the Time perhaps when the *Chronographeon* was composed: But the Author of the Account above produced, not purposing to go on with the more obsolete Names of the old *Chronographeon*, but taking the *Auritans* to be the same Nation as were afterwards called *Tanites*, the *Mestræans* the same as *Memphites*, and the *Egyptians* the same as *Diospolitans*; and knowing that a later *Chronicle* at its $\overline{\text{xvi}}$ *Dynasty* began its Account of the *Tanite* Kings; and in its $\overline{\text{xvii}}$ and $\overline{\text{xviii}}$, its Account of the *Memphites*; and in the next *Dynasty* its Account of the *Diospolitans*; he thought this to be a Point of Time where he was sure the two Registers, he copied from, coincided, and therefore having given the Contents of the more ancient one, down to this Point, instead of going on in that any further, here, says he, we are come to the $\overline{\text{xvi}}$ *Dynasty*, an *Epoch* well known to those, who had perused the Accounts of *Manetho*, and from hence he adds *Dynasty* to *Dynasty* down to what he took to be the End of the *Egyptian* History.

If we do not take the Account, I am treating of, in this Light, it will be hard to reconcile the several Parts of it to one another. We have in it the Contents of the *Egyptian* History of their Gods,
Demi-

Demi-Gods, *Cynic-Cycle*, and then comes the \overline{xvi} *Dynasty*—: It must be obvious here to ask, how comes this to be called the \overline{xvi} *Dynasty*; for where are the preceding xv ? The learned *Editor* of *Syncellus* was aware of this Difficulty, and therefore suggests in his Annotations, that Γενεαὶ ἑ' Κύκλου κυνικῆ should be read, δυναστεῖαι ἑ', that instead of 15 Generations of the *Cynic-Cycle*, we should read 15 *Dynasties* (y); but this is to cut the Difficulty and not to solve it: This was certainly not the Intention of the Author of the Account: He imagined the whole History, from the Beginning of the *Chronographeon* to the End of the *Dynasties* he added to it, to contain in all but 30 *Dynasties*, and accordingly endeavours to sum up the Amount of them all to be 36525 Years (z); but if we begin the *Dynasties* from the *Cynic-Cycle*, the Sum of them will fall short *Myriads* of Years of that Number, and the *Chronographeon* will contain the History of the Gods and Demi-Gods, besides the *Dynasties*, which the Composer of this Account had no Notion of its doing.

I might add further, that if we take the Account abovementioned to give us the Contents of the old *Chronographeon*

(y) Vid. Annotat. Goar. ad Syncell. pag. 51.

(z) Vid. Euseb. Chronic. p. 7. Syncell. p. 52.

only, we shall destroy the supposed Antiquity of the *Chronographeon*; for as $\overline{\text{xxvii}}$ *Dynasty* mentions the *Persian Kings* (a), of whom *Cambyfes* was the first (b); so it is evident, that the other 3 *Dynasties* carry on the *Egyptian History* to about the Time of *Neētanebus* (c), and there *Manetho's Tomes* ended (d). *Neētanebus* was expelled his Kingdom by *Ochus* King of *Persia*, about 350 Years before *Christ* (e), A. M. 3654. *Manetho* dedicated his *Tomes* to *Ptolemy Philadelphus* before A. M. 3757 (f), within about 100 Years after *Neētanebus*; so that if the old *Chronographeon* reached down to *Neētanebus*, *Manetho's Work* and that must have been of about the same Antiquity. I ought here to take notice, that some very learned Writers have imagined this old *Chronographeon* to be nothing else but an Abridgment of *Manetho*: This was *Scaliger's* Opinion, and accordingly, in his *Chronicon* of *Eusebius*, he puts upon it the following Title: Θεῶν Βασιλεία κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν χρονικὸν ἐκ τῶν Μανεθῶ. Or, “ The Reign of the Gods according “ to the old Chronicle out of the Books of

(a) Καὶ μετὰ τέτταρς κζ' δυναστεία Περσῶν ἐ' ἐτῶν ρκδ'. Syncell. p. 52. (b) Vid. p. 76. Prideaux Connect. Part. I. B. III. (c) Syncell. p. 76, 77. Prideaux B. III. — VII. (d) Syncell. p. 256. (e) Prideaux B. VII. (f) Id. Part II. B. II.

“*Manetho*” (g): And this, I believe, was Dean *Prideaux’s* Sentiment: He tells us, we have an *Epitome* of *Manetho’s* Work preserved in *Syncellus* (h), taking, I suppose, this *Chronographeon* to be that *Epitome*: But they were probably led to think it so, from *Manetho’s* Work, and the *Chronographeon’s* ending at the same Period, and would perhaps have thought differently of it, had they duly observed how the Account we have of the *Chronographeon* differs, the former Part of it from the latter Part, in a very remarkable Particular, which argues it to have been an Abstract of not one, but of two different Works; the former Part exhibiting the Contents of a Work, which had not been divided into such *Dynasties* as the latter Part is made up of; the latter Part containing the Substance of one half of a Work, which had comprehended in 30 *Dynasties* the whole *Egyptian* History.

That the old *Chronographeon* was a different and distinct Work from *Manetho’s*, is evident from *Syncellus*; for he collected from it, that *Manetho* had committed Errors (i); and suggests, that the

(g) Euseb. Chronic. p. 6.

(h) Connect. Part I.

B. VII. ad annum 350.

(i) ἔξ ἧ καὶ τὸν Μανεθῶ

πεπλασῆος νομίζω Syncell. p. 51.

a Period of 36525 Years to be the space of Time, in which the Luminaries of Heaven performed, what they called an intire Revolution of the World (p); and perhaps at the Time of the Composure of the *Chronographicon*, they might think their Revolution of the *Zodiac* to be performed in 1217 Years and 6 Months, and so to be repeated 30 Times in the Course of Years abovementioned. This might lead them to divide the said Period by 30 into 1217 Years, which they could trace the First Principles of the Egyptian Astronomy, and the Courses of the particular Lights of Heaven, which in the first Ages were called their Gods, and calculate exactly how they measured the Courses of each of them, I might probably deduce 113 other Periods contained in the 36525 Years, which they might call *Generations*, and shew, how in these their said Gods completed again other Courses, which had Relations to one another. Of this sort were the 30 *Dynasties* and 113 *Generations* of the old *Chronographicon*, and belonged to the Courses of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, which were the Gods of Egypt in these

(p) Martham. Can. Chron. p. 9. See Vol. I. B. I.

(q) Afterwards they computed a Revolution of the Zodiac more accurately, to be 1460 Years, still falling a little short of a true Calculation. Censorin. de Die Natali. c. 18.

Times (*r*): After these the *Chronographeon* gave Account of the *Demi-Gods* and their Times, but not in *Dynasties*; and who these were, I have already considered (*s*): Next, it related the Heroes of the *Cynic-Cycle* (*t*); and lastly, added the Names of such *Auritan*, *Mestraean*, and *Egyptian* Kings (*u*), as had reigned down to the Times, where the *Chronographeon* ended. Let us now consider in the next Place the *Tomes of Manetho*.

II. *Manetho* was a learned and noble *Egyptian* at the Head of their *Sacra* (*w*): About the Time or soon after the *Septuagint* Translation was made of the *Hebrew* Scriptures, he was ordered by *Ptolemy Philadelphus* to compile the History of his own Country: And having consulted the Sacred Books of the *Egyptians*, and extracted, as he pretended, what had been transcribed into them from their most ancient Monuments, and completed his Undertaking in the *Greek* Tongue, he dedicated it to *Ptolemy*, at whose Command he had composed it (*x*). His Work contained an Account of the Gods, Demi-Gods, Heroes and Mortals, that had

(*r*) See Vol. I. B. I. B. 5. (*s*) B. I. (*t*) Vid. B. I.
 (*u*) Syncell. p. 51. (*w*) Syncell. p. 40.
 Voff de Hist. Græc. l. 1. c. 14. (*x*) Joseph. contra Ap. l. 1. c. 14. Syncell. p. 40.

reigned

reigned in *Egypt* (*y*); and herein the Subject Matter of it bare a Resemblance of the old *Chronographeon*; for that, as I have said, began with the Reigns of *Sol* and the other Gods, then gave account of the Demi-Gods, then of the *Cynic* Heroes, and lastly of the *Auritan*, *Mestraean* and *Egyptian* Kings. *Manetho* divided his History into 30 *Dynasties* and 113 Generations (*z*); but he differed from the *Chronographeon*, in that the Times he treated under these Titles were not the same Periods with those, which the *Chronographeon* exhibited under the like Denominations (*a*). The *Dynasties* and Generations of the *Chronographeon* were Astronomical, prior to the Reigns or Lives of the Demi-Gods; but *Manetho's* began from the Reigns of the Gods, were carried on thro' the Reigns of the Demi-Gods, Heroes and Mortals, and terminated with *Nectanebus*. *Manetho* was unquestionably a great Master of the *Egyptian* Learning, and might think it a Point of their Doctrines, that all Things had their Period in 36525 Years (*b*):

(*y*) ἐν τετράκοντα δυναστείαις ἰσορᾷ περὶ τῶν λεγομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς θεῶν, καὶ ἡμιθέων, καὶ νεκίων, καὶ θνητῶν ἑτέρων βασιλείων. Syncell. p. 40. (*z*) ριγ' γενεῶν ἐν δυναστείαις ἂν ἀναγεγραμμένων. Syncell. p. 52.

(*a*) ἢ τὸν αὐτὸν [χρόνον] τὸν Μανεθῶ. Id. p. 51.

(*b*) Vid. Jamblich. de Myster. Ægypt. c. de Deo atque Diis.

He had lived to see the ancient Glory of his Country passed over: *Egypt* was in the Possession of a foreign Race of Kings in his Times: *Nectanebus* was the last *Egyptian* that sat on the Throne of this Nation (c): Upon his Flight from *Ochus* King of *Persia*, *Egypt* came into the Hands of the *Persians*, and afterwards was reduced by *Alexander the Great* (d); and at his Death was a Part of the Provinces of *Ptolemy* one of his Captains, who in few Years became King of it, and his Son *Ptolemy Philadelphus* reigned, when *Manetho* wrote his History. Thus *Manetho* had seen of the *Egyptian* Race of Kings, that their Times had been fulfilled, and their Kingdom departed from them; and upon the *Dogmata* of the *Egyptian* Learning he conceived such a Revolution might indeed happen at the End of 36525 Years, and therefore deduced his *Dynasties* according to it, and hereby made his Work not dishonourable to his Country, or to the Stock of which himself was descended (e); for it shewed the *Egyptian* Reigns to have been carried down to a full and complete Period, and it might be likely to give *Ptolemy* no

(c) Prideaux Connect. Part I. B. VII. (d) Id. ibid.
 (e) *Manetho was of the Sebennite Race. Syncell. p. 40. a Family which in Nectanebis ascended the Throne. Prideaux ubi sup.*

disadvantageous Sentiments of the *Egyptian Sacra* and Learning, if it could suggest to him, that his Kingdom was founded near the beginning of a new Order of Ages (*f*), and might, under the Protection of the same Gods, be extended to as late a Date.

Syncellus has in several Places, from *Africanus* and other Writers, given us the numbers of Years supposed to belong to the Parts of *Manetho's* History: But the Reader would have little satisfaction, if I were to collect and compare them; for they do not appear to be the true Numbers, nor are they always consistent with one another (*g*): *Syncellus* unquestionably never saw the Work of *Manetho* (*b*): No remains of it were extant in his Times, other than what later Writers had cited from him: And the several Writers, that had cited *Manetho*, had so calculated, reduced (*i*), and disposed what they cited, to make it suit such Schemes as themselves had formed of the *Egyptian* Antiquities, that *Syncellus* could at best only guess, what *Manetho's* Scheme was, or what precise Number of Years he really assigned to the se-

(*f*) Virgil compliments the Augustan Age, in which the Affairs of Rome were come to a new Settlement, in this manner: Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo.

Eclog. 4. (*g*) *Syncell.* p. 18, 19, 52. (*b*) *Marsham.* Can. chron. p. 3. (*i*) Vid. *Syncell.* p. 19. Numeri illi non tam *Manethonis* sunt, quàm *Eusebii* vel *Panodori.* *Marsh.* ubi sup.

veral Particulars of it. *Manetho* composed his Work in three *Tomes*, Volumes, or rather Books (*k*): It contained, as above, 30 *Dynasties*, deduced thro' 113 Reigns, Successions or *Generations* (*l*): In the former *Dynasties* the History of the Gods, Demi-Gods and Heroes was contained, in the latter the History of the mortal Kings (*m*); and according to the Supplement to the old *Chronographicon* above-mentioned, the Account of the mortal Kings took up the last 15 *Dynasties* (*n*); and in them were set down the Reigns or Successions of between 70 and 80 Kings (*o*), in the space of 17 or 1800 Years (*p*): If the Number of Kings

(*k*) Syncell. p. 52. (*l*) Ibid. (*m*) Ibid. (*n*) Ibid.
 (*o*) *The Number of Kings will be found to be 77, if we fill up the xxviii Dynasty with the Reign of 1 King, and the xxix with 5, and suppose the xxx to contain the Reign, not of 1, but of 3 Kings: and that these Supplements and Corrections are just, the Reader may be satisfied from the Accounts given of these Dynasties by Africanus and Eusebius, Syncell. p. 76, 77, and from the true History of Egypt from Nectanebus's Advancement to the Throne, to the flight of Nectanebus. See Prideaux Connect. Part I. B. VII,*

(*p*) *If the Reader counts up the Numbers of Years assigned to the Reigns of the Kings in the several Dynasties annexed to the Chronographicon, supposing 6 Years to be the Reign of the King omitted xxviii Dynasty, (see this Dynast. in African. & Euseb. Syncell. p. 76, 77.) and supposing the Years of the xxx Dynasty to be 25, not 18, (consult Prideaux's Connection for the Reigns of the Kings which belonged to that Dynasty,) he will find the Sum of Years to be 1710.*

were

were 77 (q), add to these 15 Cynic Heroes (r), 8 Demi-Gods (s), 12 Gods (t), and *Sol* the Son of *Vulcan*, and we have perhaps *Manetho's* 113 Generations: In like manner I might attempt to fix the Numbers of Years, which he assigned to the several Generations: If the Reigns of his Kings amounted to between 17 and 1800 Years, then the Reigns of his Gods, Demi-Gods and Heroes, filled up the space of almost 35000; for all together made 36525 Years. The Numbers of Years of the Reigns of the Kings, as calculated in the Supplement to the old *Chronographeon*, are 1710 (u): The *Dynasties* ended with *Nectanebus*, A. M. 3654 (w); count back from hence 1710 Years, and we begin the Reign of the first King, A. M. 1944: *Menes*, or the *Mizraim* of *Moses* (x), went into *Egypt* about A. M. 1772, removed from the Land of *Zoan* there into a further Part of the Country about A. M. 1881, and died about A. M. 1943 (y); so that *Manetho's* Accounts began the Kings about *Menes's* Times (z):

(q) Vid. quæ sup. (r) Chronograph. Syncell. p. 51.
 (s) Ibid. (t) Ibid. (u) Vid. quæ sup. (w) Syncell.
 p. 256. (x) See Vol. I. B. IV. (y) Ibid. (z) I
 cannot think the Numbers are printed so accurately, or that
 we may be able perhaps to correct them with so much cer-
 tainty and exactness, as to determine absolutely that this
 was the real Number fixed by *Manetho*; from this Num-
 ber we may form a general notion of his Computations, and
 that is all we can pretend to endeavour at.

Of this sort, I believe, was the Work of *Manetho*: And it is obvious to observe of it, that it did not appear to carry the Accounts of the *Egyptian* Kings so far backward, as the *Greeks* must imagine they ought to be carried, from what had been before published of them in the *Greek* Tongue. *Herodotus* wrote about a Century and half earlier than *Manetho* (a): and according to what he collected, the *Egyptians* had had from *Menes* to *Cambyfes* above 350 Kings (b): When *Herodotus* was in *Egypt*, he was carried into a Temple, where he counted the Number of the Statues of the Priests, that were set up there, and he told 345 (c); and the *Egyptians* informed him, that they had so many Priests, and as many Kings, from *Menes* their first King to *Setbos* (d): We cannot imagine that *Herodotus* should herein publish an absolute Falshood; and if *Herodotus* did indeed see such a Collection of Statues, how is it possible, that there should have been no more Kings of *Egypt*, than what *Manetho* seems to have suggested? But this matter may be easily cleared. The *Egyptians* had collected into this Temple the Statues of

(a) *Compute the Time of Herodotus from* Prideaux *Connect.* Part I. B. VI. ad an. 444. (b) *Herodot. Hist.* lib. 2. (c) *Id. ibid.* c. 141. (d) *Ibid.*

Priests from a multitude of Cities, and might, in shewing them to Strangers, ostentatiously set off the number of their Priests and Kings, not telling how they had collected them, and they might hereby easily send into the World enlarged Accounts of the *Egyptian* Antiquities: But *Manetho* knew the Affairs of his Country too well to be led into this Error: He supposed one continued Empire to have subsisted and been maintained in *Egypt* from *Menes* to *Neftanebus*; that the Seat of it had in different Ages been at different Cities; sometimes at *This*, sometimes at *Memphis*, sometimes at *Diospolis*, and sometimes at *Tanis*; and accordingly he deduces and connects a Series of those Kings, whom he imagined to have had in their Times the supreme Command, omitting all others their Contemporaries, whom he supposed to have governed but as Deputies to these in their respective Provinces or Cities: However *Manetho's* Account does not seem to have given an entire satisfaction; for in a little Time after he had composed it, in the Reign of *Ptolemy Euergetes* the immediate Successor of *Philadelphus*, who had employed *Manetho*, *Eratosthenes* was ordered to make a further Collection of the *Egyptian* Kings.

III *Eratosthenes* was a *Cyrenian*, had studied at *Athens*, was of great Eminence for his Parts and Learning, had an Invitation into *Egypt* from *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who made him one of the Keepers of the royal Library at *Alexandria* (e), and commanded him to give him a Catalogue of the *Egyptian* Kings: *Eratosthenes* hereupon made a List of the Kings, who had reigned at *Thebes* or *Diospolis*, and to every King's Name added the Number of Years in his Reign: His Catalogue is preserved in *Syncellus* (f), and the Names of the Kings, and Number of Years of the respective Reigns set down in it, are as follows. \bar{i} . *Menes* reigned Years 62. \bar{ii} . *Atthotes* 59. \bar{iii} . Another *Atthotes* 32. \bar{iv} . *Diabies* 19. \bar{v} . *Pemphos* 18. \bar{vi} . *Tegar Amachus Momcheiri* 79. \bar{vii} . *Stæchus* 6. \bar{viii} . *Gosormies* 30. \bar{ix} . *Mares* 26. \bar{x} . *Anoyphes* 20. \bar{xi} . *Sirius* 18. \bar{xii} . *Cbnoubus Gncurus* 22. \bar{xiii} . *Ramosis* 13. \bar{xiv} . *Biyris* 10. \bar{xv} . *Saophis Comastes* 29. \bar{xvi} . *Sen-Saophis* 27. \bar{xvii} . *Moscheris Heliodotus* 31. \bar{xviii} . *Mushtis* 33. \bar{xix} . *Pammus Archondes* 35. \bar{xx} . *Apappus maximus* 100. \bar{xxi} . *Achescus Ocaras* 1. \bar{xxii} . *Nitocris* 6. \bar{xxiii} . *Myrtæus Ammonodotus* 22. \bar{xxiv} . *Thusfi Mares* 12. \bar{xxv} . *Thinillus* 8. \bar{xxvi} . *Sempruce-*

(e) Voss. de Histor. Græc. l. 1. c. 17. Prideaux Conn. Part. 2. B. 2. (f) Syncell. p. 91—147.

ates 18. $\overline{\text{xxvii}}$. *Chouthber Taurus* 7. $\overline{\text{xxviii}}$. *Meures Philofcorus* 12. $\overline{\text{xxix}}$. *Chomæptha Mundus Philephæstus* 11. $\overline{\text{xxx}}$. *Anchunius Ochy-Tyrannus* 60. $\overline{\text{xxxI}}$. *Penteathyris* 16. $\overline{\text{xxxII}}$. *Stamenemes* 23. $\overline{\text{xxxIII}}$. *Sistofichermes* 55. $\overline{\text{xxxIV}}$. *Mæris* 43. $\overline{\text{xxxv}}$. *Siphoas* or *Mercury* 5. $\overline{\text{xxxvi}}$. The Name of the King is wanting, the Years of his Reign are 14. $\overline{\text{xxxvii}}$. *Pheuron* or *Nilus* 5 Years. $\overline{\text{xxxviii}}$. *Amuthantæus* 63. This is the Remain we have of *Eratosthenes*, taken by *Syncellus* from the *Annals* of *Apollodorus* (g): It begins from *Menes*, who was the *Mizraim* of *Mofes* (h), 62 Years before the Death of *Menes*, 124 Years, says *Syncellus*, after the Confusion of Tongues (i), that is, when *Menes* removed from the Land of *Tanis* into *Thebais*, A. M. 1881 (k): The Sum of all the Reigns contained in the Catalogue amount, according to *Syncellus*, to 1076 Years (l), and consequently the Catalogue may be computed to end A. M. 2957. But before I leave this Work of *Eratosthenes*,

(g) *Syncell.* p. 91. (h) *Gen.* x. 13. Vol. I. B. 4.
 (i) *Syncell.* p. 147. (k) Vol. I. B. 4. (l) If the Reader sums up the Reigns above recounted, he will find them amount to but 1050: But I must observe that in the Margin of *Syncellus's* *Chronographia*, at the Name of *Penteathyris* the $\overline{\text{xxxI}}$ King, it is remarked, that the Years of his Reign should be read $\mu\epsilon'$ not 15' 42, not 16; make this Correction, and the Sum of Years of the Catalogue will be 1076, as *Syncellus* writes it.

I would offer a few Remarks upon it.

1. The Nature and Manner of it points out, what were the reputed Defects of *Manetho's* Performance, at the Time of composing it: Had *Manetho's* been esteemed a complete Work, *Eratosthenes* would certainly not have been employed so soon after him: But the Number of *Egyptian* Kings suggested by *Herodotus*, upon the Appearance of a strict Enquiry, and a very good Information, could not but put the learned *Greeks* at *Alexandria*, as well as others, upon examining whether *Manetho* was not deficient in his Number of *Egyptian* Kings: With this View *Eratosthenes* collected the Kings of one particular Kingdom. There were in *Manetho's* *Dynasties* but about 15 Kings of the *Theban* Kingdom (*m*): But besides these, *Eratosthenes* collected 38, who had been omitted by *Manetho*.

2. The learned have very reasonably computed *Eratosthenes's* Catalogue to be carried down to the Times of the first *Diospolitan* King mentioned in the (*n*) *Dynasties* of *Manetho*, i. e. the King of *Diospolis*, who was the first of *Manetho's* $\overline{\text{XII}}$. *Dynasty*, was the immediate Successor of *Amuthantæus* the last of the Catalogue of *Era-*

(*m*) Vid. Chronograph. xix, xx, xxiii. Dyn. Syncell. p. 51, 52. (*n*) Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 3. Prideaux Connect. Part. 2. B. 2. ad ann. 239.

erasthenes. 3. It is something difficult to form a Computation of the Numbers of Years belonging to the Reigns in *Eratosthenes*, and in *Manetho*, suitable to the connecting *Eratosthenes's* Catalogue to *Manetho's Dynasties* in this Manner: But I should think, we are so far from being sure, that we have every Number in either *Eratosthenes* or *Manetho* exactly as they left them, or that they themselves did not mistake sometimes, in computing or transcribing the old *Egyptian* numeral Characters, that great Stress cannot be laid upon any seeming Repugnancies of this nature. As *Eratosthenes's* Catalogue now stands, from the Beginning of the Catalogue to the Reign of *Nilus* the xxxvii King, are 982 Years; so that *Nilus* began his Reign according to this Account about A. M. 2863: But *Dicæarchus* computed the Reign of *Nilus* to the 436th Year before the first *Olympiad* (o); if we fix the first *Olympiad* to A. M. 3228 (p), *Nilus* began his Reign A. M. 2792; 71 Years earlier than the Catalogue suggests to us: But for Errors of this sort, Allowances must be given and taken, in many Parts of the ancient *Egyptian* History.

(o) Apollon. Argonaut. Lib. 4. v. 272. in Schol. p. 410.
 (p) Vid. Martham. Can. Chron. p. 423. Usher's *Annals*
 ad ann. Per. Jul. 3938.

IV. We have in *Josepbus* some Citations from *Manetho*, which ought in the next Place to be examined: *Josepbus* tells us from *Manetho*, that the Incurfion of the *Paftors*, who made themfelves *Mafters of Egypt* (*q*), happened when *Timæus* was King (*r*); that the firft *Paftor* King was *Salatis*, that he reigned 19 Years: He was fucceeded by *Bæon*, who reigned 44 Years: After *Bæon* reigned *Apachnas* 36 Years and 7 Months, then *Apophis* 61 Years, then *Janias* 50 Years 1 Month, after whom *Affis* 49 Years 2 Months (*f*), and after thefe, other Kings. *Josepbus* informs us, that the *Paftors* held *Egypt* in fubjection 511 (*g*) Years, that at the End of that Term *Alisfragmuthofis* a *Theban* King gave them a great Overthrow, and that his Son *Tbummofis* reduced them to leave *Egypt* (*b*). After this, *Josepbus* from *Manetho* gives us (*i*) a List of *Theban* Kings. *i*. *Tethmofis* reigned 25 Years 4 Months. *ii*. *Chebron* 13 Years. *iii*, *Amenophis* 20 Years 7 Months. *iv*. *Amesses* 21 Years 9 Months. *v*. *Mephires* 12 Years 9 Months. *vi*. *Mepbrammuthofis* 25 Years 10 Months. *vii*. *Tbmofis* 9 Years 8 Months. *viii*. *Amenophis* 30 Years 10 Months. *ix*. *Orus* 36 Years 5 Months.

(*q*) See Vol. II. B. 7.
 l. i. c. 14. (*f*) Ibid.
 (*i*) Id. c. 16.

(*r*) *Joseph.* contra Apion.
 (*g*) Ibid. (*b*) Ibid.

\bar{x} . *Acencheres* 12 Years 1 Month. \bar{x} ⁱ. *Ratbotis* 9 Years. \bar{x} ⁱⁱ. *Acencheres* 12 Years 5 Months. \bar{x} ⁱⁱⁱ. Another *Acencheres* 12 Years 3 Months. \bar{x} ^{iv}. *Harmais* 4 Years 1 Month. \bar{x} ^v. *Rameffes* 1 Year 4 Months. \bar{x} ^{vi}. *Rameffes Miamon* 66 Years 2 Months. \bar{x} ^{vii}. *Amenophis* 19 Years 6 Months. \bar{x} ^{viii}. *Sethosis* 59 Years (*k*). \bar{x} ^{ix}. *Rampses* or *Rameffes* 66 Years (*l*). Concerning what is thus offered by *Josephus*, I would observe,

I. That we have no reason to imagine, that the first *Pastor* Kings were a real Part of *Manetho's Egyptian Dynasties*. *Manetho's* Purpose was to deduce the Succession of the *Egyptian* Kings; but the *Pastor* Kings were not *Egyptian*; they were foreign Invaders, who over-ran *Egypt*, and reduced a great Part of the Country into Subjection: When therefore *Manetho* came down to the Times where they made their Invasion, tho' he probably took notice of their Incurfion; their Names, what Part of the Country they gained possession of; yet he probably continued down the History of the Kings of *Egypt* in the *Thebans*, who were not reduced by the *Pastors*; accordingly, in the *Epitome* of *Manetho*, we find no *Dy-*

(*k*) *Josephus* cont. *Apion*. l. i. c. 26.

(*l*) *Ibid*.

nasty of *Pastors* (*m*), nor would *Africanus* (*n*) or *Eusebius* (*o*), I should think, have supposed any, had they duly attended to what must have been the Design of *Manetho's* Performance: They might perhaps have remarked the *Pastor* Kings over-against, and contemporary with those Kings of *Thebais*, in whose Reigns they got possession of a great Part of *Egypt*. 2. The *Pastors* came into *Egypt* about A. M. 2420 (*p*): Until this Time *Egypt* appears in Scripture to have enjoyed a long and uninterrupted Peace from its most early Ages (*q*): But now a *new* or foreign (*r*) King arose, unacquainted with what had been transacted in it (*s*); and farther, the sacred Pages suggest a People to have been about this Time expelled their Country (*t*), who probably might be these *Pastors*, who invaded *Egypt*: In like manner, if from A. M. 2420, we count down 511 Years, the Term, during which the *Pastors* kept their Conquests, we shall fix their leaving *Egypt* to about A. M.

(*m*) Vid. Chronograph. (*n*) Africanus supposes 3 *Pastor*-Dynasties, xv, xvi, xvii, Syncell. p. 61. (*o*) Eusebius suggests but one *Pastor*-Dynasty, namely his xvii. Euseb. Chron. Syncell. p. 61. (*p*) See Vol. II. B. 7. (*q*) The learned Writers who would introduce the *Pastors* in another Age, are forced to place them about the first planting of *Egypt*, in Times when we have no mention of the State of it in the Scriptures. See Bishop Cumberland's *Sanchoniatho*, and his *Origines Gentium*. (*r*) Excd. i. §. See Vol. II. B. 7. (*s*) Ibid. (*t*) Ibid.

2931: They had then leave to march into whatever Country they liked to go, and that would receive them (*u*); they marched thro' the Defart (*w*), and probably found a Reception in some Nation of *Arabia*; they went from *Egypt* not fewer in Number than 240000 (*x*), and consequently, the Nation that received so considerable an Addition to its People, must in a little Time have grown very populous: Agreeably hereto, about A.M. 3063 (*y*), within little more than a Century, *Zerab* the *Ethiopian* or *Cushite* (*z*), a King in *Arabia Petraea*, invaded his Neighbours with an Army of a thousand thousand (*a*); so that the sacred Pages offer us Intimations of the State both of *Egypt* and of the neighbouring Countries, well answering to the thus fixing the Times of the *Pastors*. 3. *Josephus* seems to me not to be consistent with himself, in the Account he gives from *Manetho* of the *Theban* Kings (*b*): In one Place he says *Tummosis* the Son of *Alisfragmuthosis* expelled the *Pastors* (*c*): This *Tummosis* was surely the King whom he afterwards calls *Tbmosis*, and whom he sets down next to *Mepbramuthosis* (*d*): And yet in re-

(*u*) *Joseph. contra Apion. l. 1.* (*w*) *Ibid.* (*x*) *Ibid.*
 (*y*) *Usher's Annals.* (*z*) *See Vol. I. B. 3.* (*a*) *2 Chron. xiv.*
 (*b*) *Ubi sup. c. 15.* (*c*) *c. 14.* (*d*) *c. 15.*
Africanus and Eusebius call him Tuthmosis.

counting these Kings, he sets *Tethmosis*, who, he says, expelled the *Pastors*, 5 Reigns before *Mephramuthosis* (e): But probably *Manetho* had rendred this Part of his Work dark and confused: *Manetho* took the *Israelites* and the *Pastors* to be one and the same People (f), and by treating the *Jewish Exit*, and the Expulsion of the *Pastors* as one Event, he might mention the Names of different Kings, so as to lead *Josephus* into this Contrariety: If we may form our Notion of *Manetho's* Work from the *Epitome* of it (g), *Josephus* mistook the Number of *Manetho's* *Theban* Kings: The *Epitome* suggests him to have mentioned only 15: Five in his XIX. *Dynasty*, 8 in his XX., and 2 in his XXIII. And if I knew how to choose the 15 rightly out of *Josephus's* List, and to make the first five begin where *Eratosthenes's* Catalogue ends, and continue to the Expulsion of the *Pastors*; and then to choose eight more, whose Reigns might carry on the History to *Sesostris* or *Sethosis*, who was *Sesac*, and came against *Jerusalem* A. M. 3033 (h); I should take the last two of *Manetho's* *Theban* Kings to be *Sesostris* and his Son *Rameffes*: And I should imagine, I had hereby set right *Josephus's*

(e) *Joseph.* l. 1. c. 15. (f) *Ibid.* c. 14, 16. 26.
 (g) *Chronograph.* in *Syncell.* p. 51, 52. (h) *See Pref.*
 to Vol. 11.

Catalogue, and made *Manetho's* Account agreeable, in this Part of it, to true History.

V. Next to *Josephus*, we are to consider the Work of *Africanus*: *Sextus Julius Africanus* was a *Christian*, lived in the third Century, and wrote about an hundred and fifty Years after *Josephus*: He composed a *Chronography* consisting of two Parts: In the former Part he collected, from other more ancient Writers, the Materials he intended to make use of; in the latter Part he formed from them a Chronicle or historical Deduction, beginning from the Creation of the World, and carried down to the Consulate of *Gratus* and *Seleucus*, to the Year of our Lord 221, says Sir *John Marsham* (k): Amongst other Collections in the former Part of his Work, were the *Dynasties* of *Manetho*; but not such as *Manetho* left them; for they were new modelled according to some Scheme of them formed later than the Times of *Manetho*: For, 1. *Manetho's Dynasties* began with the Reigns of the Gods, *Demi-Gods* and Heroes, and then exhibited the Reigns of the mortal Kings (l); but the *Dynasties* given us by *Africanus* begin from the mortal Kings (m), and omit all that related to the superior

(k) Can. Chron. p. 5.

(l) Syncell. p. 40. (m) Id.

Beings, who were said to have reigned before them (*n*). 2. *Manetho's Dynasties* of the mortal Kings were but 15; they began at the $\overline{\text{xvi}}$ *Dynasty*, and ended with the $\overline{\text{xxx}}$. (*o*); but *Africanus* offers us 31 *Dynasties* of *Egyptian Kings*: Upon this Account we must conclude, 3. That several of *Africanus's Dynasties* were not in *Manetho*: Thus the $\overline{\text{xxxI}}$ *Dynasty* was not *Manetho's*; for he carried down his History no farther than to the End of *Nectanebus's* Reign; but this $\overline{\text{xxxI}}$ *Dynasty* contains the Names of *Persian Kings*, who reigned after *Nectanebus* was expelled his Kingdom (*p*): In like manner *Manetho's Tomes* seem to me not to have had *Africanus's* $\overline{\text{II}}$ *Dynasty* of *Thinite Kings* (*q*), nor the $\overline{\text{v}}$ of *Elephantine*, nor the $\overline{\text{vi}}$ of *Memphites*, nor the $\overline{\text{xv}}$ of *Pastors*, nor the $\overline{\text{xxII}}$ of *Bubastites*, as *Africanus* gives us them. Further, *Africanus's* $\overline{\text{xvIII}}$ *Dynasty* of *Theban Kings* seems to be taken

(*n*) *Africanus begins his Dynasties thus, Μετὰ γενέας τὰς ἡμετέρας πρώτη βασιλεία καταριθμῆται βασιλείων ἑκατὴ*—*Syncell. ibid.* (*o*) *Vid. Chronograph. in Syncell. p. 51, 52. ἡ ἐπὶ πάσους ἁ' δυναστείας.* (*p*) *The Kings of xxxI Dynasty are Ochus, Arses, Darius. Syncell. p. 77.* (*q*) *It ought to be here observed, that Africanus perhaps did not in his first and second Dynasty copy after Manetho: Manetho gave a List of βασιλέων Τανιτῶν. Vid. Chronograph. but Africanus's 1 and 2 Dynasties are not of Tanite but θενιτῶν, of the Kings of This or of Thinite Kings; so that Africanus had found here a different Catalogue of Kings from Manetho's, and did not distinguish it.*

rather from *Josephus* than from *Manetho*; for *Manetho* had in all but 15 *Theban* Kings, and those set down in 3 *Dynasties* (*r*): As to *Africanus's* $\overline{\text{vii}}$, $\overline{\text{viii}}$, $\overline{\text{ix}}$, $\overline{\text{x}}$, $\overline{\text{xiii}}$, $\overline{\text{xiv}}$, $\overline{\text{xvi}}$, $\overline{\text{xvii}}$ and $\overline{\text{xx}}$ *Dynasties*, they are mere Numbers of Years without any Names of Kings affixed to them (*s*), and unquestionably no such *Dynasties* were to be found in *Manetho*.

It may be here asked, how can it be imagined, that *Africanus* should take away from, and add to *Manetho's* *Dynasties* in this extravagant manner, or how or whence could he find Matter or Pretence to do it? I answer, 1. For his Omission of what *Manetho* had recorded prior to the Reigns of the mortal Kings, it is easy to find a good Reason: He thought all that *Manetho* offered of the Reigns of Gods, Demi-Gods and Heroes, to be Fable, Fiction or false *Theology* (*t*), and therefore superfluous, not worth his transcribing. 2. There might be in the Tomes of *Manetho* the Names of many Kings, besides those, which *Manetho* supposed his *Dynasties* to consist of: *Manetho* accounted all *Egypt*, from its

(*r*) Vid. $\overline{\text{xix}}$, $\overline{\text{xx}}$, $\overline{\text{xxiii}}$ Dynast. in Chronograph. in Syn-cell. ubi sup. (*s*) Meros numeros inaniter turgentes. Martham. Can. Chron. p. 5. (*t*) Quæ Manetho $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\omega\nu$ $\iota\epsilon\rho\omega\nu$ $\alpha\rho\chi\iota\epsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$ $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\rho\iota$ $\psi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\omega\nu$ $\omega\nu$ $\pi\epsilon\iota$ $\theta\epsilon\omega\nu$ $\epsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\nu\beta\omicron\tau\omega\nu$, ista omnia tanquam Scriptore christiano indigna *Africanus* aspernatur, et in illud tempus rejicit, quod præcessit Diluvium. *Martham* p. 5.

Rise to *Nectanebus*, to have been but one Empire; and in considering it as such, he deduced one continued History of the Kings, who had had the supreme Rule of it: But as he supposed the Seat of this Empire to have been at different Times at different Cities; and agreeably hereto, as his *Dynasties* were sometimes of Kings of *Tanis*, sometimes of Kings of *Memphis*, and sometimes of *Diospolis*, according as he thought the Kings who had the supreme Command, reigned at this or that City; and as it might happen, whilst the Kings of a *Memphite* or *Theban Dynasty* were at the Head of Affairs, there might be in *Manetho's* Account Deputy-Rulers at *Tanis*, *Bubastus*, *Elephantis*, or other Cities; so from hence *Africanus* might have an Opportunity of making a *Tanite Dynasty*, an *Elephantine*, a *Memphite* and a *Bubastite* more than *Manetho* ever supposed: The Names of the Kings suggested by *Africanus* in these *Dynasties* were perhaps to be found in *Manetho's* History: But *Manetho* might record them as tributary or Deputy-Rulers to some of the Kings of the *Dynasties* he treated of; *Africanus* supposed them independent, and made *Dynasties* appropriated to them.

3. *Africanus's* \bar{xv} *Dynasty* contains the Names of the *Pastor* Kings, and the Names of these were to be found in *Manetho* (u);

(u) Vid. Joseph. contra Ap. 1. 17.

but *Manetho* did not relate these *Pastors* to be a Part of the *Egyptian* Succession of Kings; but rather noted them, to have invaded and dispossessed some of the *Egyptian* Kings of a great Part of *Egypt*, and accordingly only mentions them as being in *Egypt* in the Times of those Kings. 4. *Manetho* had mentioned 15 Kings of *Thebais*, 5 in his $\overline{19}$ *Dynasty*, 8 in his $\overline{20}$, and 2 in his $\overline{23}$ (ω); *Africanus* has named as many in his $\overline{11}$, $\overline{12}$, and $\overline{19}$ *Dynasties*; he further found several *Theban* Kings Names in *Josephus*, said to be taken from *Manetho* (x); he collected these also and made of them his $\overline{18}$ *Dynasty* (y): But he should have observed, that *Josephus* has thro' some Mistake multiplied the Names of these Kings, beyond what *Manetho* intended; and further, there is such a Repetition and Similitude of Names in this *Dynasty*, and in *Africanus's* $\overline{11}$, $\overline{12}$, and $\overline{19}$, that it seems most probable, that they offer us only the same Kings with some small Diversity in naming them, and that 15 Kings rightly chosen out of the Names mentioned in these four *Dynasties*, would give us the true Reigns that *Manetho* had recorded. 5. The *Dynasties*, suggesting Reigns without Names of Kings, were

(ω) Vid. Chronograph. in Syncell. sup. (y) Syncell. p. 69.

(x) Joseph. ubi

perhaps added by *Africanus* from the In-timations of *Herodotus* (z); or, from the Time that *Manetho's* Accounts came to be generally esteemed deficient. Soon after *Eratosthenes* had published his Catalogue, it might grow customary for the learned to annotate upon their Copies of the Tomes of *Manetho*, what Kings Names, and what Reigns they conceived him to have omitted in every Part of his History, and from some Transcripts of such enlarged Copies of the Tomes of *Manetho*, *Africanus*, who did not write until near 500 Years after him, might apprehend, that such *Dynasties* as he has offered, might be collected from the Books of *Manetho*.

If the Reader will take the pains to inspect *Africanus's* Account of the *Dynasties*, and to compute the Number of Reigns, and Years of the Reigns contained in them, he will find the Kings, named and not named, to be together in Number 473, down to the End of *Nectanebus's* Reign, and that the Sum of all their Reigns amounts to 4823 Years 4 Months and 10 Days: But *Africanus* could not purpose to bring such a Length of *Egyptian* History within the Compass, that his Work could allow for it; for

(z) *Herodotus* computes about 368 Kings down to *Cambyses*. Vid. *Histor.* l. 2. l. 3.

whoever will consider the Nature of his *Epochs* and Chronology; what Year of the World he supposed *Noah's Flood* do have happened in; and to what Year he fixed the End of *Nectanebus's* Reign, will see, that he could not have above the Space of 2880 Years for the *Egyptian* History: And unquestionably in the second Part of his Work, when he came to use the Collections he had made, he brought his *Dynasties* down to about this Measure, which he might readily do, if, in composing his *Chronicle*, he rejected the Reigns as fictitious, which have no Names of Kings annexed to them, and took into his History only the Kings, whose Names he has given us; for the Kings so named by him are in Number but 128, and the Times of their Reigns amount to 2983 (a) Years: And *Africanus* might apprehend from *Diodorus Siculus*, who flourished in the Times of *Julius Cæsar* (b), long after *Herodotus* and *Manetho*, and who had been in *Egypt* for Information as well as *Herodotus* (c), that *Herodotus's* enlarged Catalogue of Kings of

(a) If we may suppose in this Number a Mistake of 100 Years, which is no great Matter, considering how often the Transcribers might miscalculate, or write erroneously the old numeral Characters, we shall have a Number suited to *Africanus's* Chronology. (b) *Prideaux* Connect.

Part. 2. B. 7. ad ann. 60. Voss. de Hist. Græc. 1. 2. c. 2. (c) *Diodor.* 1. 1. p. 29.

Egypt ought probably to be reduced to about this Number (*d*): In this manner I would consider the Work of *Africanus*, and think of him; not that he made imaginary *Dynasties*, and altered and interpolated *Manetho* just as his Fancy led him (*e*), for this would be to make him a most romantic Writer; but rather, 1. That he took into his *Dynasties*, what he thought *Manetho* to have duly adjusted to true History, and of this sort we may suppose his 1, 3, 4, 11, 12, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, answering to *Manetho's* 15 *Dynasties* from the 16 to the 30 (*f*). 2. He added to these in other *Dynasties*, some Names of Kings mentioned in *Manetho* to have reigned in *Egypt*, but he differed from *Manetho*, I take it, in a material Point about these Kings. He deduced their Reigns in *Dynasties* made for them, as if they had continued and brought down the *Egyptian* Succession. *Manetho* did not suppose any of these Kings to have reigned in Times distinct from the *Egyptian*, but rather that they were Deputies

(*d*) Diodorus suggests about 130 Kings of Egypt. Histor. l. 1. (*e*) Sir John Martham says of him, Maximus Manethonis Interpolator Africanus vetustiores suas Dynastias (iquid video) ex mero suo ipsius arbitrio disposuit: si penitus inspiciamus, alias illarum frustula tantum esse Dynastiarum, alias reperiemus meros esse numeros inaniter tergentes. Martham. Can. Chron. p. 5. (*f*) Vid Chronograph. in Syncell. p. 51, 52.

to, or Usurpers, who held and kept some Parts of *Egypt* from the rightful Sovereigns their Contemporaries, Kings of the true *Egyptian* Line: Of these *Africanus* perhaps made his $\bar{2}$, $\bar{5}$, $\bar{6}$, $\bar{15}$ and $\bar{22}$ *Dynasties*. 3. *Africanus* found numerous Additions of nameless Reigns suggested by Annotators to belong to *Manetho's* Tomes, agreeably to what *Herodotus* had wrote of the *Egyptian* History: He took these into his Collection also, and made of them his $\bar{7}$, $\bar{8}$, $\bar{9}$, $\bar{10}$, $\bar{13}$, $\bar{14}$, $\bar{16}$, $\bar{17}$ and $\bar{20}$ *Dynasties*, tho' he discarded these again when he came to compose from the Materials he had collected, esteeming *Manetho* to have really offered no more Kings, than what there were Names to be found of in his Books. 4. *Africanus* collected his $\bar{18}$ *Dynasty*, as I have said (g), from *Josephus*. 5. The $\bar{31}$ *Dynasty* might be added to *Manetho* by some later Hand, who was minded to remark the *Persian* Kings unto whom *Egypt* became tributary, and being thus wrote into some Copies of *Manetho*, it might come down to *Africanus*, and not be rejected by him: If we consider *Africanus's* Work in this Light, we shall do justice to his Character (h);

(g) Vid. quæ sup. (h) Julius Africanus accuratissimus
 Temporum Observator. *Vossius de Historic. Græc.* lib. 2.
 c. 15. Ἀφρικανὸν γεγονογενοῖων σποδασματα ἐπ' ἀνε-
 κές τεπονημένα Euseb. *Ecclesiastic. Histor.* l. 6. c. 31.

allow him to have been a serious and considerate Writer, who took true pains to give what he judged a reasonable Account of *Manetho's* Performance, such as might represent it agreeing to what he reputed the true *Chronology* of the World.

VI. *Pamphilus Eusebius*, Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, wrote about a *Century* after *Africanus*: His *Chronicon* was a Work of the same nature with *Africanus's Chronographia*: He divided it into two Parts: The former Part contained the *Materia Chronologica* for an universal History; in the second Part he ranged and synchronized such of the Materials collected in the former Part, as he purposed to make use of; so as to offer in one View a concurrent Plan of the sacred and prophane History. *Eusebius* began this Part of his Work from the Birth of *Abraham*, and carried it down to the \overline{xx} Year of *Constantine* the Great (i): In his former Part, amongst other Collections were the *Dynasties* of *Manetho*, taken in a great measure from *Africanus's* Account of them: tho' in some Points he differed from *Africanus* sufficiently to shew us, that he did not think *Africanus* to have ascertained indisputably the *Dynasties* of *Manetho*: *Eusebius* represents

(i) *Euseb. Chron. Marsham.* p. 6.

the *Dynasties* down to *Nectanebus* to contain the Names of but 93 Kings, and the Reigns that have no Names of Kings affixed to them, to be but 259: But I would not carry the Reader into a tedious Discussion of every little Difference between *Africanus* and *Eusebius* upon this Subject: Their *Dynasties* are described at large in *Syncellus* (*k*), and whoever would examine this Subject more curiously, may, by consulting his Work, see and compare them with one another: However I cannot but observe, that *Eusebius* certainly took great liberty in order to form the *Dynasties* to his own Purpose, sometimes following *Africanus*, and sometimes the *Epitome* of *Manetho* added to the *Chronographeon* abovementioned, and making no scruple to vary from both, if his Scheme required it: For, 1. His Scheme was to synchronize the last Year of *Nectanebus*, where *Manetho's* Work ended, with 1667 Years from the Birth of *Abraham* (*l*), and to fix to the Birth of *Abraham* the Beginning of the $\overline{\text{xvi}}$ *Egyptian-Dynasty* (*m*): He supposes that *Dynasty* to contain 5 *Theban* Kings (*n*); herein he followed neither the *Epitome* of *Manetho* (*o*), nor

(*k*) Syncell. p. 54——78. (*l*) Euseb. Chron. ad num. αχξζ p. 175. (*m*) Id. ad num. d. p. 89.
 (*n*) Syncell. p. 61. Euseb. Chron. p. 15. (*o*) Ταυτητων
 ες δυναστια γενεων υ ετων ρ γ'. Epit. Syncell. p. 51.

Africanus (p); however the *Epitome* suggesting *Manetho* to have ascribed 190 Years to the $\overline{\text{xvi}}$ *Dynasty*, *Eusebius* writes to it the same Number. Having thus fixed in what Part of the *Dynasties* he should begin his Account, and what Interval of Years he had to fill up with *Egyptian* Reigns, he proceeded as follows: 2. He observed, that the *Epitome* computed 103 Years to be the Contents of the $\overline{\text{xvii}}$ *Dynasty* (q), accordingly he ascribes the same Number of Years to it: The *Epitome* styles this *Dynasty* *Memphite*; but *Eusebius* knowing, that *Manetho* had mentioned the *Pastor* Kings, and counting down from the Birth of *Abraham*, and computing this *Dynasty* to reach the Times of the *Israelites* being in *Egypt*, and conceiving that some of the *Egyptian* Kings had been called *Pastor-Kings* from their receiving and entertaining *Jacob* and his Children, a Family of Shepherds; he took from hence his Title to this *Dynasty* (r), and called it the *Pastor-Dynasty*: 3. The *Epitome* supposes the $\overline{\text{xviii}}$ *Dynasty* to be *Memphite*, the

(p) Ἐγκαίδεκάτη δυναστεία ποιμένες Ἕλληνες βασιλεῖς
 λ' ἐβασιλεύσαν ἐτη ϑιή. African. in Syncell. p. 61.
 (q) Syncell. p. 51. (r) Reges Ægyptiorum Pastores
 conjicimus nuncupatos propter Joicph et Fratres ejus, qui
 in principio Pastores descendisse in Ægyptum comprobantur.
 Chron. Eufib. Lat. p. 64.

Number of Kings 14, the Sum of their Years 348 (*t*): *Africanus's* $\overline{\text{XVIII}}$ *Dynasty* is *Diospolitian*, the Number of its Kings 16, the Sum of the Years of their Reigns 284 (*u*): Here *Eusebius*, as to the Title of the *Dynasty* and Number of Reigns in it, corrects the *Epitome* by *Africanus*; but in the Sum of Years in the Reigns, he corrects *Africanus* by the *Epitome*, making his $\overline{\text{XVIII}}$ *Dynasty* *Diospolitian*, and to contain 16 Kings, and their Reigns to amount to 284 Years (*w*). 4. In the *Epitome* the $\overline{\text{XIX}}$ *Dynasty* is *Diospolitian*, the Kings in it are 5, the Sum of Years in their Reigns 194 (*x*): *Africanus's* $\overline{\text{XIX}}$ *Dynasty* is likewise *Diospolitian*, the Kings in it are 7, their Reigns 210 Years (*y*); but here *Eusebius* takes the Numbers of the *Epitome*, and sets down 5 Kings and 194 Years (*z*): 5. In the $\overline{\text{XX}}$ *Dynasty* his Management is remarkable: The *Epitome* supposes this *Dynasty* *Diospolitian* (*a*), and *Africanus* gives it this Title (*b*). The *Epitome* numbers in it 8 Reigns of 228 Years; *Africanus* 12 Kings; but has no Names of any of them; he supposes their Reigns to amount to 135 Years: *Eusebius* here copies after

(*t*) Syncell. p. 51. (*u*) Id. p. 62—72. (*w*) Euseb. Chron. a num. σ γ δ p. 101. ad num. χ μ ε. p. 118.
 (*x*) Syncell. p. 51. (*y*) Id. p. 72. (*z*) Euseb. Chron. a num. χ μ ε. p. 118. ad num. ω λ ε. p. 128.
 (*a*) Syncell. p. 51. (*b*) Id. p. 73.

Africanus, both in the Numbers of the Kings, and in not having the Names of any of them; but differs from him in the Sum of their Years, which he sets down 178. *Eusebius* seems to me to have chosen this *Dynasty* to be the Closure of his Plan: all the other *Dynasties* he made use of, have the Names of the Kings belonging to them, and upon that Account he was more obliged to fix them a Number of Years, such as he had some Appearance of Authority to justify, either from the *Epitome* or from *Africanus*; but having here a *Dynasty* without Names of Kings contained in it, he could affix to it, without Hazard of Contradiction, such a Number of Years, as his other *Dynasties* would fall short of 1667, which was the Term to be filled up by him. 6. The *Epitome* and *Africanus* agree to call $\overline{\text{xxi}}$ *Dynasty Tanite*; the *Epitome* gives it 6 Reigns, 121 Years, *Africanus* 7 Reigns, 130 Years (c): *Eusebius* takes here the Numbers of *Africanus*. 7. The *Epitome* calls the $\overline{\text{xxii}}$ *Dynasty Tanite*, its Reigns are 3, Years of Reigns 48 (d). *Africanus* makes here a *Bubastite Dynasty*, and supposes its Reigns 3, Years 49 (e): *Eusebius* takes the Title of the *Epitome*, and

(c) Syncell. ubi sup.

(d) Syncell. ubi sup.

(e) Id. p. 73.

the Numbers of *Africanus* (*f*). 8. The $\overline{\text{xxiii}}$ *Dynasty* in the *Epitome* is *Diospolitian*, contains 2 Kings, their Reigns amount to 19 Years (*g*); in *Africanus* it is *Tanite*, consists of 4 Kings, whose Reigns make up 89 Years (*b*); *Eusebius* gives it *Africanus's* Title, but describes in it 3 Kings, and computes their Reigns to be 44 Years (*i*). 9. The $\overline{\text{xxiv}}$ *Dynasty* is *Saitan* both according to the *Epitome* and *Africanus* (*k*). The *Epitome* supposes it to contain 3 Reigns of 44 Years; *Africanus* says, 1 Reign of 6 Years: *Eusebius* agrees with both as to the Title of it, but ascribes to it *Africanus's* 1 Reign, with 44, the Number of Years set down to it in the *Epitome* (*l*). 10. The *Epitome* and *Africanus* agree the $\overline{\text{xxv}}$ *Dynasty* to consist of 3 *Ethiopian* Kings, and their Reigns to be 44 Years (*m*), and herein *Eusebius* concurs with them (*n*). 11. The *Epitome* supposes the $\overline{\text{xxvi}}$ *Dynasty* to consist of 7 *Memphite* Kings, who reigned 177 Years (*o*): *Africanus* represents it to contain 9 *Saitan* Kings who reigned 150 Years 6

(*f*) Euseb. Chron. a num. α ρ μ δ p. 144. ad num. α ρ η ζ. p. 147. (g) Syncell. ubi sup. (b) Id. p. 73. (i) Euseb. Chron. a num. α ρ η ζ. p. 147. ad num. α σ λ σ. p. 149. (k) Syncell. p. 52. 74. (l) Euseb. Chron. a num. α σ λ ζ. p. 149. ad num. α σ π. p. 152. (m) Syncel. ubi sup. (n) Euseb. Chron. a num. α σ τ ζ. p. 152. ad num. α τ η δ. p. 155. (o) Syncel. p. 52.

Months (*p*). *Eusebius* gives it *Africanus's* Title and Number of Kings, but makes the Years of their Reigns 167 (*q*): 12. The $\overline{\text{xxvii}}$ Dynasty is, according to the *Epitome, Persian*, and contains the Reign of 5 Kings in 124 Years (*r*): *Africanus* reckons it also *Persian*, but computes 8 Kings, reigning 120 Years, 4 Months, to belong to it (*s*): *Eusebius* styles it *Persian*, and sets down in it 7 Kings, regning 111 Years (*t*): But these differences are to be accounted for: *Egypt* came into Subjection to the *Persians*, when *Cambyfes* was King of *Persia* (*u*), and recovered its Liberty in the Reign of *Darius Nothus* (*w*), and some Writers not taking into their Accounts the *Persian* Kings, who did not reign a full Year, might reckon but five Kings from the one to the other: Others might number, in their Lists of *Persian* Kings, *Smerdes* the *Magian*, who reigned some Months, after him *Darius Hystaspes*, then *Xerxes*, then *Artaxerxes*, then the Son of *Artaxerxes*, who reigned but two Months, then *Sogdianus* who reigned seven Months, and then *Darius No-*

(*p*) Syncell. p. 75. (*q*) Euseb. Chron. a num. α τ κ ε. p. 155. ad num. α υ γ δ. p. 164. (*r*) Syncel. p. 52. (*s*) Id. p. 76. (*t*) Euseb. Chron. a num α υ γ ε. p. 164. ad num. α ζ γ'. p. 172. (*u*) Prideaux Connect. Part I. B. III. (*w*) Id. B. VI.

thus (x), and so with *Cambyſes* make 8 *Persian* Kings in this *Dynasty*. In like manner, If the Years of this *Dynasty* be computed, from the first Year of *Cambyſes's* Reign in *Persia* to the last Year of *Darius Nothus*, they will amount to 124, the Number in the *Epitome*: If they be reckoned from the fourth or fifth Year of *Cambyſes*, the Year in which the *Persians* conquered *Egypt*, they may amount to about *Africanus's* Number, 120 Years 4 Months. If they be more strictly calculated, from *Cambyſes's* Conquest of *Egypt*, to *Amyrtæus's* being made King upon the Revolt of the *Egyptians* from *Darius Nothus*, in about the 10 Year of *Darius's* Reign (y), the Interval will be, as *Eusebius* reckons it, 111 Years. 13. As to the $\overline{\text{xxviii}}$, $\overline{\text{xxix}}$, $\overline{\text{xxx}}$ *Dynasties*, if we allow for little Mistakes, that may easily happen in transcribing Numbers, and consider that *Tanite*, *Mendesian* and *Sebennite* may be Terms *Synonymous*; *Mendes* and *Sebennet* having been Cities of the Land of *Zoan* or *Tanis* (z), these *Dynasties* in the *Epitome*, in *Africanus*, and in *Eusebius*, may be conceived to have been the same. Of this sort the Reader, if he examines it, will find the Work of

(x) Consult *Dean Prideaux's History of these Times.*

(y) See *Prideaux's Connection, Part I. B. VI.* (z) *Strabo Geograph.*

Eusebius, as far as it relates to the *Egyptian Dynasties*: *Manetho* had left only 15 *Dynasties* of mortal Kings; for his other 15 treated of Gods, Demi-Gods and Heroes of a superior Race (a): Upon this Account *Eusebius* in composing his *Chronicon* rejected 15 of *Africanus's Dynasties*, reputed them prior to the Times, of which he could hope to find any true History; and having selected the 15 *Dynasties* of *Africanus*, from the $\overline{\text{XVI}}$ to the $\overline{\text{XXX}}$, and new-modelled them, by comparing them with the like *Dynasties* added in the *Epitome* to the old *Chronographeon*; sometimes giving his *Dynasties* Titles and Numbers from the *Epitome*, sometimes from *Africanus*, and now and then varying from both, if his Purpose required it; and having thus formed such a *Series* of *Egyptian* Reigns as would fill up his Interval between the Birth of *Abraham* and the Flight of *Nectanebus*, he gave himself no further Trouble; tho' one would think, he could not but have seen, that he might rather be said to have made a way to give the *Dynasties* some Appearance of an Agreement to his Chronology, than to have given any true and just Account of them.

VII. *Syncellus* is the next Writer we are to go to for the *Egyptian Antiqui-*

(a) *Vid. que sup. de Manethonc.*

ties: He composed his *Chronographia* about the Year of our Lord 800 (b): He transcribed into it, what Remains he could find of the more ancient Writers, and some Extracts from others, who had composed before him a Work of like Nature with what he attempted: Accordingly we find in him the Contents of the old *Chronographeon* (c), of *Manetho's Dynasties* (d), of *Africanus's* (e) and *Eusebius's* (f), agreeably to what he judged to be the Scheme and Purport of each of them: And in many Places we have his Strictures and Observations, as he goes along upon the Matters offered by them: He has also given us *Eratosthenes's* Catalogue of the *Thebæan Kings* (g): He remarks, that the *Dynasty* Writers must have supposed their xxvii *Dynasty*, which they call *Persians*, to have begun when *Cambyfes* King of *Persia* conquered *Egypt* (h): *Amasis* was King of *Egypt* at that Time (i): And to this *Amasis* he brings down a List of 86 Kings of *Egypt*, from *Menes* their first King, setting against each King's Name the Years of his Reign as follows. $\bar{\text{i}}$. *Messtraim* or *Menes* reigned 35 Yeats, $\bar{\text{ii}}$ *Curudes* 63.

(b) Marsham's Can. Chron. p. 7. Vossius de Historic. Græc. lib. 2. c. 24.

(c) Syncell. p. 51.

(d) p. 52.

(e) p. 54—77.

(f) Ibid.

(g) p. 91, &c.

(h) p. 210.

(i) Ibid.

III. *Aristarchus* 34. IV. *Spanius* 36. V. and
 VI. 2. Kings, whose Names are lost, their
 Reigns amounted to 72 Years. VII. *Serap-
 tis* 23. VIII. *Sejorubofis* 49. IX. *Amenemes*
 29 (k). X. *Anafis* 2. XI. *Achsephres* 13.
 XII. *Achereus* 9. XIII. *Armiyses* 4. XIV. *Cba-
 mois* 12 (l). XV. *Amesifes* 65. XVI. - - - -
 14. XVII. *Use* 50. XVIII. *Rameffes* 29 (m).
 XIX. *Rameffomenes* 15. XX. *Tbusimares* 31.
 XXI. *Rameffe-seos* 23. XXII. *Rameffe-menos*
 19. XXIII. *Rameffe-Tubaete* 39 (n). XXIV.
Rameffe-Vapbris 29. XXV. *Concharis* 5 (o).
 XXVI. *Silites* 19 (p). XXVII. *Bæon* 44 (q).
 XXVIII. *Apachnas* 36. XXIX. *Apophis* 61 (r).
 XXX. *Sethos* 50. XXXI. *Certus*, according to
Josephus 29 Years, according to *Manetho*
 44. XXXII. *Aseth* 20 (s). XXXIII. *Amofis*,
 who was also called *Tethmosis* 22 (t).
 XXXIV. *Chebron* 13. XXXV. *Ameptes* 15.
 XXXVI. *Amensès* 11. XXXVII. *Misphragmu-
 thofis* 16. XXXVIII. *Misphres* 23. XXXIX.
Tuthmesis 39 (u). XL. *Amenophthis* 34 (w).
 XLI. *Horus* 48. XLII. *Achencheres* 25. XLIII.
Athoris 29. XLIV. *Chencheres* 26. (x). XLV.
Acheres 8. or 30. XLVI. *Armæus* or *Da-*

(k) Syncell. p. 91. Vid. Euseb. Chron. p. 17.
 (l) Syncell. p. 92. Euseb. Chron. p. 18. (m) Syncell. p. 96. Euseb.
 Chron. p. 19. (n) Syncell. p. 101. Euseb. p. 20.
 (o) Syncell. p. 103. Euseb. 21. (p) Syncell. p. 104.
 Euseb. 21. (q) Syncell. p. 105. Euseb. 21. (r) Syncell.
 p. 108. Euseb. 22. (s) Syncell. p. 109. Euseb. 22. (t) Syncell.
 p. 125. Euseb. 23. (u) Syncell. p. 147. Euseb. 25. (v) Syncell.
 p. 147. Euseb. 25. (w) Syncell. p. 151. Euseb. 26.
 (x) Syncell. p. 151. Euseb. 26.

naus 9 (y). XLVII. *Rameses*, who was also called *Ægyptus* 68. XLVIII. *Amenophis* 8. XLIX. *Tbuoris* 17. L. *Necbepsus* 19. LI. *Pfammuthis* 13. LII. - - - - 4 (z). LIII. *Certus* 20 (a). LIV. *Rbampsis* 45. LV. *Amenfes* or *Amenemes* 26 (b). LVI. *Ochy-ras* 14. LVII. *Amedes* 27. LVIII. *Tbuoris* 50 (c). LIX. *Atthobis* 28. LX. *Cencenes* 39. LXI. *Venepbes* 42. (d). LXII. *Suffachim* 34 (e). LXIII. *Pfuenus* 25. LXIV. *Ammenophes* 9. LXV. *Nepkecheres* 6. LXVI. *Saites* 15. LXVII. *Pfnaches* 9. LXVIII. *Petubastes* 44. LXIX. *Osortbron* 9. LXX. *Pfammus* 10. LXXI. *Con-charis* 21 (f). LXXII. *Osortbren* 15. LXXIII. *Tacelophes* 13. LXXIV. *Bocchoris* 44. LXXV. *Sabacon Æthiops* 12. LXXVI. *Sebeckon* 12 (g). LXXVII. *Taracas* 20. LXXVIII. *Amaes* 38. LXXIX. *Stepbinates* 27. LXXX. *Nachepsus* 13. (gg). LXXXI. *Nechaab* 8. LXXXII. *Pjammitichus* 14. LXXXIII. *Nechaab* the second called *Pbaraob* 9. LXXXIV. *Pfammuthis* or *Pjammitichus* the second 17. LXXXV. *Vaphres* 34. LXXXVI. *Amasis* 50 (b).

It is queried by the Learned, whence *Syncellus* collected this Series of Egyptian Kings (i): *Scaliger* imagined him to have

(y) *Syncell.* p. 155. *Euseb.* 29. (z) *ἕκτος* *Euseb.*
 (a) *ἕκτος* *Euseb.* (b) *Syncell.* p. 160. *Euseb.* 30.
 (c) *Syncell.* p. 169. *Euseb. Chron.* p. 32. (d) *Syncell.*
 p. 170. *Euseb.* 33. (e) *Syncell.* p. 177. *Euseb.* 34.
 (f) *Ibid.* (g) *Syncell.* p. 184. *Euseb.* 35. (gg) *Syn-*
cell. p. 191. *Euseb.* 38. (h) *Syncell.* p. 210. *Euseb.*
 46, 47. (i) *Marsham Can. Chron.* p. 7.

found it in the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius*, and accordingly in his Attempt to retrieve us that *Work*, he has inserted these Kings amongst others of *Eusebius's* Collections: But in this Point *Scaliger* must have been mistaken: We have no reason to imagine this Catalogue to have ever been in *Eusebius*: It seems rather to have been, a great Part of it, *Syncellus's* own Composition, who imagined he could in this manner deduce the *Egyptian* Kings. If the Reader will strictly examine it, he will find that the Kings from the $\overline{\text{XLIX}}$ to the $\overline{\text{LXXXVI}}$, might be taken from *Africanus's* $\overline{\text{XIX}}$, $\overline{\text{XXI}}$, $\overline{\text{XXII}}$, $\overline{\text{XXIII}}$, $\overline{\text{XXIV}}$, $\overline{\text{XXV}}$, and $\overline{\text{XXVI}}$ *Dynasties*, only *Syncellus* has now and then added or repeated a Name of a King or two, and given new Numbers to all their Reigns, such probably as suited the Scheme he had formed for the *Egyptian Chronology*. From the $\overline{\text{XXXIII}}$ King to the $\overline{\text{XLVIII}}$, we have a Catalogue of *Theban* Kings formed from considering and comparing *Josephus's* List with *Africanus* and *Eusebius's* $\overline{\text{XVIII}}$ *Dynasty*. The Kings from $\overline{\text{XXVI}}$ to the $\overline{\text{XXXII}}$ are taken from *Josephus*, *Africanus* and *Eusebius's* Account of the *Pastor-Kings*. From *Mesrim* or *Menes* the $\overline{\text{I}}$ King, to *Concharis* the $\overline{\text{XXV}}$, *Syncellus* does indeed offer a Series of Reigns, which we do not now meet with in any Writer before him: and perhaps, as *Africanus* mistook, and gave

gave us a series of *Thinite* Kings in his first and second *Dynasties*, instead of *Manetho's Tanite* Kings (ii); so here *Syncellus* from some ancient Quotations or Remains has happened upon the Succession of *Tanite* Kings, which might begin *Manetho's* Accounts of the mortal Kings; tho' I dare say he had no true notion of the Nature of it: For *Syncellus* had certainly formed no right Judgment of the *Egyptian* History, as appears evidently from his declaring that he knew no use of, nor occasion for *Eratosthenes's* Catalogue of *Theban* Kings (k): He found the Fragment abovementioned; he saw it differed from all other Collections, and intending himself to differ from all others, who had wrote before him; for this Reason and probably for no other, he began his Catalogue with it: He added to it the *Pastor* and *Theban* Kings from *Josephus*, and completed it with taking as many *Names* of Kings from *Africanus* and other Writers, as he thought he wanted, and having taken the Liberty to give to the several Reigns of these later Kings, not the Numbers of Years assigned them by the Writers from whom he took them; but such as might

(ii) See the Notes in page 144. (k) Vid. *Syncell.*
P. 147.

bring down the Succession in a manner suitable to his own *Chronology*; this was his Attempt towards clearing the *Egyptian History* (l): The Reader, if he examines it, will after all find that *Syn-cellus's* Catalogue is somewhat too long for the Interval to which he intended to adjust it: But the learned are apprized, that *Syn-cellus's* Work is in many Places inaccurate in this matter.

VIII. We are in the last Place to consider what our learned Countryman Sir *John Marsham* has done upon this Subject. And 1. He considered *Egypt* to have been divided into four concurrent Kingdoms in the most early Ages, namely into the Kingdoms of *Thebes*, of *Theis*, of *Memphis*, and of *Tanis* or lower *Egypt* (m). 2. He formed a *Canon* or Table, that might offer the Reader in one View, the Contemporary Kings of each Kingdom: And 3. In the Execution of his Work in proper Chapters, he endeavours to justify the Position of the Kings according to the Succession in the respective Columns of his *Canon* assigned to them.

(l) Sir John Marsham *has very justly of Syn-cellus, Reges concurrentes, antiquos & successores, vel extendit prout ipsi vitium est, ad Implicationem hominis non posse non mirari, quod in illis rector, ipse cum se representationi maxime obnoxius.* Can. Chron. p. 4. (m) *Id.* p. 24.

The following Tables will give the Reader a View of Sir *John Marsham's* Succession of the *Egyptian* Kings, from *Menes* the first King over all *Egypt* to the Times of *Sefac*, who came against *Jerusalem* in the 5th Year of *Rehoboam* (n).

(n) 2 Chron. xii. 2, 3.

I. TABLE

I. TABLE of Sir *John Marsham's* Kings of *Egypt.*

Kings of Thebes taken from <i>Eratosthenes.</i>	Kings of This taken from <i>Manetho.</i>	Kings of Memphis taken from <i>Manetho.</i>	Kings of lower Egypt taken from <i>Syncellus.</i>
reigned Years, 1 <i>Menes</i> 62	1 <i>Menes</i> 62 1 Dynast. African. Syn- cell. p. 54.	<i>Menes</i> built <i>Memphis</i> <i>Herodot. l. 2.</i> c. 99. III. Dyn. Afric. <i>Syncell. p. 56.</i>	1 <i>Menes</i> or <i>Meßraim</i> 35 <i>Syncell. p. 91.</i>
2 <i>Athotbes</i> 59	2 <i>Athotbes</i> 57	1 <i>Toforthrus</i> 29	2 <i>Curudes</i> 63
3 <i>Athotbes</i> 32	3 <i>Cencenes</i> 31	2 <i>Tyris</i> 7	3 <i>Arislarchus</i> 34
4 <i>Diabies</i> 19	4 <i>Venepbes</i> 23	3 <i>Mefochris</i> 17	4 <i>Spanius</i> 36
5 <i>Pempbos</i> 18	5 <i>Ufophædus</i> 20	4 <i>Soipbis</i> 16	5 * * * * 32
6 <i>Tægar Amachus Momcheiri</i> 79	6 <i>Miebidus</i> 26	5 <i>Tofertafis</i> 19	6 * * * * 40
7 <i>Stæchus</i> 6	7 <i>Semempfis</i> 18	6 <i>Achis</i> † 42	7 <i>Serapis</i> 23
8 <i>Goformies</i> 30	8 <i>Bienaches</i> 26	7 <i>Sipburis</i> 30	8 <i>Sefonchofis</i> 49
9 <i>Mares</i> 26	II Dyn. Afric.	8 <i>Cerpheres</i> 26	9 <i>Amenemes</i> 29 <i>Syncell. p. 96</i>
10 <i>Ancyphes</i> 20	9 <i>Bochus</i> 38	IV Dyn. Afric.	10 <i>Amasis</i> 2
	10 <i>Keachos</i> 39	9 <i>Soris</i> 29	11 <i>Acheseptbres</i>
	11 <i>Binotbris</i> 47	10 <i>Syphis</i> 63	
		11 <i>Syphis</i> 66	

Kings of Thebes.	Kings of This.	Kings of Memphis.	Kings of lower Egypt.
11 <i>Sirius</i> 18			12 <i>Achoreus</i> 9
12 <i>Cbnubus</i> <i>Gneurus</i> 22			13 <i>Armiyses</i> 4
			14 <i>Cbamois</i> 12
			15 <i>Ameffes</i> 65
13 <i>Ranosis</i> 13	12 <i>Tlas</i> 17		
14 <i>Biyris</i> 10	13 <i>Sethenes</i> 41		16 * * * 14
15 <i>Saophis</i> 29		12 <i>Mencheres</i> 63	17 <i>Use</i> 50
16 <i>Sen-Saophis</i> 27	14 <i>Cheres</i> 17		18 <i>Rameffes</i> 29
17 <i>Mofcheris</i> 31	15 <i>Nephercheres</i> 25	13 <i>Ratases</i> 25	Syncell. p. 101.
18 <i>Mufphis</i> 33	16 <i>Sefochris</i> 48	14 <i>Bicheres</i> 22	19 <i>Rameffemenes</i> 15
	17 <i>Cheneres</i> 30	15 <i>Schercheres</i> 7	20 <i>Thufimares</i> 31
19 <i>Pammus</i> <i>Archondes</i> 35		16 <i>Thamptis</i> 9	21 <i>Rameffes</i> 23
	18 <i>Necherophes</i> 23	VI. Dyn. Afr.	22 <i>Rameffemenos</i> 19
20 <i>Apappus</i> <i>Maximus</i> 100	Here the Kingdom of This ended.	17 <i>Othoes</i>	23 <i>Rameffe-Tubaete</i> 39
		18 <i>Phiis</i> 53	Syncell. p. 103.
21 <i>Achescus</i> <i>Ocaras</i> 1	Sum of the Years 593	19 <i>Methufuphis</i> 7	24 <i>Rameffe-Vaphres</i> 29
22 <i>Nitocris</i> 6		20 <i>Phiops</i> 100	
		21 <i>Montefuphis</i> 1	25 <i>Concharis</i> 6
		22 <i>Nitocris</i> 12	
Sum of the Years 676		Sum of the Years 643	Sum of the Years 701

In this manner Sir *John Marsham* deduces the Account of the ancient Kings of *Egypt*, down to the Time of the *Pastors* Irruption (o): The *Pastors* invaded *Egypt* in the Reign of *Timæus* (p): Sir *John Marsham* supposes *Concharis* to have been the King, whom *Josephus* calls *Timæus* (q): and agreeably hereto *Syncellus* conceived *Silites* or *Salatis*, who was the (r) first *Pastor*-King, to have succeeded *Concharis* his 25 King of lower *Egypt* (s): *Nitocris* is thought to have been the last of the crowned Heads of *Memphis*; for we find in *Africanus* no Name of any King of this Kingdom after her (t), and therefore here we are to fix the Period or Dissolution of it, and we find that the *Pastors* over-ran not only the lower *Egypt*; but they took *Memphis* (u) and possessed themselves of this Kingdom also: *Nitocris* was Queen not only of *Memphis*, but likewise of *Thebes*; for we find her Name xxii in *Eratosthenes's* *Theban* Catalogue: Sir *John Marsham* observes, that her Predecessor in both Kingdoms reigned but one Year, and the King before him in

(o) Marsham. p. 18, 20. (p) Josephus contra Ap. l. 1. (q) Marsham p. 91, 98, &c. (r) Joseph. contra Ap. l. 1. (s) Syncell. p. 103, 104. (t) Vid. Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 90. (u) Joseph. lib. 1. contra Ap.

both Kingdoms exactly an hundred (ω): He judiciously concludes from hence, that *Apappus Maximus* King of *Thebes*, and *Pbiops* King of *Memphis* were but one and the same Person, as were also *Achescus*, *Ocaras* and *Mentcufbis* who succeeded in each Kingdom, and that the Kingdoms of *Memphis* and *Thebes* were united two Reigns at least before *Nitocris* (χ). She is recorded to have reigned 12 Years at *Memphis*, and but 6 at *Thebes*: I suppose *Memphis* was, at her coming to the Throne, the Seat of her Kingdom; she was obliged to retire out of this Country, when the *Pastors* invaded it, and after this Retreat she reigned six Years at *Thebes*. The Kingdom of *This* did not last until the Invasion of the *Pastors*; very probably the *Theban* Kings, when they grew powerful by the Accession of the Kingdom of *Memphis*, added this little *Domain* to their Territories (γ): Upon these Hints and Observations Sir *John Marsham* has opened us a Prospect of coming at an History of the Succession of

(ω) Οἰβαίων ἡ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀπάππυς μέγιστος ἔτη 12 ὡς φασὶν παρὰ ἄλλαν μίαν ἔτη 6 ἐβασίλευσεν. Οἰβαίων καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀχέσκυς Ὀιδεας ἔτος 6. Eratosth. in Syncell. p. 104. Ἐπιτὴ Δυνασειῶν βασιλέων Μαιμριτῶν δ' ἰωὺ φεξαετῆς ἀρξάμενθ βασιλεύοντι διεγέρετο μέγιστος ἔτων 6 ἔ. Μαντεσοῦρις ἔτος 6. African. in Syncell. p. 58. (χ) Ista regnandi æqualis Inæqualitas nimis insolita est, ut illam bis et simul fortuitò contigisse credamus. *Marsham* p. 85. (γ) Id. ibid.

the Kings of *Egypt*, and that in a Method so natural and easy, that it must approve it self to any Person that enters truly into the Design and Conduct of it: He gives us *Eratosthenes's Theban Kings*; he ranges with these, *Syncellus's 25 Kings of Mestrea* or lower *Egypt* (*z*); and by taking *Africanus's Dynasties* in pieces, by separating the *Thinite Dynasties* from the *Memphite*; by collecting the Kings of each Title into a distinct Catalogue, he offers us two other concurrent Lists of the Names of the Kings of the other two Kingdoms.

There is one Difficulty, which I wish our very learned Author had considered and discussed for us, and that is, that the Catalogues of the Kings of three of the four Kingdoms are too long to come within the Intervals of Time, which the true Chronology of the World can allow for them. For to begin with lower *Egypt*: *Menes* or the *Mizraim* of *Moses* (*a*) came into this Country about A. M. 1772 (*b*): It was a Fen or Marsh in his Time (*c*), and he does not seem to have made a long Stay in it: He went forward and built *Memphis* (*d*); afterwards, 124 Years after the Dispersion of Mankind (*e*), A. M.

(*z*) Syncell. p. 91. (*a*) See Vol. I. B. 4. (*b*) Ibid.
 (*c*) Herodot. l. 2. c. 4. (*d*) Id. c. 99. (*e*) Apollodor. in Euseb. Chron. p. 18. Syncell. p. 147.

1881, he went into the Country of *Thebais*: after having made Settlements here, he seems to have come back and formed a Kingdom in lower *Egypt* 35 Years before his Death; for *Menes* stands recorded King of this Country only 35 Years (*f*); if so, then this Kingdom was founded about A. M. 1908 (*g*): The *Pastors* came into *Egypt* about A. M. 2420 (*b*): The Interval is 512 Years: But the 25 Kings of lower *Egypt* abovementioned reigned 701 Years; *i. e.* 189 Years longer than we can find a Space of Time for them. In like manner, 2. If we consider the *Theban* Kings: *Mizraim* came into this Country A. M. 1881 (*i*), let us from this Year begin the Computation of his Reign or Kingdom: From this Year to A. M. 2420, the Year of the Invasion of the *Pastors* are 539 Years; but the Reigns of the *Theban* Kings from *Menes* to the 12 Year after (*k*) the Decease of *Achescus Ocaras* the Predecessor of *Nitocris* are 682 Years; so that this Catalogue reaches down beyond the Incurfion of the *Pastors*

(*f*) Μεσραΐμ ὁ ἐν Μάρμυς ἔτη λέε. Syncell. p. 91.

(*g*) *Menes* died A. M. 1943. See Vol. 1. B. 4.

(*b*) See Vol. 2. B. 7.

(*i*) Vid. quæ sup. and Vol. 1.

B. 4. (*k*) We must compute in this manner, if we allow

Achescus Ocaras to have been the same Person with *Mentefuphis* who was *Nitocris*'s Predecessor in the *Memphite Catalogue*, and suppose *Nitocris* to have reigned 12 Years at *Memphis*, and then being obliged to quit that Country by the *Pastors*, to have reigned afterwards 6 Years at *Thebes*.

170 Years. 3. The Kingdom of *This* is recorded to begin from the 62 Year before the Death of *Menes* (*k*); from the Year of the Rise of the Kingdom of *Thebes* A. M. 1881: The Reigns of the Kings of *This* amount to 593 Years (*l*); but from A. M. 1881 to 2420, the Year of the *Pastors*, are but, as I said, 539 Years; so that this Catalogue is too long by 54 Years. As to the Kingdom of *Memphis*, a better Account of that seems to offer it self to us. *Menes* entred *Egypt* A. M. 1772 (*m*): He staid but a little while in the lower *Egypt*, perhaps about 3 Years, until he had formed *Zoan* a little Town, which was built 7 Years after *Hebron* in *Canaan* (*n*); here he might plant a few Inhabitants, and go forward and build *Noph* or *Memphis* higher up the Country, and designing to go himself a further Progress, he might make his Son *Toferthus*, or *Naphtubim* (*o*) the first Governour or King of this City about A. M. 1777, accordingly the Reigns in the *Memphite Dynasties* begin not from *Menes* but from *Toferthus* (*p*). The Sum of the Reigns from the first Year of *Toferthus* to the 12 of *Nitocris* are 643 Years,

(*k*) African. in Syncell. p. 54. (*l*) Vid. Tab. sen. Can. (*m*) Vid. quæ sup. (*n*) Numb. xiii. 22.
 (*o*) See Vol. 1. B. 4. Gen. x. 13. (*p*) African. in Syncell. p. 56.

which

which, if we count down from A. M. 1777, will bring us to A. M. 2420, the Year in which, I suppose, the *Pastors* entered *Egypt*, and reduced this Kingdom. Thus the *Memphite* Succession very fully accords to true *Chronology*, and probably, if the other Successions were carefully examined, a little Pains would enable us to bring them to an Agreement with it. For,

The Catalogue of *Mestraean* Kings exceeds indeed in Length about 189 Years; but I apprehend some Interpolations made by *Syncellus* are the Cause of it. Three of the Reigns, the $\bar{5}$, $\bar{6}$ and $\bar{16}$ are mere Numbers without Names of Kings annexed to them: And *Scrapis* the $\bar{7}$ King, *Sefonchosis* the $\bar{8}$ (r), *Amanemes* $\bar{9}$ (s) and *Amasis* the $\bar{10}$ (t), are all Names of Kings inserted here by *Syncellus* to lengthen the Catalogue, so as to make it suit his Scheme of *Chronology*: *Syncellus* took great Liberties in this man-

(r) *Sefonchosis* was the same Person as *Sesostris*. Vid. Scholiast. in *Apoll. Argonaut.* ver. 272. p. 411. and lived in a much later Age. (s) *Amanemes* is again repeated by *Syncellus*, and is his \bar{LV} King. (t) *Amasis* is his $\bar{LXXXVIII}$. He disguises the Repetition of the Names of *Amanemes* and *Amasis*, by giving different Numbers of Years to their Reigns; but we have no reason to think there were such Kings in this Age.

ner (*u*): The Numbers of Years affixed to all these Reigns amount to the 189: If we therefore strike out these Reigns, we reduce the Catalogue to a true measure. I would not be too tedious to the Reader, and shall therefore leave it to him, if he cares to enter deeper into this Subject, to consider, whether the *Theban* and *Thinite* Catalogues may not be as well adjusted, if they be examined and corrected in a proper manner.

From the *Pastors* invading and completing their Conquests in *Egypt*, our learned Author considers the Country as parted into but two Kingdoms: The *Pastors* possessed the Land of *Memphis*, and of *Tanis* or lower *Egypt*; the *Thebans*, whom the *Pastors* did not conquer, held their own Country, and had added the Land of *This* to it: *Africanus* indeed suggests a *Dynasty* of *Elephantine* Kings, supposing nine Successions of them (*av*): *Elephantis* was a remote City in the most southern Parts of *Egypt* (*x*), above 200 Miles higher up into the Country than *Thebes* or *Diospolis* (*y*): The Names of Kings supposed to be of this Kingdom, have a great Simi-

(*u*) Reges comminiscitur, annosq; et successiones mutilat vel extendit, prout ipsi visum est, magnâ nominum, magnâ numerorum Interpolatione. *Murham. Can. Chron.* p. 7. (*av*) African. Dynast. v. in Syncell. p. 57. (*x*) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 17, 18, 29. (*y*) Id. c. 9.

litude with those of the Kings of *This*, and perhaps some little *Companies* of *Thinites*, when the *Thebans* conquered their Country, might travel into this distant Region, and plant themselves here, and build a City, and have a quiet Enjoyment of it, for above two Centuries (z): We find no History, nor any thing recorded of these *Elephantines*, and probably after having lived for the Space abovementioned in a little independent Society, at the End of that Term, the *Thebans* extending and enlarging their Country, they might at last become a City or District of *their* Kingdom. The following Table will give the Reader a View of Sir *John Marsham's* Continuation of the *Theban* Kings, and of the Succession of the *Pastor* Reigns until the *Pastors* were expelled *Egypt*.

(z) *The Reigns supposed by Africanus to belong to this Dynasty, amount to 218 Years.*

II. TABLE of *Egyptian Kings.*

Continuation of <i>Eratosthenes'</i> <i>Theban Kings.</i>		<i>Pastor Kings from Manetho, &c.</i> See <i>Joseph.</i> and <i>African.</i> xv. Dynast.	
23	<i>Myrtæus</i> 22		
24	<i>Thuosi Mares</i> 12	1	<i>Salatis</i> 19
25	<i>Thinillus</i> 8		
26	<i>Semphrocrates</i> 18	2	<i>Bæon</i> 4†
27	<i>Chouthor Taurus</i> 7		
28	<i>Meuros Philofcorus</i> 12		<i>m</i>
29	<i>Choma Eptha</i> 11	3	<i>Apachnas</i> 36 7
30	<i>Anchunius Ochy Tyrannus</i> 60		
31	<i>Pente-Athyris</i> 16	4	<i>Apophes</i> 61
32	<i>Scanenemes</i> 23		<i>m</i>
33	<i>Sisofichermes</i> 55	5	<i>Tanias</i> 50 1
34	<i>Mæris</i> 43		<i>m</i>
35	<i>Siphoas or Mercury</i> 5	6	<i>Affis</i> 40 2
36	- - (a) - - - 14		
37	<i>Phruron or Nilus</i> 5	xxi Dyn. African. (b) in Syn-	
38	<i>Amuthantæus</i> 63	ceil. p. 123.	
	Here ends the Catalogue of <i>Eratosthenes.</i>	7	<i>Smedes</i> 26
	From <i>Manetho</i> xviii Dynasty of <i>Africanus.</i> See <i>Josephus.</i>	8	<i>Pfusenes</i> 46
		9	<i>Nepbelcheres</i> 4
		10	<i>Amenophis</i> 9
		11	<i>Ofocher</i> 6
39	<i>Amofis</i> 25 ^m 4	12	<i>Pinaches</i> 9
40	<i>Chebron</i> ^m	13	<i>Sufennes</i> 14
		xxiii Dyn. Afric.	
41	<i>Amenophis</i> 27 7	14	<i>Petubates</i> 40

(a) Sir John Marsham passes over this Reign, there being no Name annexed to it, and supposes Nilus to succeed Mercury and Eratosthenes's Catalogue to contain but 37 Kings. Can. p. 94. 238. (b) It may be here remarked that both Manetho and Africanus (See Chronograph. in Synceil p. 52. African. Dyn p. 71.) stile this Dynatty Tanite: But to this it may be answered, that the Pastors, possessing the Land of Tanis or lower Egypt, were the Tanite Kings of these Times.

<i>Theban Kings from Manetho, &c.</i>			<i>Pastor or Tanite Kings from Manetho.</i>	
	Years	<i>m</i>		
42	<i>Ameffes</i>	21	9	15 <i>Oforcho</i> 8
			<i>m</i>	
43	<i>Mepbres</i>	12	9	16 <i>Pfammus</i> 10
			<i>m</i>	
44	<i>Misphragmutho- fis</i>	25	10	17 <i>Zect</i> 31

Misphragmuthosis, or *Alisfragmuthosis*, gave the *Pastors* a great Overthrow in Battle, and shut them up in *Abaris*, where he confined them by a close Siege (*b*). His Son was

45. *Tuthmosis* - - - 9 Years 8 Months.

The *Pastors* capitulated with this King at his coming to the Crown, and surrendered upon Condition to be suffered to march out of *Egypt* (*c*). Next to *Tuthmosis* or *Tummosis* reigned

46. *Amenophis* 30 Years 10 Months.

In the Reign of this King the *Pastors* invaded *Egypt* again, and for 13 Years dispossessed him of his Kingdom; but at the end of that Term *Amenophis* came with an Army, and entirely conquered them, and expelled them *Egypt* for ever (*d*), and at this their second Expulsion,

(*b*) Joseph. contra Ap. l. i. c. 14. (*c*) Id. ibid.

(*d*) 26. 28. Marsham. Can. Chronic. p. 318.

the 511 Years are computed to end, during which the *Pastors* are said to have held *Egypt* (e).

After this second Expulsion of the *Pastors*, Sir *John Marsham* adds the following *Theban* Kings sole Monarchs of all *Egypt*.

	Years	M.
47 <i>Orus</i> reigned	36	5
48 <i>Achembres</i>	12	1
49 <i>Ratbotis</i>	9	
50 <i>Acencheres</i>	12	5
51 <i>Acencheres</i>	12	3
52 <i>Armais</i>	4	1
53 <i>Rameffes</i>	1	4
54 <i>Rameffes Miamun</i>	66	2
55 <i>Amenophis</i>	19	6
<i>XIX</i> Dynast. African.		
56 <i>Sethosis, Sesostris</i> or <i>Sesac</i> .		

The Reader has now before him a View of Sir *John Marsham*'s Scheme from the Beginning of the Reigns of the *Egyptian* Kings, down to his *Sesostris* or *Sesac*: And if he will take the pains throughly to examine it, if he will take it in Pieces into all its Parts, review the Materials

(e) *The Pastor Reigns above-mentioned from Salatis to Zet amount to 478 Years 10 Months, the Reign of Tuthmofis is 9 Years 8 Months; if the Pastors invaded Egypt again in the 10th Year of Amenophis, and were totally conquered 13 Years after, this Conquest of them will indeed fall 511 Years from the 1st Year of Salatis.*

of which it is formed, consider how they lie in the Authors from whom they are taken, and what manner of collecting and disposing them is made use of, he will find, that however in some lesser Points a Variation from our very learned Author may be defensible; yet no tolerable Scheme can be formed of the ancient *Egyptian* History, that is not in the main agreeing with him. Sir *John Marsham* has led us to a clear and natural Place for the Name of every *Egyptian* King and Time of his Reign, who is mentioned by either *Eratosthenes*, *Africanus* from *Manetho*, *Josephus*, or *Syncellus*, that we can reasonably think had a real Place in the *Egyptian* History; for as to the Name of the King in *Africanus* *ix* *Dynasty*, called a *Dynasty* of Kings of *Heracleopolis* (*f*), *Manetho* made no such *Dynasty* (*g*): *Africanus* found out one of the Names of the Kings of it (*h*): *Heraclotis*, *Heracleopolis* or *Hercopolis* was a City of lower *Egypt* near one of the Mouths or Outlets of the *Nile* into the Sea (*i*): Perhaps it was a Town not immediately reduced by the *Pastors*, and its holding out, and preserving its Liberty for some Time, might occasion the

(*f*) African. in Syncell. p. 59. (g) Vid. Chronograph. in Syncell. p. 52. (h) African. ubi sup.
 (*i*) Strabo Geogr. l. 2. p. 85.

Writers of After-ages to think it had been an independent Kingdom, and to endeavour to form *Dynasties* of the Kings of it. In like manner we may remark concerning *Africanus's* $\overline{\text{XXII}}$ *Dynasty*, which he calls *Bubastite*: *Bubastus* was a City of lower *Egypt* (*k*), probably governed by Magistrates, Deputies to the *Pastors*, or it might perhaps revolt from the *Tanite* or *Pastor-Kings*, when the *Thebans* began to weaken and distress them, and become a free Town, and have Governors of its own for some Successions towards the end of the Times of the *Pastors* being in *Egypt*; and some mention of this sort having been made of it, might occasion After-Writers to number its Magistrates amongst the Kings of *Egypt*: But *Manetho* made no such *Dynasty*; accordingly Sir *John Marsham* does not collect these Kings: Were there indeed any such Kings, a Place might be found them, by setting them down Contemporaries with some of the last *Pastor* or *Tanite* Kings. Sir *John Marsham* has not taken into this Part of his *Canon* the Kings of the $\overline{\text{XI}}$, $\overline{\text{XII}}$, $\overline{\text{XIX}}$ *Dynasties* of *Africanus*: The Reader may see his Reasons for omitting them (*l*): I should think

(*k*) Strabo Geogr. l. 17. p. 805.
p. 391, 392.

(*l*) Can. Chron.

a different Account from that of our most learned Author may be given of them (*m*); but I shall offer what I conceive to be the true Account of these Kings, when I come down to the Times succeeding after the Reigns of *Sefac*, where I shall be also able with less Trouble and more Perspicuity to adjust *Eratosthenes's Canon* of *Theban Kings*, and Sir *John Marsham's Supplement* of Reigns added to it to a true Length. As they now stand in his *Canon*, *Nitocris* the $\overline{\text{xxii}}$ in *Eratosthenes* must be thought to have reigned about A.M. 2420. The 16 Reigns succeeding hers to the end of *Eratosthenes's Catalogue* contain 374 Years; the 17 Reigns added to these by Sir *John Marsham*, from *Amosis* to *Setkosis*, *Sesoftris* or *Sefac*, contain 354 Years (*n*); add these together, and we come down to A. M. 3148, but *Sefac* came against *Jerusalem* A. M. 3033 (*o*); so that here again the *Theban List* of Kings appears to be of too great a Length by above 115 Years.

If the *Pastors* came into *Egypt* as above, about A. M. 2420, and their first King *Salatis* reigned 19 Years, their second King *Beon* reigned 44, and their third King *Apophis* 36 Years and 7 Months (*p*), the end of *Apophis* Reign falls

(*m*) Vid. quæ supra.
Marsham, p. 96.

(*n*) Vid. Eratosth. vid.
Usher's Annals.

(*p*) Vid.
Joseph. contr. Ap. I, 1. Marsham Can. Chron. p. 94.

A. M. 2520; so that he was the *Pharaoh* or King of lower *Egypt*, who pursued the *Israelites*, and perished in the *Red-Sea*: The *Exit* of the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, and their passing over the *Red-Sea* happened A. M. 2513; but the judicious Reader will not expect to be ascertained of our having all the numeral Characters in the *Egyptian* Reigns, so truly calculated or conveyed down to us, that the Difference between A. M. 2513 and 2520 of 6 or 7 Years can want to be accounted for.



The SACRED and PROPHANE

HISTORY

Of the WORLD Connected.

B O O K XII.

IN the first Month of the fortieth Year after the *Exit* out of *Egypt*, A. M. 2553, the *Israelites* came into the *Deserts* of *Sin* (a), and pitched their *Tents* at *Kadesh*: *Miriam* died soon after their coming hither (b): They found little or no *Water* in these *Parts*, and as soon as their *Wants* made them uneasy, they murmured against *Moses* and *Aaron* (c): *Moses* and *Aaron* consulted *God* for a *Supply*, and *Moses* was ordered to go with *Aaron* and ga-

(a) Numb. xx, 1. (b) *ibid.* (c) ver. 3, 4, 5.

ther

ther the Assembly: *Moses* was then to take *Aaron's Rod*, and He and *Aaron* were to speak unto a Rock in the Desert, and the Rock was to pour out Water in the sight of all the *Israelites* (*d*): We have had no mention of the *Israelites* from the Time of the Rebellion of *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, until they came into this Difficulty: There had passed six or seven and thirty Years in this Interval; during which Time *Moses* had led them up and down from Place to Place (*e*), as God had thought fit to direct their Journeyings by the Cloud that moved before them (*f*): And it is probable, that during all this space of time the People had been very obedient; for we hear of no Discontents or Oppositions amongst them: This was their first Emotion: Now they began to be refractory again; but *Moses* now could not so well bear it: He was here transported beyond his usual Temper: The Murmurings of the People provoked his Spirit, so that he spake unadvisedly with his Lips (*ff*): He and *Aaron* here committed a Fault, for which God pronounced against them, that they should not bring the People into the Land, which he had given them (*g*). The Commentators appear in some Doubt, what the

(*d*) Numb. xx. 8. (*e*) Numb. xxxiii. (*f*) Exod. xl. 36, 37. (*ff*) Psal. cvi. 33. (*g*) Numb. xx. 12.

Fault was which *Moses* and *Aaron* were here guilty of; but I should think it a Point not hard to be determined: When *Moses* undertook the Charge of the People after they were over the Red-Sea, it was strictly required of him, that he should be punctually obedient to all the Directions which God should give him (*b*): He was to be a Minister of the Power of God unto his People, and in all his Actions to be *faithful to him that appointed him* (*bb*), to promote his Glory; to convince the People that the Lord was really their God, and that there was none else besides him, who could protect and assist them, or whom they ought to worship. And this *Moses* had hitherto observed in all his Conduct: But in the Instance before us, there is a Failure in his Behaviour: When the People were in Distress here by Want of Water, God vouchsafed to hear their Complaint, and directed *Moses* and *Aaron* to give them a Demonstration, that his Power was ready at hand miraculously to relieve them: They had been once before in the same Strait: Then God thought fit to cause a Rock, upon *Moses's* striking it with his Rod, to pour forth Water (*i*): But here *Moses* and *Aaron* were commanded to take the Rod; to go and stand before a Rock

(*b*) Exod. xv. 45. (*bb*) Heb. iii. 2. (*i*) Exod. xvii.

appointed them, having summoned the People to see how God would relieve them; then they were to speak only to the Rock, and the Rock was to give forth Water. Had the *Israelites* been here prone to entertain any superstitious Fancy of the Virtue of that Rod, which had been the Instrument of so many Miracles, what an Opportunity had *Moses* of convincing them of their Folly, and evidencing to them, that neither himself, nor *Aaron*, nor the Rod was of any Importance, but that God could have perfected the same Wonders by a Word only, if he had thought fit to have done them in that manner? But instead of thus discharging himself, he took the Rod, and He and *Aaron* gathered the Congregation, and he said unto them: *Hear now, ye Rebels, must we fetch you Water out of this Rock? And Moses lift up his Hand, and smote the Rock twice: and the Water came out abundantly (k):* In this he spoke and acted unadvisedly (l); for he did not speak nor act according to the Commission which God had given him; but he spake and acted of himself, too great an Argument of an Affectation of raising his own Credit; for *He that speaketh of himself, seeketh his own Glory (m):*

(k) Numb. xx. 10, 11.
(m) John vii. 18.

(l) Psalm. cvi. 32.

Moses expressed himself to have had this Sense of things upon another Occasion: When *Nadab* and *Abihu* offered strange Fire before the Lord, which he commanded them not: *Moses* remonstrated their Crime to *Aaron* in the clearest Terms, and declared, that God would be *sanctified in them that come nigh him, and glorified before all the People* (n): But here He and *Aaron* joined in a Part very different from these Sentiments: Their Duty was to have glorified God in the sight of the Congregation, by punctually performing what he had directed: But instead of this, they did and said what he commanded them not, and thereby gave the *Israelites* an Opportunity to imagine the Supply might come from them; from their Power and Ability to procure it: And for this Reason, because they were not strictly careful to promote the Glory of God, instead of raising their own Credit (o) among the People, they were sentenced not to lead the *Israelites* into the Land of *Canaan*.

Kadesh, near which the *Israelites* were at this time encamped, was a City upon the Border of the Land of *Edom* (p), and from

(n) Levit. x. 3. (o) The 12th Verse of xxth of Numbers should be thus translated. Because, ye were not faithful to me, to [sanctify or] glorify me, in the Eyes of the Children of *Israel*, therefore ye shall not bring this Congregation into the Land which I have given them.

(p) Numb. xx. 16.

the Neighbourhood of this Place *Moses* sent Messengers unto the King of *Edom* to ask leave to march thro' his Country (*q*): The *Israelites* had received a strict Charge not to (*r*) make any Attempt against this People, and *Moses's* Message was in Terms of the greatest Assurance of Friendship to them: He acknowledged the Relation between them and *Israel*, and promised in the most explicit manner, that he would only pass thro' their Country, without foraging any Part of it, or injuring any Person Inhabitant of it (*rr*): But the *Edomites* were not willing to run the venture: Hitherto they had been governed by Dukes (*s*); but about this Time apprehending Danger, they made a King, thinking it necessary to unite under one Head for their common Preservation: And this King of *Edom* refused to admit the *Israelites* into his Territories, and guarded his Frontiers with numerous Forces (*t*): Hereupon the *Israelites* were obliged to march another Way, and therefore moved from *Kadesh* to mount *Hor*: Upon Mount *Hor Aaron* died, and *Eleazar* his Son was appointed High-Priest in his Place (*u*): *Aaron* was an hundred and twenty Years old, when he died in Mount *Hor* (*w*), and died there in the

(*q*) Numb. xx. 14. (*r*) See Deut. ii. 4, 5, 6. (*rr*) Numb. xx 17 — 19. (*s*) See Vol. II. B. VII. (*t*) Numb. xx. 18, 20. (*u*) ver. 22 — 29. (*w*) Numb. xxxiii. 39.

fortieth Year after the Children of *Israel* were come out of the Land of *Egypt* (x), and so died, *A. M.* 2553.

The King of *Arad*, a City in the Southern Parts of *Canaan*, upon the *Israelites* coming near his Borders, attacked them, and took some of them Prisoners(y): The *Israelites* had offered no Violence to his Country, and were so provoked at this Attempt upon them, that they vowed a Vow unto the Lord, that if they should hereafter be able, they would utterly destroy this People (z); and they were enabled, and did perform this Vow in the Days of *Joshua* (a), or in a little time after his Death (b): The 3d Verse of this xxist Chapter of *Numbers* seems to intimate, that the *Israelites* at this Time conquered these *Canaanites*, and utterly destroyed them and their Cities: But this was not Fact; for the King of *Arad* is one of those who were conquered by *Joshua* (c), and the Vengeance here threatned was either executed upon this People by his Hand, or completed by *Judab* and *Simeon*, when they slew the *Canaanites* that inhabited *Zephath*, and utterly destroyed it (d). The Kingdom of *Arad* was not conquered in the Days of *Moses*, and therefore we cannot imagine,

(x) Numb. xxxiii. 38. (y) xxi. 1. (z) ver. 2.
 (a) See Josh. xii. 14. (b) See Judges i. 17. (c) Josh. xii.
 14. (d) Judges i. 17.

that the Remark here inserted, that *the Lord hearkned unto the Voice of Israel, and delivered up the Canaanites, and they utterly destroyed them and their Cities*, was of his writing: I should think *Moses* left the Text thus: *And Israel vowed a Vow unto the Lord, and said, If thou wilt indeed deliver this People into my Hand, then I will utterly destroy their Cities, and called the Name of the Place Hormah, i. e. Israel called the Place so, in token, that if ever it should be in their Power, they designed to make it desolate (e):* As to what is added in the third Verse, that *the Lord hearkned unto the Voice of Israel, and delivered up the Canaanites, and that they utterly destroyed them and their Cities:* The Thing was not done, and therefore the Remark could not be made in the Days of *Moses*: The Words perhaps might be written, by way of Observation, in the Margin of some ancient MS. of the *Pentateuch*, after the *Israelites* had destroyed the *Canaanites*; Copiers from such a MS. might afterwards transcribe it from the Margin into the Text, and thereby occasion it to come down to us as Part of it.

The King of *Edom* refusing to admit the *Israelites* to pass thro' his Country,

(e) *The Word Hormah signifies a Place devoted to Destruction.*

and the King of *Arad* opposing them upon the Frontiers of his Kingdom, they were obliged to retire back into the Wilderness, and therefore decamped from Mount *Hor*: They were ordered to march towards the Red-Sea, and to fetch a Compass round about the Land of *Edom* (*f*): They began this Expedition, but the Soul of the People was much discouraged because of the Way (*g*): They remonstrated to *Moses* all the Difficulties that would attend it; complained, that they should be distressed for Want of Water, and that, as to the *Manna*, they loathed it (*b*), and therefore were not willing to go again thro' a Desert, where they could expect no other Provision: They began hereupon to be too mutinous for *Moses* to lead them any further, had not God been pleased to correct them for their Obstinacy, by sending amongst them fiery Serpents, which destroyed many of them (*bb*): This Calamity soon humbled them, and upon their intreating *Moses*, he prayed for them, and obtained them a Cure of the Malady that afflicted them. God directed him to make a Serpent, and to set it up in the Camp, and promised, that whoever would look upon it, should, tho' bitten with a fiery Serpent, recover and

(*f*) Numb. xxi. 4. (*g*) Ibid. (*b*) ver. 5. (*bb*) Numb. xxi. 6.

live (i): *Moses* made a Serpent of Brass, as he was commanded, and the People found it a Remedy against the Calamity, that had destroyed great Numbers of them (k).

Sir *John Marsham* is very particular in his Remarks upon the setting up the brazen Serpent (l): He has collected several Passages from the prophane Writers, which hint at Charms and Inchantments to cure the Bite of Serpents; and he says, the *Hebrews* made use of Inchantments for this very Purpose, which Assertion he endeavours to support by a Citation from the *Psalms*, by another from *Ecclesiastes*, and by a third from *Jeremiah*; and from the whole of what he offers, he would intimate, that the Cure of the *Israelites* here, that were bitten, was not miraculous; but that the brazen Serpent *venenum extinguebat* — & *morsus arte levabat*, was a Charm for the Calamity (m) or an Amulet for the Distemper (n), ἀλεξιπτήθειον ἢ τοσαύτης πληγῆς. It would be trifling to endeavour to refute this Opinion: No one acquainted with Sir *John Marsham's* way of thinking, can imagine he believ'd it: I dare say, he thought a Charm for the Biting of a Serpent as ridiculous on the one hand, as the Opinion

(i) Numb. xxi. 8. (k) ver. 9. (l) Can. Chron. p. 142. (m) Id. p. 144. (n) Ibid.

of some learned Commentators is on the other, who, in order to make the Miracle appear the greater, contend that Brass is of a virulent Nature, and that the looking upon a Serpent made of that Metal, would by way of Sympathy add Rancour to the Wounds, instead of curing them (o). To a reasonable Inquirer the brazen Serpent cannot appear to have been, of it self, of any Effect at all: This unquestionably was Sir *John Marsham's* Opinion, and what he cites from the Heathen Writers was intended by him to prove, not that Charms had ever been a real Cure for the Bitings of Serpents, but that the World had been amused with such Fancies: And he cites the sacred Writers in order to hint, that they admitted and countenanced these popular Superstitions; and his real Thoughts about *Moses* and the *Israelites* in the Case before us appear to me to have been, that the Bitings of the Serpents which the *Israelites* were infested with, were not mortal; that *Moses* set up the brazen Serpent to amuse the People, that those who were bitten might make themselves easy by looking at it, in hopes of a Cure, until the Poison spent it self, and the Inflammation ceased; that when they grew well, *Moses* might teach them to ascribe

(o) Vid. Pol. Synopf. Crit. in loc.

their Cure to a secret Efficacy of the brazen Serpent, in order to raise and support his Credit amongst them: This must be our learned Writer's Sentiment in its full Strength and Latitude, and to this I answer,

I. There were indeed Serpents of divers sorts in many Parts of the World, and some not so venomous, but that their Bite was curable: This *Siculus* informs us, that in the Island *Taprobane*, now called *Ceylon*, there were Serpents of a large kind, of no noxious Quality (*f*); and *Herodotus* mentions a lesser sort as free from Venom in the Parts near *Thebes* in *Egypt* (*g*): The Inhabitants of *Epitaurus* in *Greece*, were well acquainted with these sorts of Serpents (*s*), and such abounded in *Ethiopia* (*t*). *Pausanias* was of opinion, that the same sort of Serpents would not be equally venomous in different Countries; for that a different Pasture may add to, or diminish the Virulence of their Poison (*u*): And thus it may be true in Fact, that there anciently were, and now are in the World many sorts of Serpents not thought capable of biting mortally, but that a little Time and Patience, with-

(*f*) Diodor. Sic. Lib. 2. p. 99. (*g*) Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 74. Id. Lib. 3. c. 109. (*s*) Pausan. in Corinthiac. c. 28. (*t*) Herodot. l. 4. c. 153. (*u*) Pausan. in Bœotic. c. 28.

out much help of Medicine, might heal the Wounds received from them: And we may imagine, that the Nature of the more noxious sorts might be mitigated by removing them into a Climate, or managing them with Diet not apt to supply them with a too potent Poison (*w*): And Physick and Surgery are now brought to such Perfection, that perhaps there is no Poison of Serpents so deadly, but that, if Application be made in due Time, a sufficient Remedy may be had for it. But tho' we allow all this, let us observe,

II. That as *Moses* represents the Serpents which bit the *Israelites*, to have caused a great Mortality (*x*); so the heathen Writers concur in testifying, that the Desarts wherein the *Israelites* journeyed, produced Serpents of so venomous a kind, that their Biting was deadly, beyond the Power of any Art then known to cure it. The Ancients observ'd in the general, that the most barren and sandy Desarts had the greatest Number, and most venomous of Serpents: *Diodorus* makes this Remark more particularly of the Sands in *Africa* (*y*); but it was equally true of the Wilderness wherein the *Israelites* journeyed: Serpents and Scorpions

(*w*) Diodor. l. 3. p. 119.
 (*y*) Diodor. lib. 3. p. 128.

(*x*) Numb. *xxi.* 6.

were here, according to *Moses*, as natural as Drought and Want of Water (z): And *Strabo's* Observation agrees with *Moses* (a), and both *Strabo* and *Diodorus* concur that the Serpents that were so numerous here, were of the most deadly kind, and that there was no Cure for their Biting (b): Some Writers have imagined the Serpents which bit the *Israelites*, to have been of the Flying-kind: *Herodotus* informs us, that *Arabia* produced this sort (c), and the Time of Year in which the *Israelites* were under this Calamity, was in the Season, in which these Serpents are upon (d) the wing, and visit the neighbouring and adjacent Countries; so that these might at this time fly into the Camp of the *Israelites* in great Numbers: But *Moses* does not hint them to have been flying Serpents, he calls them *ba Necaschim baserapim* (e); had he meant flying Serpents, he would have said, *Nachaschim Serapim Menopepim*; for they are so described, where they are mentioned in the (f) Scriptures. *Strabo* has taken notice of a kind of Serpents produced in or near the Parts where the *Israelites* journeyed,

(z) Deut. viii. 15. (a) — τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἰσραηλίων ἐν αὐτοῖς πλῆθος. Strab. Geog. l. 16. p. 719. (b) Strab. l. 16. Diodor. l. 3. (c) Herodot. l. 3. c. 109. (d) Λόγος ὃ ὅτι ἅμα πρὸ ἔξουσι τῆς ἰσραηλίωνος πρὸς αὐτοῦ. Id. l. 2. c. 75. (e) Numb. xxi. 5. (f) See Isaiah xiv. 19. xxx. 6.

which

which might be called fiery from their Colour (*g*), and both he and *Diodorus* were of Opinion, that the Bitings of these were incurable (*b*), and of this sort probably were those, which assaulted the *Israelites*. But whether we can fix this Point, is not very material; it is enough for our purpose, that from what has been offered it may be observed: That after all the Knowledge which the Heathens had of Cures and Inchantments for the Bitings of Serpents, yet they would not have judged any of their Arts sufficient to have recovered the *Israelites*, whose Malady was occasioned by a sort of Serpents, against whose Venom they had no Remedy. But,

III. Let us see what Charms the Heathens pretended to have to cure the Bitings of Serpents: The prophane Writers do indeed celebrate the *Marsi* a People in *Italy* (*i*), the *Pjylli* in *Africa* (*k*), and the *Ophiogenes* in lesser *Asia* (*l*), as very eminent for their Abilities against the Poison of Serpents, and they give us many wonderful Stories of each of them: But we may remark upon their Performances, as *Strabo* does upon *Alexander's*

(*g*) ὄφεις σφικτικὴ πῦρ χεῖρα. Strab. Geog. l. 16. p. 778. (*b*) Τὸ Δῆγμα ἐχρῶντες ἀνέκτισον. Strabo ibid. *Diodorus* says, Δῆγματα ποιῶνται παιήλας δίατα. Hist. l. 3. p. 126. (*i*) Virg. *Æn.* 7. v. 750. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 7. c. 2. (*k*) Plin. ibid. Pausan. in *Beotic*. Strab. Geog. l. 17. (*l*) Strab. l. 13. Plin. ubi sup.

curing

curing the Wounds of *Ptolemy (m)*, and it will appear, that the Persons, of whom we have such marvellous Accounts, were perhaps possessed of some physical *Recipe's* for the Venom of Serpents, and that the *Mythologists*, as was their usual way, invented Fables to raise their Fame, instead of recording their Skill in a true Narration. It is remarkable, that the Persons abovementioned are acknowledg'd by those who speak most fabulously of their Art, to have used external and medicinal Applications. The *Psylli* began the Cure by anointing the Wound with their Spittle (*n*), and this was thought no mean Medicine both by *Varro* and *Pliny (o)*; and it might have more effect, than we may be apt to think of, if the Artists that applied it, had prepared their Mouths by chewing such Herbs as they thought proper to use upon the Occasion. If this Application did not answer, then they endeavoured to suck out the Poison (*p*). It may be said, these were

(m) ——— τραπεζίαι ἢ Πτολεμαίων κινδυνόων· ἐν ὕπνῳ ἢ ὄψασά· τινεσὶ πρὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου δεύουσι βίβλιν ——— καὶ χρισσοῦσιν ——— ἰδιόβλας ἢ τὰς καρτὰς ἀφαινοῦσιν τὸ ἀλόγιμα, ὑπὸ πύλινος γὰρ ἴδιος τὸ βασίλειον. Ἐνδεῖς ἢ τινεσὶ μνησθῆσαι τὴν ἐπίστατον. τὸ ἢ μνησθῆσαι προσετιθεὶς κολακείας γὰρ ἐστίν. Srab. lib. 15. p. 723. (n) Lucan. Pharsal. l. 9. (o) Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 7. c. 2. (p) Lucan. ubi sup. We are told by some of our English Historians, that Queen Eleanor sucked the Poison out of the Wound, which a Saracen had given to Edward the first with a poisoned Knife.

but poor Attempts for the Cure of so dangerous a Malady. I answer: The Knowledge and Use of Physic was not carried to a great Perfection in these Ages. *Pliny* has given us above an hundred different Remedies for the Venom of Serpents (*q*);* most, perhaps all of them, would be now thought to be but trifling Prescriptions, and yet probably twenty of the meanest of them, would have raised any Person to the Reputation of an extraordinary Magician in the Days of the *Marfi*, *Pjylli*, and *Ophiogenes*. *Pausanias* had no very high Opinion of the Powers of the *Pjylli*; for he seems to doubt whether they could cure the Bite of a Serpent, unless the Serpent before its Biting had accidentally eat some Food, which might abate its Venom (*r*): However, these Men had their Medicines, which sometimes proved successful, and their Skill, tho' it would not have gained them the Title of good Surgeons in an Age of more Experience, was enough, in the Times they lived in, to convey them down to the fabulous Writers as more than mortal: And these Writers, fond of the marvellous, were apt to omit relating every thing in their Practice, which did not appear surprizing, and to give us that

(*q*) *Plin. Nat. Hist. in var. loc. Bœotic. c. 28.*

(*r*) *Pausan. in*

Part only, which might look like *Magic* and *Inchantment*. The Philosophy of these Times led those, who thought themselves most *rational*, into many Superstitions (*s*); and the Practitioners of Medicine thought it necessary to use some Rites to gain a favourable Influence of the planetary Powers upon their Endeavours, and to put the Mind of the Patient into an harmonious Temper for their Operation's having Success upon him. And hence Musick was thought to have its Use at the time of their giving Medicine, and sometimes proper Words were muttered (*t*); for Words duly compounded were thought to have great Power (*u*) to charm the Elements to favour the Cure: And what they did of this sort, appearing more prodigious, than their Applications of the Juices of Herbs and other Medicaments, the fabulous Writers omit to speak of the latter, but mention at large their other Performances, and lay great stress upon them. Thus the *Indians* were said to have itinerant Inchanters, who were thought to cure the Bitings of Serpents by their singing (*w*); but *Strabo* remarks, that what they did

(*s*) See Vol. II. B. IX. (*t*) Par Lingua potentibus Herbis. Plurima tum voluit ipemanti carmina Linguâ.
 (*u*) See Vol. II. B. IX. (*w*) ἱπποδῶδες ἀέθισταρ πικρὰ καὶ πικρὰ ἰδίῳ. Strab. Geog. l. 15. p. 706.

was almost the only Practice of Physick in use in *India* in their Days (x); so that I should imagine they used Medicines as well as Musick. Upon the whole: All the Accounts we have of the Heathen Cures of the Malady we are treating of, carry, if duly considered, the Appearance of as much medicinal Art as these Ages were acquainted with, and they have no further Shew of Magic and Incantation, than what the Philosophy of these Times, and the Religion built upon such Philosophy, taught the learned to think necessary to give Medicine its due and natural Effect upon the human Body: And whoever will judiciously consider the whole of what the profane Writers offer upon this *Topic*, may abundantly see, that none of the Heathen *Magicians* would have admitted, that a brazen Serpent set up, as *Moses* set up that in the Wilderness, could possibly have had any Effect towards curing the People.

But IV. Let us consider whether the Texts of Scripture cited by Sir *John Marsham*, do indeed support the Point for which he cites them. He remarks, that *David* mentions *the deaf Adder, that stoppeth her Ear, which will not hear-*

(x) Καὶ εἶναι σχεδὸν τὴ μόνον ταύτης ἰατρικῆν. Id. *ibid.*

ken to the Voice of the Charmers, charming never so wisely (xx), and that Solomon hints at a Serpent, that would bite without Inchantment (y), and that Jeremiab speaks of Cockatrices and Serpents which will not be charmed (z); and from hence he insinuates, that the sacred Writers were sensible that Charms were a sufficient Cure for the Bitings of some Serpents, tho' there were others, whose Poison was not to be controuled by the Influence of them. I answer, Two of these Texts, if duly examined, are very foreign to Sir John Marsham's Purpose; for there is nothing of Charming or Inchantment suggested in them. The Words of David, Psalm lviii, truly translated are; As (a) the deaf Adder will stop her Ear, which will not attend to the Voice of the eloquent (m) putting together the Sayings

(xx) Psalm lviii. 4, 5. (y) Ecclesiastes x. 8.
 (z) Jer. viii. 17. (a) The Hebrew Text is in these Words.

9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
קל	ל	אֶשֶׁר	אֶזְנוֹ	יִאֲסֶם	חֶרֶשׁ	יִאֲסֶם	כִּמוֹ	פֶּתֶן
			13	12	11	10		
			מִלְחָשִׁים	חֶבֶר	חֲבָרִים	מֵהֶם		

i. e.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Sicut	Aspis	furda	obturabit	Aurem	suam,	quæ	non

9	10	11	12	13
Voci	eloquentium	conneſcenti	connexiones	sapientis.

(m) The Word אָשַׁר may sometimes be used to mutter as Inchanters did. It is a Word not often used in Scripture: but

ings (n) of the Wise. David had no Thought of Charms or Inchantments, but in a noble Expresssion represents wicked Men to be deaf to the best Instructions offered to them in the most engaging manner. We have an *English Proverb*, which in some measure expresses the Import of *David's Words*, tho' not with such a Dignity of Diction: When good Advice is given, but not attended to, we compare it to a Song sung to an Horse: An Horse or an Adder are not to be moved by the wisest Intimations; wicked and dissolute Men are, morally speaking, like these Animals, the best things that can be said to them are lost upon them, and this is what *David* very elegantly represents, without any view or hint of the Possibility of charming any Serpent whatsoever. In like manner, nothing can be concluded to Sir *John Marsham's Purpose* from the Words of the Preacher. We translate

but it has not always this magic Meaning: In 2 Samuel xii. 19. it signifies to whisper, without any Reference to Sorcery or Inchantment. In Isaiah iii. 3. נבוך לחש is translated the Eloquent Orator. Eloquii peritum in the interlinear Translation of the Hebrew. Prudent in giving counsel, says Jonathan in his Targum, and so it is rendered in the Syriac Version. And thus I take the Word in the Passage before us, to signify those who offer what they have to say, in the best, softest and most engaging manner. (n) חבֵרִים. Connexiones in Quintilian's Sense of the Word: The Conclusions of the Wise.

the

the Verse, *Surely a Serpent will bite without Incantment, and a Babler is no better*: But the *Hebrew* Words truly rendred would be thus: *A Serpent will bite without any Warning, and a Babler* [or one that loves to prate] *is no better* (o): The Word *Lachash* is here used as in *2 Samuel* xii. 19. and the Expression *be lea Lachash* is *without a Whisper*, i. e. without the least Noise or Intimation, *in Silentio* says the vulgar *Latin*, the LXX $\epsilon\rho\ \delta\ \psi\iota\sigma\mu\omega\varsigma$, *without a Whisper*, the *Targum* in *Taciturnitate*, *silently*. The sacred Writer hints beautifully, that a Prater wounds you before you can be aware of him, and we intirely lose his Sentiment, if we take the Verse to hint what *Sir John Marsham* would infer from it. The last Text cited by our learned Author is *Jeremiab* viii. 17. The Prophet threatens the *Israelites* with *Serpents, Cockatrices, which will not be charmed*. It is evident to any one that considers the Context, that the Prophet here uses an *Allegory*, and does not mean, that the *Israelites* should be infested with Serpents, but that

(o) *The Hebrew Words are,*

אִם יִשָּׂר הַנְּחָשׁ בְּלֹא לַחֵשׁ וְאֵן יִתְרוֹן לְבַעַל הַלְּשׁוֹן

i. e. Si mordeat Serpens sine susurro: et non prestantia

adamantis Linguam, or non melior est, qui ad mat loqui.

God

God would bring upon them the Armies of their Enemies, and Calamities against which they should find no Remedy: However, since the *Allegory* may be said to be founded upon the Sentiment of the Speaker, and the Prophet from his using the Expression of *Serpents that will not be charmed*, to signify irremediable Calamities, may be argued to have thought some Serpents capable of being charmed, as some Calamities may have a Cure, I would enter a little more exactly into his Sentiment and Expression; and in order hereto let us observe, 1. That the *Hebrews* applied to no Physicians in the most early Times, but when under any Malady (*p*) they sought unto God for a Cure. 2. There was an Art of Physick known both to *Jews* and Heathens before the Days of *Jeremiab* (*q*): 3 The Heathens had introduced into their Practice of it, such Rites as their Learning and Religion dictated, and these Rites were the Charms, *Magic*, and Incantation they made use of (*r*): They were Charms of no real Influence, nor truly productive of any supernatural Effect; but they were thought significant by the learned of these

(*p*) See Vol. II. B. IX.

(*q*) See 2 Chron. xvi. 12.

(*r*) This their Method for the Cure of the Bitings of Serpents abundantly suggests to us.

Ages, who built upon the Rudiments of a vain and mistaken Philosophy. 4. The *Jews* were not so careful to adhere strictly to the true God, and to his Religion, but that in many things they frequently admitted the Practice of the heathen Superstitions, and learned their Ways, and as *Afa* when sick, almost 300 Years before the Days of *Jeremiab*, sinned in this manner by applying to the Physicians (s); so very probably in the Prophet's Days much of the Heathen Physick might, in the corrupted State they were then in, be admitted and admired amongst them. But this is not all: In the Days of *Jeremiab* the *Jews* were greatly corrupted in both their Religion and Politics: They had departed far from God (t); walked after Vanity, and were become vain (u); set up Idols as numerous as their Cities (w). They had changed their Glory for that which could not profit them (x); turned their back upon God (y); burned Incense unto Baal (z); kneaded their Dough to make Cakes unto the Queen of Heaven, and to pour out Drink-offerings unto other Gods (a); and now Distreis was coming upon them, and a Dread and Fear of being ruined,

(s) 2 Chron. xvi. 12. (t) Jer. ii. 5. (u) Ibid.
 (w) Ver. 28. (x) Ver. 11. (y) Ver. 27. (z) vii. 9.
 (a) Ver. 18.

sometimes from the Armies of the Kings of *Assyria*, at other times from the Invasions of the Kings of *Egypt*; they thought to be preserved, under the Protection of their false Gods, by a vain Policy, in confederating with one or other of these Powers, as Circumstances might require, in order to be supported by one or the other of them: And to this end, before *Jeremiab* applied to them, they had made a League with the King of *Assyria*, and they had suffered by it, and been ashamed of it (*b*); at the Time of his Address to them, they were in Alliance with *Egypt* (*c*), but of this the Prophet tells them they would in a little time be ashamed also (*d*); for that God had *rejected their Confidences*, and that they should not *prosper in them* (*e*): The Design of *Jeremiab* was to set before the *Jews*, that *in the Lord their God* was the only true *Salvation of Israel* (*f*); that from all other Helps they hoped for it but in vain; that Destruction upon Destruction would come upon them (*g*); a Nation from far be brought against them (*h*); and that if they did not amend their Ways and their Doings (*i*); turn from their Wickednesses and Idolatries,

(*b*) Jer. ii. 36. See Prideaux Connect. Vol. I. B. I.
 (*c*) Id. *ibid.* (*d*) Jerem. ii. 36. (*e*) Ver. 37.
 (*f*) iii. 23. (*g*) iv. 20. (*h*) v. 15. (*i*) vii. 3—15.

they should find, that they put their trust in lying Words, that could not profit (*k*), and that the Evils that were coming upon them, would be as *Serpents, Cockatrices, which could not be charmed*, i. e. would be Calamities really fatal, not to be remedied by the trifling and insignificant Amusements, on which they so much depended: This is the Argument and Reasoning of the Prophet, and if duly attended to, it is so far from ascribing any true Efficacy to Charms and Inchantments, that it strongly intimates them to be a *Doctrine of Vanities* (*l*): *Jeremiah* compares Charms and Inchantments, and the false Confidences of the *Israelites*, to each other, and thereby declares his Opinion of both to be, that they were insignificant and vain: In Cases of no certain Danger, those who were to be deceived with vain and imaginary Expectations, might amuse themselves, and think they received Benefit from them; but where the Evil was real, and truly wanted a Redress, there they would be found not able to profit, there no help was to be had from them.

I have now considered to the Bottom what Sir *John Marskam* intimates concerning the brazen Serpent, and should

(*k*) Jer. vii. 8. (*l*) x. 8.

hope it must be evident, that there are no Foundations for his Suggestions; but that every sober *Querist* must see reason to consider both the Calamity that was inflicted upon the *Israelites*, and the miraculous Cure of it, in the Light, in which the Author of the Book of Wisdom long ago set it, *They* [i. e. the *Israelites*] *were troubled, says he, for a small Season, that they might be admonished, having a Sign of Salvation, to put them in remembrance of the Commandment of thy Law: For he that turned himself towards it, was not saved by the Thing that he saw, but by Thee, that art the Saviour of all (m).* The *Israelites* were unmindful of the Obedience they owed to God, unwilling to march where God directed them: Hereupon they were punished, to bring them to a better Mind, and their Punishment was in a little time removed in a miraculous manner: They were commanded to come and look up to a brazen Serpent, a Thing evidently of it self of no Importance, but by God's Power and good Pleasure made so effectual to their Recovery, as abundantly to remind them, that whatever God should think fit to command them, was importantly necessary to be performed by them.

(m) Wisdom xvi. 6, 7.

Moses omits in the xxist Chapter of *Numbers*, two Incampments of the *Israe- lites*; one at *Zalmonah*, the other at *Pu- non*: They are both mentioned in Chap- ter xxxiii. The brazen Serpent was set up at *Punon*; for after they were cured, they moved forwards to *Oboth (n)*, and thence to *Ijeabarim* on the Border of the Land of *Moab (o)*: They were warned not to attack the *Moabites*, and therefore did not enter their Country, but marched forward on their Borders into the Valley of *Zared*, and pitched there at a Place, which they called *Dibon-Gad (p)*: From hence they marched to the River *Arnon*, which parts the Land of *Moab* from the Country of the *Amorites (r)*: They pas- sed over this River, and pitched in the Wilderness of the *Amorites* at *Almon- dibrathaim (s)*: From hence they removed to the Mountains of *Abarim* before *Ne- bo (t)*. They made five several Incamp- ments here, one at *Bcer*, where they dig- ged a Well (*u*), another at *Mattanah (w)*, a third at *Nabaliel (x)*, a fourth at *Ra- moth (y)*, and the last at *Pisgab (z)*. These were the several Incampments from *Kadesh* to *Pisgab*, and by fixing them thus, we

(n) Numb. xxi. 10. (o) Ver. 11. xxxiii. 44.
 (p) Deut. ii. 9. Numb. xxi. 12. xxxiii. 45. (r) xxi.
 13. (s) Ibid & xxxiii. 46. (t) Ver. 47. (u) xxi.
 16. (w) Ver. 18. (x) Ver. 19. (y) Ibid.
 (z) Ver. 20.

may perfectly reconcile the seeming Difference between the xxist Chapter of *Numbers* ver. 11, 12, 13, 18, 19, 20, and the xxxiiid Chapter, ver. 44, 45, 46, 47.

From the Camp at *Pisgab*, *Moses* sent to *Sibon* King of the *Amorites*, to ask leave to pass thro' his Country (a); but *Sibon* was so far from being willing to permit them to march farther into his Kingdom, that he determined to oblige them intirely to quit it: He therefore summoned together his Forces, met the *Israelites* at *Jabaz* (b), and gave them battle, but was routed by them (c): The *Israelites* pursued their Victory, and forced *Sibon* out of all that Country, from the River *Arnon* unto *Jabbok* (d): This Tract of Land had formerly been the *Moabites*, until *Sibon* conquer'd it (e), now the *Israelites* came into possession of it. The several Victories which the *Israelites* obtained in the Land of the *Amorites* (f), were gotten by Detachments from their main Body; for the Camp continued at *Pisgab*, until they removed to the Plains of *Moab* (g): But they sent out select Companies, such as they afterwards chose to fight the *Midianites* (h); for the whole Camp was too great to move after every

(a) Numb. xxi. 21. (b) Ver. 23. (c) Ver. 24.
 (d) Ibid. (e) Ver. 26—29. (f) Ver. 25. (g) xxii. 1.
 xxxiii. 43. (h) xxxi. 3, 4, &c.

Expedition: And by these they reduced this whole Country, and after this they conquered and took possession of the Kingdom of *Bashan* (i), and then *Moses* removed the whole Camp, and pitched in the Plains of *Moab*, near the Banks of *Jordan* over-against *Jericho* (k): So large a Body as the Camp of the *Israelites* took up a considerable Tract of the Country, and reached from *Beth-jeshmoth* unto *Abel-shittim* (l).

Balak the Son of *Zippor* was King of *Moab* at this time: He was much alarm'd at the March of the *Israelites*: And his People had great Fears upon account of them (m): For this reason he sent an Embassy to the Elders of *Midian*, and represented the common Danger they were all in, and agreed with them to send to *Balaam*, the Son of *Beor*, a Prophet, whose Fame probably had been much talked of, to know if he could so curse this People, as that they might attack and destroy them (n). *Balaam's* Country was far distant from the Land of *Moab*: He came from the most Eastern Parts of *Syria* (o): He lived at *Pethor* (p) near the

(i) Numb. xxi. 33—35. (k) xxii. 1. xxxiii. 49.

(l) Ibid. (m) xxii. 2, 3, 4. (n) Ver. 4, 5, 6.

(o) He came from *Aram* out of the Mountains of the East, Numb. xxiii. 7. *Aram* is *Syria*. See Vol. I. B. III.

(p) Numb. xxii. 5. The River *Euphrates* might be called the River of his Land: *Mesopotamia* from this and the River *Tigris* is denominat'd *Aram Naharaim*. See Vol. I. B. 3.

Euphrates;

Euphrates; for he was of *Mesopotamia* (q). The Ambassadors of the King of *Moab*, together with the Elders of *Midian*, came hither to him, and delivered their Message: *Balaam* required them to stay all Night, until he should enquire of God what Answer to give them: In the Morning he acquainted them, that God would not give him leave to go with them (r). Upon the Ambassadors reporting this to *Balak*, he thought he had not made the Prophet sufficient Offers to induce him to take so long a Journey, and therefore sent again by Persons of higher Rank, and offered him any Advancement in his Kingdom (s): But the Prophet answered, that no Temptation should prevail upon him to do any thing, but what God directed, and therefore he required them to stay all Night, until he should again consult God, and know what Answer to give them (t): Upon this his second Enquiry, God gave him leave to go, if the Men came in the Morning to call him (u); but strictly charged him, if he went, to say nothing, but what he should direct (w). The Offers of *Balak* had made Impression upon *Balaam*, and he grew fond of the Journey and of the Prospects of it; and in the

(q) Deut. xxiii. 4. (r) Numb. xxii. 7—12. (s) Ver. 14—16, 17. (t) Ver. 18, 19. (u) Ver. 20. (w) Ibid.

Morning he stayed not to be called, but got up early, and saddled his Ass (*x*) and went with the Princes of *Moab*. This was his Fault: The Wages that were offered, tempted him (*y*), and he was greedy after the Reward (*z*): He did not preserve a due Indifference to the Journey, but pressed into it with a covetous or ambitious Heart: And God's Anger was kindled at his going in this manner (*a*). The Commentators do not, I think, clearly determine, what *Balaam's* Fault was, and our modern *Deists*, with great Assurance, ridicule the Fact here related: They remark, that his going upon *Balak's* second Message, was by God's express Command, and yet that the Text says, God's Anger was kindled, *because he went* (*b*). I answer: Our Translators do indeed thus render the Text: But the *Hebrew* Words are clear of this Absurdity. The *Hebrew* Text is, *And the Anger of God was kindled*, not [כי הלך] *ci balak*, *because he went*, but [כי הלך דוּמָא] *ci balak bua* (*c*), *because he went of himself* (*d*), *i. e.* without staying for *Balak's* Messengers to come in the Morning to call him. He had no leave to go at all, unless the Messengers came

(*x*) Numb. xxii. 21. (*y*) 2 Pet. ii. 15. (*z*) Jude ver. 11. (*a*) Numb. xxii. 22. (*b*) Ibid. (*c*) Our *Hebrew Bibles* have the Place, כי הלך דוּמָא, but the *Samaritan Text* is I think more accurate. (*d*) See B. XI.

in the Morning again to him (e), and perhaps if he had not thus gone to them, after having promised them an Answer, they might have thought their Master's great Offers neglected, and have gone away without him: But his Head and Heart were too full of Expectations from the Journey, to run the hazard of not being further invited into it, and so he rose early in the Morning, and went to them, directly contrary to God's express Order (f), and was opposed by the Angel for this Breach of his Duty (g). What follows in *Moses's* Narration has appeared to many Writers a great Difficulty. *Philo* seems not to have thought, that *Balaam's* Ass did really speak to him; for he gives a large Account of all *Balaam's* Proceedings, but is absolutely silent as to this Particular (h). The *Jewish Rabbins* represent *Balaam* to have heard and answered to what the Ass is related to have said to him, in a Trance or Vision (i), and our modern *Rationalists* are very free in their Remarks upon the Fact as related by *Moses*. But, 1. An inspired Writer, in the New Testament, assures us, that it was real Fact as *Moses* relates it. *Moses* says, that *the Lord opened the Mouth of the*

(e) Numb. xxii. 20. (f) Ibid. & ver. 21. (g) Ver. 22 32. (h) *Philo* Jud. de vit. Mosi. lib. i. p. 643. (i) *Maimonid.* More Nevoch. part. 2. c. 42.

Afs, and she said unto Balaam (k): And St. Peter tells us, that *the dumb Afs speaking with Man's Voice, forbid the Madnefs of the Prophet (l)*. 2. It is a Fact in no wise impossible: Some Writers represent, that the very Nature of the Afs must have been changed, to make her capable of what is related. They argue, that not only a Power of speaking must have been given to her; but that her Mind must have been enlarged also, to enable her, first to know an Angel, when she saw one, and in the next Place to recollect backward, how she had carried her Master until that time, and to remonstrate this, so as to suggest to him, that if something extraordinary had not happened, she had undoubtedly still carried him in the same manner (ll): The brute Creatures are not conceived to have these Powers of Reasoning: They do not pursue, connect, and compare their *Ideas* in this regular manner. Had *Balaam's Afs* not been endued with a greater Compass of Reason than Creatures of this Species ordinarily have, she would not have spoken what *Moses* relates, even tho' the Power of Speech had been miraculously given to her: She might have represented, that she was affrighted, but she would not have con-

(k) Numb. xxii. 28. (l) 2 Pet. ii. 16. (ll) Numb. xxii. 28, 29, 30.

nected and compared her former Services with her present Miscarriage. But to this I answer; *Moses* does not say, that the *Afs* knew an Angel; an Angel appeared to her in the Way with a drawn Sword to oppose their Passage: She endeavoured to avoid him when she could, and when she could not, she fell down: She might have done the same, if a Man had opposed them in the same manner: Or the Appearance of the Angel might very much affright her, without her knowing it to be an Angel. As to her reasoning above the Capacity of a Brute-Animal, and speaking the Result of such Reasoning; God undoubtedly could, if he had pleased, have instantly capacitated any of the inferior Creatures for this, or for much greater things. But even this does not appear to have been done. An human Voice came out of the Mouth of the *Afs* (*m*); but I do not apprehend, that what the Voice uttered proceeded from her Sentiments; rather it was what God would have to be uttered to rebuke the Prophet: The Tongue of the *Afs* was miraculously moved, not by any natural Power of hers so to move it, and it spake what it was moved to utter, without any Connexion of the Words spoken with the Sentiments of the *Afs*, and without her Un-

(*m*) 2 Pet. ii. 16.

derstanding the Words, which she uttered upon this Occasion. This seems to me to have been the Fact, and herein there is a real Miracle; but no Appearance of the Absurdity, that is pretended. I would consider 3. That the Miracle of the Ass's speaking was not superfluous and unnecessary, but very pertinent and suitable to the Design, which God intended to promote by it. It is imagined by some, that this Miracle might well have been spared; that the Angel's appearing was abundantly sufficient to have recalled *Balaam* to his Duty; that he was not much moved by the Ass's speaking (*n*), it was the seeing the Angel that affected him (*o*): And they say, why should God cause so unusual a Miracle, as a dumb Creature's speaking, to so little Purpose, and so little wanted? I answer. *Balaam* was perhaps much surprized at the Ass's speaking, tho' *Moses* has not reported it to us: The ancient *Jewish* Writers imagined he was so, and accordingly *Josephus* represents him to have been greatly astonished at it (*p*). But *Moses's* Narration is short and concise; and he may have omitted this and other Particulars of *Balaam's* Story that were not of great moment to be told by him: For, what if the Heat and obstinate Bent

(*) Numb. xxii. 29.
Antiq. Lib. 4. c. 3.

(o) ver. 34.

(p) Joseph.

of *Balaam's* Temper caused him not to pay a due Regard to this Miracle, shall the Miracle be therefore argued to be in it self insignificant, because he did not suffer it to have its due Effect upon him? Many Miracles were wrought in *Egypt*, which *Pharaoh* paid little regard to; but we cannot censure them as extravagant or superfluous, because *Pharaoh* did not apply his Heart duly to consider them (*q*): They might any one of them have been of great service to him, if he would have made them so, and that justifies the Wisdom and Goodness of God in causing them to be wrought before him. And this may be remarked in the Case of *Balaam*: God did not design to permit a War between the *Israelites* and *Moabites* at this time: He had warned the *Israelites* not to distress or war against them (*r*), and he would not suffer *Balaam* to curse the *Israelites*; because the *Moabites* would have paid so great a Regard to what he had promised, that they would thereupon have attacked them, in hopes of being able to *overcome and drive them out* (*s*) of the neighbouring Country: God could indeed, if he had pleased, have over-ruled *Balaam's* Heart and disposed him for his Duty, without the Appearance of any Miracle, or have caused any

(*q*) Exod. vii. 23. (*r*) Deut. ii. 9. (*s*) Numb. xxii. 11.
one

one Miracle to have been as effectual as ten thousand; but he dealt with *Balaam* as with a Free-Agent: He did not take away his Liberty, but set before him very considerable Motives to induce him to make a right and virtuous Use of it. If we consider the whole Process of this Affair, we shall not see Reason to judge any Part of what God was here pleased to do, to be superfluous or extravagant, but must allow, that in every Particular, God was exceedingly merciful unto *Balaam*, tho' the Corruption of his Heart was very great: When he was first sent for by *Balak*, and inquired, whether he should go, God did not direct him into a Temptation too hard for him (*u*): Upon the second Inquiry, a Way was still made for him to escape (*v*); for had he not gone until he had been called in the Morning, (*x*), probably *Balak's* high and more honourable Messengers (*y*) would not have been so attendant upon what they might have thought his Humour; but would have gone away without him: But he would go, and he went with a corrupt Heart, not likely to be duly mindful of the Charge which God had given him (*z*);

(*u*) Numb. xxii. 12. (*v*) ver. 20. (*x*) ver. 21.
 (*y*) ver. 15. (*z*) *Balaam's Heart was known unto God, and he intended not to be strictly careful to break only what God should direct, and therefore this Point was given again in charge to him.* Ver. 35.

but liable to be tempted to gratify the King, in order to obtain the Advancement that was offered him (a): And here God was pleased to correct his Intention by two Miracles: By the one of which he evidenced to him, that he could so control him, that it should not really be in his Power to falsify if he would, what God had designed to direct him to say. By the other he threatned him not to attempt it upon pain of Death: The Ass he rode on, was made to speak to him; a convincing Demonstration, that it would be a vain thing in him to endeavour to speak otherwise, than God should order him; since the same Power, that here caused even a dumb Animal to move its Tongue very differently from what it was naturally capable of, could certainly over-rule even his Tongue, and make him say just what, and no more than what was dictated to him, whether he was willing or designed to speak it or no. Some Writers, *Philo* in particular (b), and *Josephus* (c), represent *Balaam* as actually over-ruled in the use of his Tongue, when he blessed the *Israelites*, and that he would have cursed instead of blessing them, if he could have made his Tongue speak what he designed: But I see no

(a) Numb. xxii. 17. (b) Phil. Jud. Lib. 1. de vit. Mos. (c) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 4. c. 5.

reason to go into this Opinion: God abundantly apprized *Balaam* by the Miracle of the Afs's speaking, that he could thus over-rule him, if he pleased; but I believe he still left him the Liberty of a Free-Agent, after having assured him by the Angel, that, if he abused his Liberty in this Particular, he would destroy him: And, I think, both these Miracles appear to have affected the Prophet. He seemed after this to bear in mind a due Sense of his Inability to speak otherwise than God should permit him (*d*); and tho' he used endeavours, and had it at heart, if he could any ways do it, to gratify *Balak* (*e*); yet at last he did not dare to venture, but told the King without reserve all that God, and nothing but what God had been pleased to reveal to him (*f*). But 4, Tho' the Miracle of the Afs's speaking was not superfluous, and insignificant to *Balaam*; yet if it had not been a real Fact, *Moses* could have no Inducement to relate it: He could have no Purpose to serve by it: The *Israelites* would have appeared under the especial Protection of God's Providence as well without it: And *Moses* as a wise and prudent Man, if he had had no other Restraint, would not have invented such

(*d*) Numb. xxii 38. xxiii. 26. (*e*) xxiii. 23. xxiv. 1.
 (*f*) xxiii. 3, — 9. 17, — 24.

an unheard of and needless Prodigy; for it would have been to no purpose if it had been his Invention, because he could have no Scheme or End to serve by it.

Balaam's Behaviour after he came to *Balak*; how he endeavoured to find Inchantments to curse the *Israelites*, but could not succeed in them; and therefore instead of cursing them, blessed them three times, and gave thereby great Offence to *Balak*; what he prophesied to *Balak*, and how *Balak* dismissed him, are Points related at large in the xxiiiid and xxivth Chapters of *Numbers*: And I may add, what may be remarked upon them, if I inquire who *Balaam* was, and what Character we ought to give him: I have before mentioned where he lived, when *Balak* sent to him: It does not seem as if he lived there in great Circumstances of Wealth and Dignity; for if he had been in so easy a Situation, *Balak's* Offers of Advancement would not have been so tempting to him: Or, when he could not obtain the Advancement that had been proposed to him, he would have returned home again, and not have thought it worth his while to have stayed in *Midian*: But when *Balak* dismissed him, he behaved like a Man in little Fortune, and of an ambitious Spirit; was willing to ingratiate himself with the *Midianites*, and gave

Y 2

them

them the most wicked Advice to ensnare the *Israelites* into Ruin (g), and was found and slain in this Country when the *Israelites* warred against it (h): *Pethor* in *Mesopotamia* was most probably situate near or in *Chaldea*, under the Government of the Kings of *Affyria*; and as these Nations had been long infected with Idolatry (i), and were under a Government that established and supported the idolatrous Worship, it is not probable that *Balaam*, if he was a Prophet of the true God, could have any Prospects of Advancement in his own Country. The Ancestor of *Abraham* and his Family were expelled this Land for worshipping the God of Heaven (k), and if *Balaam* pursued the Worship of this true God, whatever Reputation he might have as to his private Character, no publick Advantages in his own Country were likely to accrue to him from it; and this might make him so desirous to accept an Invitation into another Land.

It is disputed by some, whether *Balaam* was indeed a Prophet and a Worshipper of the true God: They imagine him to be a mere Magician or Inchanter, one that prophesied by the Rules of *Vaticination* in use in these days amongst the Worship-

(g) Numb. xxxi. 16. Rev. ii. 14. (h) Numb. xxxi. 8.
 (i) See Vol. I. B. V. (k) Josh. xxiv. 2. Judith v. 6, 7, 8.

pers of false Gods: If this Opinion be true, then the Revelations that were made to him from the true God, must have been made to him in a manner he had not been accustomed to, and beyond his Expectation, in like manner as the *Egyptian* Magicians were enabled to work real Miracles (*l*): But I should think this Notion of *Balaam* is not consistent with what *Moses* relates of him. When the Messengers of *Balak* came first to him, he immediately apply'd to God for Direction (*m*), and the God he applied to was not *Baal*, nor any of the Gods of the idolatrous Nations, but *Jehovah* (*n*); the true and living God was his God: And he does not appear to have been at any time surprized at the Answers God was pleased to give him, or at the Angel's appearing to him, or at the Word of Prophecy put into his Mouth (*o*), being well apprized of and acquainted with God's communicating his Will to his Servants in these several Manners. The only dubious Appearance in his Behaviour is his having sought for Inchantments (*p*): If he was a Prophet and Servant of the true God, why should he seek for Inchantments? or what Service could he think to receive from

(*l*) See Vol. II. B. IX. (*m*) Numb. xxii. 8. (*n*) Ibid. ver. 8, 13, 18, 19, &c. (*o*) Ibid. 9, 10, 12, 20, 31, 34, & xxiii. 4, 5, 16. (*p*) Ibid. xxiv. 1.

them? I answer: The Arts of Magicians, and their Inchantments to procure Prodigies and Oracles, tho' the vulgar People did not understand the Foundation they were built on, were to the wise Men and Philosophers the Produce of Learning and natural *Science*, *falsly* indeed *so called*, but really esteemed by them to be true (*q*): And as *Moses* was *learned in all the Learning of the Egyptians* (*r*), tho' he did not practise any of the Arts, that were the *Basis* and Support of false Religion (*s*); so *Balaam*, tho' he had hitherto virtuously adhered to the true God, might, as a learned Man, not be intirely a Stranger to the Theory of what *human Science* and the then reputed natural Knowledge had advanced upon these Subjects. And as *Saul*, tho' he had before *put away those that had familiar Spirits, and the Wizards out of the Land* (*t*), was yet induced, *when the Lord answered him not, neither by Dreams, nor by Urim, nor by Prophets*, to go to a *Woman that had a familiar Spirit*, and inquire of her (*u*); So *Balaam* finding nothing but a full Disappointment of all his Views, in the several Revelations which God was pleased to make to him, and being warmly inclined to purchase, if he might with any Co-

(*q*) See Vol. II. Book IX. (*r*) Acts viii. 22. (*s*) See Vol. II. Book IX. (*t*) 1 Sam xviii. 3. (*u*) ver. 6, 7.

lour be able to do it, the Advancement which *Balak* had offered him, was tempted to try what might be the Event, if he used some of the Arts which the most learned Nations held in the highest Repute, and esteemed to be of the greatest Efficacy (ω): He tried, but found *no Inchantment against Jacob*, nor *any Divination against Israel* (\varkappa). What particular Arts he used, or upon what Rules of Science he proceeded, I cannot say: *Moses* has not told us: But if his building seven Altars, was, as I have supposed, one of his Artifices (γ), it will hint him to have copied after the *Egyptian Theology*: For as they worshipped at this time the Lights of Heaven, so they first imagined the seven Days of the Week to be under the respective Influences of seven of these Luminaries (\varkappa): The *Chaldeans* are thought to have come into this Doctrine next after the *Egyptians* (α); other Nations did not admit it so early (β): *Belus* the Son of *Neptune* had obtained Leave for himself

(ω) They imagined, that Oracles and Prodigies might be procured by these Arts sine Deo. See Vol. II. B. IX.

(\varkappa) Numb. xxiii. 23. (γ) Vol. II. B. IX. (\varkappa) Καὶ τὰδε ἄλλα Ἀιγυπτίοισι ἐστὶ ζῆδηνμένα· μὲν τε καὶ ἡμέρη ἐκάστη θεῶν ἔστι ἐστὶ. Herodot. l. 2. c. 82. Dio Cassius dicit, Dispositionem Dierum ad vii Planetas inventum fuisse Ægyptiorum. Philastrius Brixienis expressè asserit, Hermen definitivisse secundum vii Stellæ hominum generationem consistere. Vid. Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 448.

(α) Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 1. (β) Marsham. ubi sup.

and some *Egyptian* Priests to make a Settlement at *Babylon* about half a Century before *Balak* sent for *Balaam*(c): *Belus* and his Followers taught the *Chaldeans* their Astronomy, and probably introduced this *Egyptian* Notion of the Influence of the seven ruling Stars, and it might now be the reigning Doctrine in *Balaam's* time; and he not being a Stranger to the Learning of the Age and Country he lived in, might know enough of it to make a shew before *Balak* of proceeding to his Auguries by the(d) Rules of it. And if the Sacrifices of *Balak* had been attended with any such Circumstances as these, upon Inspection of which the idolatrous Prophets formed their Divinations, I question not but *Balaam* had a Disposition to take occasion to speak from them: But the Providence of God seems not to have permitted him to have a Possibility of being mistaken: If he would have cursed the *Israe-*

(c) See Vol. II. B. VIII. (d) Some Critics have imagined, that *Balaam* built and offered upon seven Altars upon Account of the States he offered for, being in Number Seven. The *Moabites* indeed were under one Head, *Balak* being their King, but the *Midianites* were under Elders; and it is conjectured, that they were divided into seven Principalities: But this Imagination is intirely groundless. The Kings or Heads of *Midian* were five, not seven. Numb. xxxi. 8. and had the Number of *Balaam's* Altars been owing to the Number of States he sacrificed for, he must have built not seven, but six only, five for the States of *Midian*, and one for the King of *Moab*.

lites, he must have done it, and at the same time have had a full Sense that they were blessed, without any room for Doubt or Suspicion that it could be otherwise; and he was not hardy enough to be guilty of such an abandoned Prostitution; but upon offering his third Sacrifice he gave over: *He went not as at other times, to seek for Inchantments (dd)*; The Place, I think, is not well render'd: The Hebrew Words intimate to us, that he did not perform the Ceremonies in walking or dancing round the Altar, by which the Idolaters endeavoured to procure Vaticinations (*e*); but he set his Face towards the Wilderness, and lift up his eyes and

(*dd*) Numb. xxiv. 1. (*e*) *One of the Heathen Rites made use of to procure Success to their Sacrifices, was their dancing or moving in set Steps backwards and forwards, from side to side, round about their Altars: This the Priests of Baal did in order to procure Fire from Heaven in the Days of Elijah, 1 Kings xviii. 26. And this Ceremony Balaam seems to have performed at each of the preceding Sacrifices; at his last Sacrifice he gave over. Our Translation of the Words would induce one to imagine, that his going away from Balak to meet or invoke the Lord, was his going to seek Inchantments, but the Hebrew Text suggests no such thing. The Hebrew Words are,*

וְלֹא הִלֵּךְ כַּפְעַם בְּכַפְעַם לְקִרְאָתָא נְהוּשִׁים

In Latin thus,

Et non ambulavit secundum Vicem in Vice, &c.

The Greeks afterwards performed these Ambulations thus: First, They moved towards the West turning from the East, singing a sacred Hymn; then they returned from the West back to the East again, and such Turns or Vices as these, I imagine Balaam had practised at Balak's Sacrifices before and round the Altars.

saw *Israel* abiding in his Tents according to his Tribes, and the Spirit of God came upon him, and he told *Balak*, without Reserve, all that God was pleased to reveal to him (*f*): *Balak* was provoked at what *Balaam* now delivered to him (*g*); for *Balaam* spake now in an higher Strain than ever in Favour of the *Israelites*; but as he had now omitted some Ceremonies, which he had before used to give Effect to his Sacrifices, and had not gone aside, as he twice before had done, to meet or invoke God; *Balak* could see no cogent Reason for his so speaking. *Balaam* indeed prefaced what he delivered, with declaring them to be *the Words* which he heard from God, when he saw the Vision of the Almighty, falling into a Trance, but having his Eyes open (*b*): Certainly no such Vision was seen by *Balaam* whilst *Balak* was with him, so that this Revelation was made to him when he was alone, probably before he had attended upon *Balak's* sacrifices, and now upon his giving over all further Thoughts of amusing or gratifying *Balak*, God inspired him to recollect and deliver all that had been revealed to him: And *Balak* was so offended at his now speaking in so extraordinary a manner in Favour of his Enemies; because, to his Apprehension,

(*f*) Numb. xxiv. 2. — 9. (*g*) ver. 10. (*b*) ver. 4.

nothing had happened to cause his so doing. The Prophet however proceeded and advertised him, what *Israel* should do to his People in After-ages (*i*): *Balak* paid but little regard to what he said, dismissed him with Contempt, apprehending him in no wise to answer the Character that had been given of him (*k*): Hereupon *Balaam* left him and went to the *Midianites*, and formed a Project to obtain their Favour: He well knew, that the Prosperity of the *Israelites* depended upon their continuing to serve the living God, and he apprized the *Midianites*, that if they could seduce them to Idolatry, they might then have hopes of prevailing against them (*l*): This was that Counsel which *Balaam* gave the *Midianites* to cause the Children of *Israel* to commit Trespas against the Lord (*m*): And it is possible that he might amuse himself with the Pretence of even a good View in it; for had it succeeded, and had the Children of *Israel* been ruined by his Scheme, why might he not have hoped, after so signal a Success, to have had Interest and Influence enough over the *Midianites* to have, perhaps, brought them by degrees into the Service of his own God, and so to have promoted both God's Glory and his own

(*i*) Numb. xxiv. 14, — 24. (*k*) ver. 11. (*l*) See Rev. ii. 14. (*m*) Numb. xxxi. 16.

Advancement together? All this might look well in the Eye of a Politician: But much better had it been for *Balaam* to have lived at home at *Pethor*, than to be laying out these Projects amongst the Elders of *Midian*. Had there been any Design of Providence to be carried on, by his coming out of private Life, God both could and would have appointed Events, which by natural Steps would have raised him to the Station, in which he intended him to be useful to the World. And if the Providence of God had no Employment for him, how could it be worth his while to attempt the Ruin of a very numerous People in order to gratify his own Ambition? He might have lived at *Pethor* in Peace and Quiet, Innocence and Content; and if he had never been great in the World, he might have died *the Death of the Righteous*, and his *last End* have been like his (n): But he warmly pursued other Vices, and was drawn away far into a foreign Land, where he lost his Integrity, and brought himself to an unhappy and untimely End.

Whilst the *Israelites* were at *Shittim*, the *Moabites* became acquainted with them; made them Visits in their Camp, and invited them to their Feasts; and the

(n) Numb. xxiii. 10.

Israelites fell in love with the Daughters of *Moab* (o), and an evil Communication corrupted their Manners and led them into Idolatry (p): Many of them went to the *Moabite* Sacrifices, and partook of them, and joined in the Worship (q): Whereupon the Anger of the Lord was kindled against *Israel*, and he commanded *Moses* to order the Judges to put to death those who had committed this Wickedness (r): The *Midianites* were instructed by *Balaam* to draw the *Israelites* into this Evil (s). They communicated the Advice to *Balak*, and the *Moabites* joined with them in effecting it. *Balaam* is said to have taught *Balak* to cast a *Stumbling-block* before the Children of *Israel*, to eat things sacrificed unto Idols, and to commit *Fornication* (t): But we do not read where *Balaam* gave any Counsel of this sort immediately to *Balak*: It seems more probable, that what he advised was to the *Midianites* after he left *Balak* (u), tho' both Nations joined to do what he directed. The one acquainted the other with the Scheme he had taught them, and so either or both might, tho' not immediately, yet truly be said to be taught by him; because both followed his

(o) Numb. xxv. 1. (p) Ver. 2, 3. (q) Ver. 1.
 (r) Ver. 4, 5. (s) xxxi. 16. (t) Rev. ii. 14.
 (u) See Numb. xxxi. 16.

Doctrine in what they did in this matter. Whilst the *Israelites* were under God's Displeasure for this Wickedness, and a Pestilence raged in the Camp: *Zimri* the Son of *Salu* brought into his Tent *Cozbi* the Daughter of *Zur*, a Prince of *Midian*, in the sight of all the Congregation; but *Phinebas* the Son of *Eleazar* the Son of *Aaron*, took a Javelin and went after them, and slew them both ($\tau\omega$): At their Deaths the Plague stayed, after four and twenty thousand had died of it ($\tau\omega\omega$).

There may be several Doubts raised about this Act of *Phinebas*: It may be thought a very rash, irregular and unjustifiable Procedure. *Zimri* was a Prince of a chief House among the *Simeonites*, say our Translators: The *Hebrew* Text styles him, Prince of the House of his Father *Simeon* (x): He was perhaps the Head of that Tribe (y), and not accountable to *Phinebas* for his Behaviour: How then could *Phinebas* have a right to execute this Vengeance upon him? or what could be the Safety of even the highest Magistrates in this Oeconomy, if private Men put on an officious Zeal, and assas-

($\tau\omega$) Numb. xxv. 6—8. ($\tau\omega\omega$) Ver. 9. (x) The Hebrew Words are

זמרי בן סלוא נשיא בית - אב לשמעני
 sui Simeonis Patris Domus Princeps Salua Filius Zimri.

(y) See Numb. i. 4, 16. In this Sense Josephus took the Words. He styles him Ζαυλειας ὁ τῆ Σιμωνιδος φυλῆς ἡγεμενος. Antiq. lib. 4. c. 10.

finite

finite at pleasure those whose Actions were unjustifiable, and deserved Punishment? I answer: 1. That God had expressly ordered the Persons that committed this Wickedness (z), to be punished with Death; so that nothing was done to *Zimri* more, than what God had directed to be the Punishment of the Crime he was guilty of. 2. Before *Zimri* appeared in this Action, *Moses* had ordered the People to be punished in the regular way of their Administration, by the proper Officers that were over them (a); but *Zimri* was, I think, one of the supreme Judges, one of the renowned Men of the Congregation (b), a Prince of a Tribe, an Head of thousands in *Israel*, and had a right to stand with *Moses* and *Aaron* in their Government of the People, and consequently could not regularly be brought under Sentence of the Judges, who were inferior to him: And this must have been the Foundation for the Insolence of his Behaviour. He brought unto his Brethren a Midianitish Woman in the sight of *Moses*, and in the sight of all the Congregation of the Children of *Israel*, who were weeping before the Door of the Tabernacle (c): He was so far from paying regard to what *Moses* had ordered, that he acted in open

(z) Numb. xxv. 4.
(c) xxv. 6.

(a) Ver. 5.

(b) i. 16.

Defiance of it; and instead of appointing the Judges of his Tribe to punish those, who were under their Jurisdiction, as God had commanded, he openly and in the Face of the Congregation abetted by his own Practice, what he ought to have used his Authority to correct and suppress; so that something extraordinary was here necessary to be done, to punish a Crime, which appeared too daring to be corrected, in the Practice of a Person, who seemed too great to be called to account for it. And indeed, 3. We do not read, that the Judges did at all exert themselves in executing the Orders, which *Moses* had given them. *Moses* had required them to *slay every one his Men, that were joined unto Baal-peor* (d); but we hear of none that fell for this Wickedness, except this *Zimri* and those that died of the Plague (e): The Transgression was too universal to be corrected by a judiciary Proceeding, and as *Moses* was once before obliged to summon the *Levites* in an extraordinary manner to punish a Sin, in which great Numbers of Persons, and high in Station and Authority, had engaged (f); so in this case something of a like nature was absolutely necessary to bring the Offenders to condign Punishment. But 4.

(d) Numb. xxv. 5.
xxxii. 26.

(e) Ver. 9.

(f) Exod.

Since *there is no lawful and justifiable Power, but of God (g)*; since in every Government *the Powers that have a Right to command or to punish, must be ordained of God (b)*, either by deriving their Authority from the Constitution of such Government; for thus *every Ordinance of Man (i)* may have a Right of Authority, and be *the Ordinance of God (k)*; or by being appointed by immediate Revelation, and an express Commission from Heaven; and since *Phinehas* had no Authority to punish *Zimri* from any Law or Constitution in the *Jewish Oeconomy*, I must confess that, unless he had a divine Command for what he did in this matter, I should think his taking Vengeance in the manner in which he signalized himself, must want a further Justification, than what he could offer for it, from the Plea of a warm but well-meant Zeal to assert the Glory of God, and to put a stop to the Insolence and Wickedness of the People; and he ought certainly, notwithstanding such a Plea, to have been called to answer for it before the proper Judges, If 5. God had not in an extraordinary manner declared his Acceptance and Approbation of the Death of *Zimri*. As soon as *Zimri* was dead, *the Lord spake unto Moses saying, Phinehas the Son of Eleazar, the Son of*

(g) Rom. xiii. 1
κρίσις. 1 Pet. ii. 13.

(b) Ibid.

(i) Ἀνθρώπων

(k) Rom. xiii. 2.

Aaron the Priest, hath turned my Wrath away from the Children of Israel (while he was zealous for my sake among them), that I consumed not the Children of Israel in my Jealousy. Wherefore say, Behold, I give unto him my Covenant of Peace. And he shall have it, and his Seed after him, even the Covenant of an everlasting Priesthood; because he was zealous for his God, and made an Atonement for the Children of Israel (l). God declared this to Moses by a special Revelation: And that God did indeed reveal it, and that it was not a Pretence of Moses to protect Phinebas, was apparent to the Congregation, being sufficiently attested by the Plague's ceasing as soon as Zimri was dead (m). I am sensible that what is already offered, is sufficient to vindicate the Behaviour of Phinebas: If God himself declared him to be acquitted, who should condemn him? And his Example can lay no Foundation for a dangerous Imitation; for it will in no wise prove, that an illegal Action, tho' proceeding from a most upright Heart, zealously affected in a good thing, is ever to be justified, unless God, by an express and well attested Revelation from Heaven, declares his Patronage and Acceptance of it. But, 6. I might add further, that what Phinebas did, was

(l) Numb. xav. 10, 11, 12, 13. (m) ver. 8.

not the Effect of Zeal only, but rather God revealed himself to him before he attacked *Zimri*, and required him to cut off that high Offender, and consequently *Phinebas* had as clear and full a Commission for what he did, as *Moses* had for the Discharge of the Offices unto which God appointed him, tho' *Moses* and the Congregation were not at first apprized of it. *Phinebas* is said by the Death of *Zimri* to have made an Atonement for the Children of *Israel* (n): But what Merit could there be in the Death of *Zimri*? how could that expiate the Sins of the Congregation? Or what had *Phinebas* to do to pretend to make Atonement, unless God had appointed him? for *no Man taketh this Honour to himself*, nor can perform this Office with any Effect, *but he that is called of God, as was Aaron* (o): Or if *Phinebas* had been intitled to endeavour to procure a Reconciliation of God to his People, he must surely have attempted it in some way which God appointed, and not by a *strange Service, which God commanded him not* (p), and which must therefore have been more likely to offend than to please him (q): But all these Difficulties are fully cleared by what *Moses* was ordered to declare to

(n) Numb. xxv. 13. (o) Heb. v. 4. (p) See Lev. x. 1, &c. (q) See the Case of Nadab and Abihu, B. xi.

the *Israelites*: *Wherefore say, Behold I give unto him my Covenant of Peace* (r). The Verse is injudiciously translated. The Hebrew Words [*hinneni Nothen lo Barithi Shalom*] signify, *behold it was I, who gave to him my Covenant of Peace* (s), and the Declaration was intended to inform the Congregation that *Plinebas* had not done a rash Action, moved to it by a mere Warmth of Heart; but that God had directed him to what he had performed; made him an exprefs Covenant upon his performing it; assured him, that the doing it should obtain Pardon for the People; and that upon the Death of *Zimri* and *Cozbi* slain by his Hand, the Wickedness, that had been committed in the Camp, should be forgiven: In this View of the Fact all is clear, and it is easy to see how a Covenant of Peace was given to *Plinebas*; how he was enabled to make Atonement for the People; and in what Sense the Death of the Offenders slain by him was such Atonement; and what he did stands clear of the Objections that can be offered against an irregular Zeal;

(r) Numb xv. 12. (s) *The Hebrew Text is thus written and pointed:*

הִנְנִי נֹתֵן לוֹ בְרִיתִי שְׁלוֹמִים

z. z. Ecce me dantem illi Pactum meum Pacis. Ecce, me, dantem i e. Ecce me, qui dabam. *The Participle is of the Imperfect Tense as well as of the Present.*

for it was not an Instance of such a Zeal, but of one more defensible, namely of a zealous and intrepid Performance of what God by an exprefs Revelation had required of him.

God was indeed pleased to promise here, *ver. 13.* by *Moses*, an Addition to the Favour before granted to *Phinebas*: God before gave him his Covenant of Peace; but this extended no further than to the making him the Instrument of obtaining Pardon for the Sin, upon Account of which the People were under his Displeasure: But now, because *Phinebas* was *zealous for his God*, and had performed the Service he was called to with a ready Heart, God was pleased to promise that the Grant made to him should stand in Force, until it conveyed the Priesthood to him, and to his Seed after him (t). Our Translators render the 13th Verse, *And he shall have it, and his Seed after him, even the Covenant of an everlasting Priesthood*; but this Version is far from expressing the true Meaning of the Place: The *Hebrew* Words rightly translated are, *And it shall be to him, and to his Seed after him, a Covenant [or Grant] of the everlasting Priesthood* (u): *i. e.* My Grant or

(t) Numb. xxv. 13. (u) *The Hebrew Words are,*

וְהָיְתָה לּוֹ וּלְזָרְעוֹ אַחֲרָי בְרִית כְּהֹנֵן עוֹלָם
 Seculi sacerdotii pactum eum post ejus semini et ei erit et

Promise to him shall not here expire, upon his having obtained what I agreed to give him, namely, a Pardon for my People; but shall continue still in Force, to assure him, that in due time He shall himself be High-Priest and his Seed after him. God had before this time limited the Priesthood to *Aaron* and his Descendants, and it was to be to them *an everlasting Priesthood throughout their Generations* (*w*), it was ever to descend by Inheritance in their Families from Generation to Generation: And this it might have done, tho' neither *Phinebas* nor any Child of his had ever been possessed of it; for *Phinebas* and his Son or Sons, whether he had one or more, might have died before *Eleazar*, and in such Case, *Eleazar's* next Heir would have had the Priesthood, and it would have gone down to his, and not to *Phinebas's* Descendants: But the Promise now made to *Phinebas*, was an Assurance to him of God's Protection to preserve both him and his Seed, so as that the Priesthood should descend to them. The Commentators have, I think, all of them run into a Difficulty, which they are not able to get out of: They imagine the Term *everlasting* to be here joined to the Priesthood, to express the Continuance of the Priesthood amongst

(*w*) Exod. xl. 15.

Phinebas's Descendants, as if God here promised *Phinebas* and his Seed after him the Grant of an *everlasting Priesthood*, or of a Priesthood which should ever remain in their hands, without being at any time translated into any other Branch of *Aaron's* Family (x): But then they are at a loss how to make out the Performance of this Promise; for they observe that *Eli*, who was High-priest in the Days of *Samuel*, was of the Family of *Ithamar*, and that therefore the Priesthood went out of the hands of the Descendants of *Phinebas*, when it came to *Eli*, and that it did not return again to them until, after some Successions, it came to *Zadoc* in the Days of *David*. But I think this Difficulty might be avoided. We need not suppose the Priesthood to be here called *everlasting*, to express a Design of a perpetual Continuance of it to *Phinebas's* Descendants, but rather the Term *everlasting* is the Appellation annexed to the Priesthood in its Limitation to the Family of *Aaron* (y); and suggests no more than that the Priesthood of *Aaron* should descend to them: God made to *Phinebas* and to his Seed after him, not an *everlasting Grant* of the Priesthood, as some Com-

(x) Vid, Cleric. Comment. in loc.

(y) Exod. xl. 15.

mentators take it (α), nor a Grant of an everlasting Priesthood, as our English Version renders the Place, but rather a Grant of the everlasting Priesthood; of the Priesthood limited to *Aaron* and his Descendants by that Appellation. And this Promise would have been fulfilled, if the Priesthood had descended to *Eleazar* and his Son only. I am sensible that the Jews before and about our Saviour's time had a Notion, that *Phinebas* had a Grant of an everlasting Priesthood to him and his Posterity. The Author of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus* seems to have been of this Opinion (a), as well as *Philo Judæus* (b), and others; but in Fact there was not such a Perpetuity of the Possession of the Priesthood in this Family; no inspired Writer has, I think, hinted the Passage to contain such a Promise, and the Text does not appear to me to imply it.

Upon the ceasing of the Plague, God commanded *Moses* and *Eleazar* to take a Poll of the *Israelites* (c), at casting up

(α) *The Critics write the Text* [Barith Cehunnah Le Nolah] Pactum Sacerdotii sempiternum, *A Covenant of the Priesthood for ever.* Le Clerc says, Fœdus Sacerdotii perpetuum. *But they mistake the Word in the Text. The Hebrew Text is Nolah, and not le Nolah, for ever.*

(a) *Ecclus.* xlv. 24. (b) *Philo says there was given to Phinehas, περὶ κληρονομίαν ἰσραήλ ὡς εὐτα, ἃ γένηται κληρονομίαν ἀναπαύρετον.* de Vit. Mosis Lib. 1. p. 649.

(c) *Numb.* xxvi. 1, 2.

of which the People were found to be 601730 Men of twenty Years old and upwards, without the *Levites* (d); and the *Levites* from a Month old and upwards were 23000 (e): And from this Poll it appeared, that there was no one Person now alive of those whom *Moses* and *Aaron* had numbred in the Wilderness of *Sinai*, except *Moses* himself and *Caleb* and *Joshua* (f). At this time the Daughters of *Zelophehad* represented the Death of their Father, and his having left no Sons (g), and *Moses* brought their Cause before the Lord, and received a Law for the settling their Inheritance (h): And now *Moses* was ordered to arm a thousand out of each Tribe, and to send them under the Command of *Phinebas* to war against the *Midianites* (i), and God delivered into their Hand the Rulers of *Midian*; and without the Loss of one Man they made an absolute Conquest of all their Territories (k). *Balaam* lived in *Midian* at this time, and fell by the Sword of the *Israelites* (l).

The *Israelites* were now in Possession of a considerable Country, Part of which the Children of *Reuben* and *Gad* desired to have for their Inheritance, and came

(d) Numb. xxvi. 51. (e) ver. 62. (f) ver 64.
 (g) xxvii. 1, 2, &c. (h) ver. 5 — 11. (i) xxxi.
 3 — 6. (k) ver. 7 — 14. (l) ver. 8.

to *Moses* and *Eleazar* to petition for it (*m*): *Moses* at first thought their Request highly unreasonable, and remonstrated, that for them to desire to be settled, before *Canaan* was conquered, would be a Refusal to serve in the War, unto which God had appointed them as well as the other *Israelites*, and might bring down the divine Vengeance upon the Congregation, if they should consent to it (*n*): Hereupon the two Tribes explained their Meaning; that they intended not to desert their Brethren, but only to settle their Families in these Parts; that they designed themselves to march with the Camp, and assist in reducing the Land of *Canaan* (*o*): Upon these Terms *Moses* consented, and ordered *Eleazar* the Priest, and *Joskua* the Son of *Nun*, and the chief Fathers of the Tribes, to divide to the Children of *Gad* and of *Reuben*, and to the half Tribe of *Manasseh*, all the Land which the *Israelites* had conquered on the East side of *Jordan* (*p*): After this he gave directions for dividing the Land of *Canaan*, when they should have conquered it (*q*), charging them to expel the Inhabitants, and to demolish all the Monuments of their Idolatries (*r*), declaring to them, that if they were remiss herein,

(*m*) Numb. xxxii. 1. (*n*) ver. 6—15. (*o*) ver. 16—27. (*p*) ver. 33. (*q*) xxxiii. 54. (*r*) ver. 52, 53.

terrible Inconveniences would ensue (s): Then he described the Land, telling them the Bounds and Extent of it (t), and named the Persons who should divide it when conquered (u): He appointed them to allot the *Levites* their Cities (w), and to set out the Cities of Refuge (x): He settled an Inconvenience arising from the Inheritance of Daughters, upon a Remonstrance brought before him by the Sons of *Gilead* (y): And now he was reminded, that he was not to go into the Land of Promise (z): He prayed God to permit him to go into it; but his Prayer was not accepted (a). He was ordered to go up to Mount *Abarim* or *Pisgab*, and from thence to take a view of the Land; but he was expressly told, that he should not go over *Jordan* (b): Hereupon he begged of God to name a Person to lead the People, and God directed him to appoint *Joshua* (c): And at this time I imagine the Laws mentioned in the xxviiith, xxixth and xxxth Chapters of *Numbers* were given.

On the first Day of the eleventh Month of the fortieth Year after the *Exit* out of *Egypt* (d), *Moses* began to exhort the *Is-*

Cities of Re-
 [Kadesh] By
 [Shechem] Ram
 [Hebron] Gola

Levit: cit
 + 48.

The G.C. of
 13 to Primit

(s) Numb. xxxiii. 55, 56. (t) xxxiv. 1 — 16.
 (u) ver. 17 — 29. (w) xxxv. 2 — 8. (x) ver. 9 — 34.
 (y) xxxvi. (z) xxvii. 12. (a) Deut. iii. 25, 26.
 (b) ver. 27. Numb. xxvii. 12, 13. (c) ver. 16 — 18.
 (d) Deut. i. 3.

+ Daughters must marry in 2^d own
tribe! raelites

raelites in the Words recorded in the first Chapter of *Deuteronomy*: And he continued his Exhortation daily, until he had offered to their Consideration what we are told in that Book he spake to them. Then he called for *Joshua*, and exhorted him to be of good Courage in his leading the People, assuring him of the divine Assistance and Protection (*e*): In the next place he delivered the Book of the Law which he had written, to the Priests and *Levites*, and unto all the Elders of *Israel*, and commanded them to have it read once in seven Years to the People (*f*): Then he presented himself and *Joshua* before the Lord in the Tabernacle of the Congregation, where the Lord appeared in the Pillar of the Cloud, and revealed to *Moses*, that the People, after his Death, would forsake the Law, and bring upon themselves many Evils (*g*): In order to warn them against so fatal a Perverseness, he was commanded to write the Song recorded in the xxxiiiid Chapter of *Deuteronomy* (*h*): *Moses* therefore wrote this Song, and taught it the Children of *Israel* (*i*), and he added it, and an Account of what had passed unto this Time to the Book of the Law; and when he had thus finished the Book, he ordered the *Levites*

(*e*) Dent. xxxi. 7, 8. (*f*) ver. 9—13. (*g*) ver. 14, 18. (*h*) ver. 19. (*i*) ver. 22.

to put it in the side of the Ark of the Covenant, and there to keep it (*k*). After this he blessed the Tribes (*l*), and then went up from the Plains of *Moab* to the Top of *Pisgab* (*m*), and the Lord having from thence given him a Prospect of the Land, said unto him, *This is the Land, which I swear unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy Seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine Eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither* (*u*): We do not read that *Moses* came any more down the Mount, but rather, he died there in the Mount, whither he went up, as *Aaron* died in Mount *Hor* (*w*): He was an hundred and twenty Years old when he died, but his Eye was not dim, nor his natural Force abated (*x*): He died about the End of the eleventh Month, *A. M.* 2553: The *Israelites* mourned for him one Month or thirty Days (*y*), which I imagine concluded the Year. He was buried in the Valley over against *Beth-Peor* (*z*); but there being no Monument

(*k*) Deut. xxxi. 24, 26. See *Prideaux Connect.* Vol. I. B II. (*l*) Deut. xxxiii. *Simeon is not mentioned in this Chapter; but we must not think that Moses forgot or omitted to bless this Tribe: The Alexandrian MS. of the Septuagint reads the 6th Verse thus. Let Reuben live and not die, and let the Men of Simeon be many, or not few. The Word Simeon was wrote in this Verse by Moses; but the Copvills have omitted it by Mistake in transcribing.* (*m*) Deut. xxxiv. 1. (*u*) ver. 4. (*w*) ver. 5. (*x*) ver. 7. (*y*) ver. 8. (*z*) ver. 6.

erected

erected to distinguish his Grave, in a few Ages the particular Place of it was forgotten (a).

After so large an Account as I have given of the several Transactions that *Moses* was concerned in, the Reader must greatly anticipate me in what I might attempt to offer upon his Conduct and Character. He was remarkably eminent in a high Station of Life; had a great Share of Power and Authority; an absolute Command of above 600000 Men fit to bear Arms, besides their Families; and he was advanced to this Dignity not from any Schemes of his own Politics and Ambition; not from any accidental Success of Arms; not from the Heats and Chances which commonly give rise to and direct a popular Choice; but by the spe-

(a) *The Hebrew Writers have had many Fancies concerning the Death and Burial of Moses.* Vid. Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 4. c p. 48. Philo Jud. de vit. Mosi. l. 3. *And the present Text of the xxxivth Chapter of Deut. ver. 6. may seem to give some Handle for, them: It is there written* [ויקבר אתו] *vejekabber aotho, i. e. And he buried him, as if Moses was not buried by human Hands, but by God himself, and in a Place unknown to the Israelites: But the LXX render the Place, καὶ ἐθαψεν αὐτὸν. not he buried him, but they buried him: The ancient original Hebrew Text was, I should think, undoubtedly* [ויקברו] *in the Plural Number, and the Transcribers inadvertently dropt the final Letter. The Israelites were the Persons who buried Moses, and the Remark added to the End of the Verse only hints, that no Monument having been erected over him, the Place where he was buried was not certainly known at the Time when the xxxivth Chapter of Deuteronomy was written.*

cial Command and Appointment of God himself: And herein to use the Hint of *Philo (b)*, He acted in a Post above any thing of this World, was superior in Character to the most exalted of those, who conduct the Designs of the greatest Princes of the Earth; for he was the immediate Minister of Almighty God to a chosen People, and he behaved himself so well in the Discharge of the Trust committed to him, as to be honoured with this Testimony from his great Master, that he was *faithful to him that appointed him in all his House (c)*: If we consider the Administration of *Moses*, we shall, from the manner of it, see all Reason to conclude, that no Views of his own, but an absolute Submission and Adherence to the Will of God revealed to him, must have directed him in all the several Parts of it; for what was the private Advantage either to himself or to his Family, that he endeavoured to acquire from all his Labours? He had two Sons, *Gershom* and *Eliezer*; but we do not find, that in forming the *Jewish* Polity he made any particular Provision for either of them: His Sons were of the Chil-

2 Sons
Gershom
Eliezer
Amram
in them?

(b) Διαφειλάτας τιμήσας τὸν ἡγεμόνα ὡς πάντας, καὶ ἀντιτιμηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τιμὴ ἢ ἀρμόστια σοφῶ διασπῶν τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄν: *Philo. de Vit. Mos. l. 3.*

(c) *Numb. xii. 7.*

dren of *Levi*, and as *Levites* had their appointed Courses in the Work and Service of the Tabernacle (*d*), but no Privileges above other *Levites*, the Priesthood was settled upon the Family of *Aaron* (*e*): As *Moses* had the supreme Direction of the civil Magistracy during his Life, had he conducted his Measures by the private Rules of his own Wisdom, is it probable that he would have given away at his Death the Command of the People both from his own and from his Brother's Family, into another Tribe, to *Joshua* the Son of *Nun* of the Tribe of *Ephraim* (*f*)? Where are Instances of such a Resignation to be found in the World? When indeed *Alexander* the great was to die, and was solicited to name his Successor, he is said to have made no Provision for any of his own Family; but to have declared it to be his Will, that the most worthy of it should have his Kingdom (*g*): I cannot but question what is thus reported; for *Plutarch*, who has been very exact in collecting the Circumstances of *Alexander's* Death, informs us, that he was speechless before the Persons came to him, to whom others relate him to have

(*d*) 1 Chron. xxiii. 14. (*e*) Exod. xl. 12.--15. See Numb. xvi. 9, 10, 40. (*f*) Numb. xiii. 8. Deut. xxxi. (*g*) Quint Curtii Hist. l. 10. Arrian. de Expedit. Alexand. l. 7. Diodor. Sic. Hist. l. 17.

made this Disposition (*b*); altho', if he did make it, it is obvious that not a Disengagement of his private Affections to his own Family, but a true Sense of the Temper of his Army and the State of his Affairs might lead him to it: He knew his extensive Empire was not so well established, as to be likely to descend to his Heirs; but that at his Death the Generals, who had commanded in his Armies, and had a Place in his Councils, would form Parties, and divide his Acquisitions (*bb*), and he had no time to settle the Claims of their several Pretensions; but could only wish them all well, and the best Success to the most deserving: But *Moses's* Affairs were in another Situation: If the Will of God had not been his Direction, he might have appointed himself a Successor, and the Person recommended by his Nomination, would, humanly speaking, have been as unanimously received and submitted to by the People as *Joshua* himself.

There are many Particulars, that to a thinking Person must abundantly prove *Moses's* Conduct in leading the *Israelites*

(*b*) Vid. Plutarch. in Vit. Alexand. ad fin. (*bb*) Curtius *says* Quærentibus cui relinqueret Regnum, respondit, Ei qui esset optimus: cæterùm prævidere jam, ob id certamen, magnos funebres Ludos parari sibi. Hist. l. 10. c. 6. Vid. Arrian. de Expedit. Alex. lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 625.

to have been directed by an immediate Revelation: It is not likely, that he should of his own head, when he left *Egypt*, have made the March, which he led the People, to the *Red-Sea* (*i*); much less would he without a divine Command have had a Thought of attempting for forty Years together such Dangers and Difficulties as the Wilderiness exposed him to, and out of which he could foresee no Escape, but by miraculous Deliverances. The March of *Alexander* the Great over the Sands of *Libya* to the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon* has been variously censured as a very (*k*) wild Expedition; tho' certainly a March attempted and performed with the greatest Dispatch, could be but one single Trial at most, of what *Moses* habituated the *Israelites* to for forty Years together: Besides, *Alexander* had an Aim visible enough, and political (*l*), to tempt him to his Undertaking; but if we set aside the divine Command, *Moses* could have no Pretence for harassing and endangering his People with such per-

(i) See Vol. 2. B. 9. (k) See Prideaux Connect. Part 1. B. 7. (l) Illud pene Risu dignum fuit, quod Hermolaus postulabat me (*says Alexander*) ut averterer Jovem, cujus oraculo cognoscor: An etiam quid Dii respondant in meâ potestate est? Obtulit nomen Filii, mihi recipere ipsis Rebus quas agimus non alienum fuit: Utinam Indi quoq; me Deum esse credidissent: Namâ enim bella constant, et sæpe quod falsis creditam est, veri Vicem obtinuit. *Curtius* lib. 8. c. 8.

petual Extremities. We find many of the Princes of the Congregation thought Moses's Conduct so palpably contradictory to all Rules of human Prudence, that they remonstrated it to be the greatest Blindness for the People to be any further led on by him (m).

It may perhaps be suggested, that Moses's detaining the People so long in the Wilderness, might be to discipline them, to inure them to Hardships; to give them a various Experience, that Dangers and Difficulties, which at first sight seem insuperable, may by Patience and good Conduct be born and conquered: And that he marched the Israelites here no longer than until he had formed them to a competent Skill and Courage for the Conquest of Canaan: That the Wilderness was a Place well suited for his thus exercising his Army, affording him a secure Retreat from the Attacks of all Nations, and Opportunities to try the Temper and Courage of the Israelites daily with the Appearances of various Dangers, into which he might lead them as far as he thought proper, and retire whenever he thought it expedient to attempt no further: But what may be thus intimated, cannot possibly be allowed, un-

(m) Numb. xvi. 14.

less it can be proved, that the *Israelites* could have subsisted in those Desarts, if they had not had the miraculous Supply, which God was pleased to give them from Heaven (*n*): The Camp which *Moses* led was, Men, Women and Children, a Body of about two or three Millions of People, and a Country both of large Extent and great Plenty, must at first sight appear necessary to bear and to maintain them: But the Wilderness was a *Land of Drought, and of the Shadow of Death*, a Land, where a parched Turf and withered Shrubs, must, to any one that should enter it, give a perpetual Picture of Decay and Desolation: It was a Land, to use the Words of the Prophet, which *no Man passed through, and where no Man dwelt (nn)*: And if God had not directed it, it is not to be conceived that *Moses* could have projected to have sustained and kept together such an Host as he led in so unpromising a Country. Besides; If what is above offered was the Reason of the Incampments in the Wilderness, how shall we account for *Moses's* not attempting to enter *Canaan*, upon his having as promising an Opportunity to all human Appearance, as he could ever hope for? When the Spies returned from

(*n*) Exod. xvi. (*nn*) Jer. ii. 6.

searching the Land (o), it was the Opinion of some, that the *Israelites* were able to conquer it, if they would march with Courage and Resolution to attack it (p); others indeed were of another Mind, and were for returning back to *Egypt* again (q): There was great Heat and Debate in the Camp upon this Subject (r); but at last, after *Moses* had at large remonstrated to them, they were all willing to make the Attempt, nay, and so resolutely bent upon it, that all he could say against it, could not prevent their marching (s). And now would not one think the Camp spirited up to a Temper, such as a wise General would have wished for, and made use of? But we find *Moses* acted a Part directly contrary to what in human Prudence might have been expected from him: He assured the People, that no Attempt they should now make would be crowned with Success; that forty Years must pass before they should be able to enter the Land (t): Will it be here said, that probably *Moses* judged very wisely of his Army; that he well knew the Courage they pretended, to be no more than a sudden Heat; and that it would not support him thro'

Did he
flatter
or mak
pleasur

?

?

?

(o) Numb. xiii. 25. (p) Ver. 30. (q) Ver. 31.
xiv. 4. (r) Ver. 6.—10. (s) Ver. 41, 44.
(t) Numb. xiv. 33.

the War that was before him, and that many Years Discipline was really necessary to form them for greater things, than they were yet capable of, before he could hope to reduce by them so many and such warlike Nations as possessed *Canaan*, and that therefore he assigned them forty Years to fit them for it? But surely if this had been his Purpose, a shorter Respite might have answered his Intentions, and above all things, he would never have denounced, that all the Men of War, that were then the Strength and Flower of the Camp, must be brought down to their Graves, before he could hope to be able to attempt, what was the Design of their Expedition: But this was what *Moses* without any Reserve now offered to them: *As truly as I live, saith the Lord, your Carcasses shall fall in this Wilderness, and all that were numbred of you, according to your whole Number, from twenty Years old and upwards—doubtless ye shall not come into the Land—your Carcasses, they shall fall in this Wilderness (u).* Here now is a View of things for a wise General to pretend to offer to his whole Army: to assure almost every Man amongst them capable of bearing Arms, that he had now no Hope of

(u.) Numb xiv. 28, 29, 30, 32.

bringing them to any good End of all their Labours; but that the only thing he could pretend to for them, was to carry them about, for forty Years together, from Difficulty to Difficulty, and to bury them in the Defart: God indeed might appoint them this Punishment for their Disobedience (*w*), and *Moses* in confidence of an almighty Support, might securely pronounce their Doom to them, and the People convinced that it was God's Appointment, might submit to it; but unless we allow all this, what General would have shocked a whole Army in this manner, or have suffered any Attempt to have such Impressions made upon them? For what could such a View of things naturally produce, but numerous Tumults, Mutinies, and a total Defection?

Our modern *Deists* are indeed ready to allow *Moses* the Character of a great and wise Man; to suppose him far superior in all points of Science to any of, or to all the People under his Direction, and they imagine him to have given Laws to the *Israelites*, and to have formed their Commonwealth with great Art and Address; but to have had no more divine Assistance towards it, than *Minos*, *Numa*, *Lycurgus*, or other famous Legislators of

(*w*) Numb. xiv. 23, 25, 30, 32.

the Heathen World: All these were as highly thought of by their Followers as *Moses* by his *Israelites* (x), and they all pretended to have been favoured with Revelations from Heaven, in order to create a Reverence of their Establishments amongst their People, and some of them are recorded to have been supported with Miracles in their Undertakings: They were wise and learned Men: They gave every Appearance an artful Turn, and made the ordinary Course of Nature seem full of Miracles to Persons of inferior Understandings, for the carrying forward their Purposes amongst

(x) Πῆσαι, φασί, πρῶτον ἀγραπτοῖς νόμοις χρῆσασθαι τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν Μινύων, ἀνδρα καὶ τῆ ψυχῆ μέγαν, καὶ τῷ βίῳ κοινότατον τῶν μνημονομένων· περσποπιπθῆναι ἢ αὐτῷ τὸν Ἑρμῆν δεδωκέναι τέρας, ὡς μεγάλων ἀγᾶθῶν αἰτίαι· ἐσομένους καθάπερ παρ᾽ ἑλλησι ποιῆσαι φασὶν ἐν μὲν τῇ Κρήτῃ Μίνωα ᾧ καὶ ἡ Λακεδαιμονίοις Λυκῆρον· τὸν μὲν ᾧ καὶ Διὸς, τὸν ἢ παρ᾽ Ἀτόλλωνος φήσαντα τέρας εἰληθέναι· καὶ παρ᾽ ἑτέροις δὲ πλείοσιν ἔδνεσι ᾧ καὶ δέδοται τῆτο τὸ γένος τῆς ἐπιτοίας ὑπάρξαι, καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίων γενέσθαι τοῖς περσποσι ᾧ καὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Ἀρσικποῖς Ζουθόβω ἢ ἰσορῆσι τὸν ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα περσποσασθαι τὰς νόμους αὐτῷ δίδόναι, ᾧ καὶ ἡ τοῖς ὀνομαζομένοις Γέταις Ζάμολξιν ἀσπίτως τῷ κοινῷ Ἑσίαν, ᾧ καὶ ἡ τοῖς Ἰαθύοις Μωσῆν τὸν Ἰωῶ ἐπικαλούμενον θεόν· εἴτε θαυμαστὴν καὶ θεῖαν ὄλως ἔνοιαν εἶναι κείνου τῷ μέλλουσαν ἀρελήσιν ἀνδράπων κληῖθος, εἴτε καὶ πρὸς τῷ ἑσθονῶν καὶ δῶαμιν τῶν εἰρεῖν λεγομένων τὰς νόμους ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν ὄγκον, μᾶλλον ὑπακούσασθαι διαλαβόντας. Diodor. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 59.

them.

them. *Quintus Curtius* informs us, that *Alexander* the Great erected over his own Pavilion an artificial Signal, to give notice for a Decampment of his Army; that it was contrived of Materials, so as to be conspicuous in the Day-time by a great Smoke issuing from it, that in the Night-time it appeared to be on Fire (y); a modern Writer insinuates the Pillar of the Cloud and of Fire, which directed the Marches of the *Israelites* (z), to have been a Contrivance of *Moses* of a like Nature: Others have intimated it to have been no greater Miracle, than the Pillar of Light, which conducted *Thrasylbulus* and his Followers from *Phyla* (a): But in Answer hereto let us consider,

1. That if *Moses* has recorded nothing but what was real Fact, it must be undeniably evident, that the Hand of God

(y) Tuba, cum castra movere vellet, signum dabat: cuius sonus plerumque tumultuantium fremitu exoriente haud fatis exaudiebatur: Ergo Perticam, quæ undique conspici possit, supra Prætorium statuit, ex quâ signum eminebat pariter omnibus conspicuum: Observabatur Ignis noctu, Fumus interdiu. *Quint. Curt. lib. 5. c. 2.* (z) Exod. xl 38. (a) Ἀλλὰ καὶ Θερασυβέλῳ τὰς εὐπεσονίας ἀπὸ Φυλῆς καταγαγόντι καὶ βελομένῳ λαθεῖν, σῦλος ὁδηγὸς γίνεται διὰ τῶν ἀτριβῶν ἰσχυρῶς τῷ Θερασυβέλῳ νύκτωρ, ἀσειλήνῃ καὶ δυσχεμεσίῃ τῷ κατασήμεματι γεγενῆσθαι πῦρ ἔωρετο προηγούμενον, ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἀπλείσως προπέμφαν, κατὰ τὴν Μανουχίαν ἔξελιπεν, ἔρδα νῦν ὁ ἴσως φέρει Βαυλὸς ὄχι. *Clem. Alexand. Stromat. l. 1. p. 418. Edit. Oxon.*

was

+ Capt. of Athenians, who were
tyrants out of city, & into it
liberated - etc.

was most miraculously employed in leading the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, in giving their Law, in conducting them thro' the Wilderness, and in bringing them into *Canaan*. If the Miracles were wrought in the Land of *Egypt*, and the Judgments executed upon *Pharaoh* and his People, as *Moses* has related (*b*): If the Red-Sea was really divided before the *Israelites*, and *Pharaoh* and his Host drowned in it, as *Moses* has recorded (*c*): If a miraculous Supply of Food was given daily to the *Israelites* in the Wilderness for forty Years together (*d*): If God did indeed speak to them in an audible Voice from Heaven (*e*): If their Laws were given as *Moses* informs us (*f*): If their Tabernacle was directed, and when finished, if a Cloud covered the Tent, and the Glory of the Lord filled the Tabernacle, and rested upon it in a Cloud by Day, and in Fire by Night (*g*): If this Cloud removed visibly to conduct their Journeyings (*h*): If the many Oppositions of the People were miraculously punished in the several Manners related to us (*i*), and the Miracles that are recorded, were wrought to testify the divine Ap-

(*b*) Exod. vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii. (c) xiv. (d) xvi. 35. (e) xix, xx. Deut. iv. 12, 33, 36. (f) Exod. ubi sup. Deut. v, &c. (g) Exod. xxxv. xl. 34. (h) Ver. 38. (i) Numb. xi, xii. xiv. xvi. xxi. xxv, &c.

pointment of the Institution enjoined, when the People would have varied from them (*k*): If a Prophet even of another Nation, corrupt in the Inclination of his Heart, and tempted by great Offers to speak Evil of this People, was by very astonishing Miracles prevented from declaring any thing about them diverse from what *Moses* had represented to be the Purpose of God towards them (*l*): If all these, and other things of a like nature, that might be enumerated, were really and truly done, as *Moses* has related, well might he call Heaven and Earth to witness for him (*m*); well might he observe, that no such things had ever been done for any Nation (*n*); and we who read them, cannot but conclude from them, that the Power of God did indeed miraculously interest it self in the appointing the Law and Polity of this People, and in conducting them to their Settlement in the promised Land.

II. That the Facts recorded by *Moses*, were really done, as he relates them, must be allowed by any one that considers, that *Moses* wrote his Books in the very Age in which the things he records were done, to be read by the very Persons, who had seen and known the Facts to be true,

*Is it evident
that a fact
not have
happened?*

(*k*) Levit. x. Numb xvi, xvii, &c.
(*m*) Deut. xxx. 19. (*n*) iv. 33, 34.

(*l*) xxiii, xxiv.

which

which are recorded by him; that they might testify, and transmit their Sense of the Truth of them to their Posterity. And this is a material Circumstance, in which the Reports we have of the heathen Miracles are greatly deficient: *Clemens Alexandrinus* relates, that *Thrasylbulus* led his Company under the Guidance of a Pillar of Light in the Heavens (o); but *Clemens Alexandrinus* lived above six hundred Years after the Time of this supposed Fact: Upon what Authority he related it we are not told; but we find no such Prodigy recorded in the best heathen Writers, who, had it been Fact, would surely have made mention of it. *Xenophon* (p), *Diodorus Siculus* (q), *Cornelius Nepos* (r) have related this Expedition of *Thrasylbulus*; but none of them mention any such Miracle assistant to him; so that we have all reason to think there was none such; but that *Clemens Alexandrinus* was imposed upon in the Account he received of it. And this is generally true of the Miracles reported in Heathen History: Subsequent Writers, after large Intervals of Time, tell us things said to have been done, but without sufficient Vouchers to attest the Facts related by them: Whereas *Moses* wrote of the things in which himself had been the

(o) Stromat. l. 1. r.
 (q) Diodor. Histor. l. 14.
 Thrasylbuli.

(p) Vid. Histor. Græc. l. 2.
 (r) Cornel. Nep. in vit.

chief Agent, and required his Books to be repeatedly read and considered over and over (s) by the very Persons who had seen and known the Truth of what he wrote, as clearly and fully as himself, in order to have the Facts recorded by him go down attested to be true to the succeeding Generations; so that *Moses* could not falsify the Facts related by him, unless the Generation he liv'd in, concurred with him in a Design to impose upon their Descendants in all these Matters; or were so over-reached and deceived by his superior Skill and Management, as to be made believe, that they had seen and lived in a most surprizing Scene of Things, which, all the time, were really not done in the manner they were taught to conceive and imagine. But,

III. If we consider the Nature and Manner of the Miracles, that bare Testimony to *Moses's* Administration, it is impossible to conceive the *Israelites* deceived in them: They could never have been led on, and for so long a time, in an imaginary Belief of such things as *Moses* had recorded, if either the things were not done, or not done as he has related them. As to the Signs and Prodigies offered by the Heathen Writers to give a Sanction to the Foundations of their

Could
Israelites
have been
deceived ab
miracle
†

(s) Deut. xxxi. 10.

King-

+ Red Sea - manna - inai - Serpents
Quail - water from Rock - Pills

Kingdoms, we may generally see, that the very Writers which report them, did not believe them (*t*), and that they were known Artifices of their great Legislators, calculated only to have Weight upon their Populaces; but in no wise supported against the Objections, that a thinking Person might easily find to offer to them. When *Romulus* died, the *Roman Historians* tell us, that he was taken up into Heaven (*u*); but we do not find that they ever had such Proofs of his Assumption, as to prevent a Suspicion of his being murdered, in the Age when his Death happened, or to cause After-ages to give full Credit to what they attempted to have believed about it (*x*). In like manner; when he was created King, we are told, that a divine Approbation, discovering it self by an auspicious Lightning, attended his Inauguration (*y*), and that it was an Institution appointed to be for ever observed amongst the *Romans*, that no Person should be admitted to command the People, unless the Gods by such Sign from Heaven should confirm the Election

(*t*) Vid. Liv. Hist. Præfat. (*u*) Liv. Lib. 1. c. 16. Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom. 1. 2. c. 56. Plutarch. in Romul. (*x*) Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos, qui disceptum Regem Patrum manibus taciti arguerent: Manavit enim hæc quoque sed perobscura Fama. Liv. ubi sup. Dionys. Halicar. & Plutarch. in Romul. in loc. supra citat. (*y*) Dionys. Halicar. Lib. 2. c. 5.

(*z*): But

(z): But *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* is, I think, the only Writer that reports the *Roman* Magistracies to have had the Countenance of such a Confirmation, and he confesses their Elections in his Time to have fallen a great deal short of it (a); for he tells us, that at their Elections a publick *Augur* was to declare the expected Lightning to have happen'd, whether any Appearance of it had been seen or no (b); *Plutarch* seems to have thought all that was offered about these (bb) Lightnings to have been fabulous: And if we consider, how uncertain it is whether *Dionysius* had any good Vouchers to support what he writes to have been the Facts of those Times (c), we shall have just Reason to imagine, that the most early Elections of the *Roman* Magistrates had no more a divine Sanction, than the mere Moderns, and that what *Dionysius* relates about them, was one of those Fictions, with which the Heathens endeavoured to

(z) Halicar. Lib. 2. c. 6.

(a) πεπαισται δ' ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις· πολλῶ οἶον εἰκῶν τις αὐτῆ λέπεται, τῆς ὁσίας ταύτης ἕνεκα γηνομένη· Id. Ibid.

(b) Τῶν ὃ παρόρων τινὲς ἐρηδοσκοπῶν μῶδῶν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ φερέμενοι, ἀσεπῶ αὐτοῖς μῶδῶν εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ ἀεισερῶν τῶ ἔ γηνομένην· Id. ibid.

(bb) Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τὰ μυθώδη καὶ γελοῖα τῶ τῷ τότε ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδείκνυ) διάθεσιν πρὸς τὸ θεοῖ, ἡ δ' ἐδισμὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπεποίησεν. Plut. in Numa. p. 70.

(c) Vid. Liv. Hist. Lib. 6. c. 1.

give a Lustre to their ancient Institutions (*d*). In like manner, when *Numa* was to form the Religion of the *Romans*, he affected a rural and retired Life, was much alone, and pretended to have many Conversations with a Deity who instructed him in his Institutions (*e*); but it is obvious to remark, that he gave his People no other Evidence of his having been assisted by a divine Presence, than the Testimony of his own saying it (*f*): And in this Way we may observe of the *Cretan Minos*, of the *Lycurgus* of the *Lacedemonians*, of the *Arismaspiian Zathraustes*, and of the *Getan Zamolxis*, compared with *Moses* by *Diodorus* (*g*); they were all said to have had the Will of their Gods revealed to them; but there is so little Appearance of Proof of what is thus said, that *Plutarch's* Observation cannot but be allowed to be true of them (*h*),
they

(*d*) Datur hæc Venia Antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis, Primordia urbium augustiora faciat. Liv. Præf. ad Hist. l. i.
 (*e*) Vid. Plutarch. in Numa. p. 61, 62. Omnium primum rem ad multitudinem imperitam, et illis seculis efficacissimam, Deorum merum injiciendum ratus est: Qui quum descendere ad animos sine aliquo Commento Miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum Deâ Egeriâ congressus nocturnos esse, ejus se monitu, quæ acceptissima Diis essent sacra instituisse. Liv. Hist. l. i. c. 19. (*f*) Vid. Plut. Liv. Dionys. Halicarn. ubi sup. (*g*) Diodor. Sic. Hist. L. i. p. 59.
 (*h*) Ουδέ γδ ἄτερος λόγῳ εχει τι σαῦλον, ὅν πῶδ Λυκάργος κὶ Νουμά κὶ τοιούτων ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν λέγῃσι, εἰς δυσκάθεκτα κὶ δυσάρεστα πλῆθῃ χειρόμενοι, κὶ μεγάλας

they pretended to Revelations, in order to be better able to manage their People, tho' in truth no Revelations had been made to them: But we cannot say thus of *Moses*; for *Moses* did not, after their Manner, pretend to his *Jews*, as *Diodorus* expresses it (*i*), that the God *Jao* gave him his Laws; but he made an open Appeal to the Senses of all the Thousands of them, whether they did not all of them abundantly know it to be so as well as he. *The Lord our God*, said he, *made a Covenant with us in Horeb. The Lord made not this Covenant with our Fathers, but with us, even us, who are all of us here alive this Day. The Lord talked with you Face to Face in the Mount out of the midst of the Fire* (*k*). If *Moses* had only told his *Israelites*, that their God had appeared to him in private, and given him the Laws which he recommended to them: or if he had only related to them a confused Account of some Signs and Prodigies known only to himself, and believed by them upon his reporting them, *Moses* and the Heathen Legislators might

γάλας ἐπιφέροντες ταῖς πολιτείαις κοινοτομίαις περιποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀπὸ θεῶν δόξαν, αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις πρὸς οὐδὲ ἐχηματίζουσι σωτήριον ἔσαν. Plut. in Num. p. 62.

(i) Περσπούσησας τὰς νόμους αὐτῶ διδόναι παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωσῆν τὸν Ἰαῶ ἐπικαλούμενον θεόν. Diodor. Sic. ubi sup. (k) Deuter. v. 2 — 4.

indeed be compared to one another ; but the Circumstances of *Moses's* Administration are of another sort : And as they are so, to say, that *Moses* could make a Camp of above 600000 grown up Men, besides the Women and Children, believe they heard the Voice of God out of the midst of the Fire (*l*), if they did not hear it ; that he could, Day after Day, and Week after Week, for about forty Years together, make them all believe, that he gave them Bread from Heaven, calling the Heads of all their Families every Day to such a particular Method of gathering it, as must make them all intimately acquainted with all the Circumstances of it (*m*), if all the time he did not really give them Bread from Heaven, but only pretended it : To say, that he could in like manner, not once or twice upon an Accident, but for the long space of Time above-mentioned, for near forty Years together, upon every Movement of the Camp, make the whole People believe they saw a miraculous Pillar of Light directing their Marches, or abiding in a Cloud of Glory upon their Tabernacle, when they were not to journey (*n*) ; if all the while no such thing was real, and *Moses* had only made some artificial Beacon, of

(*l*) Deut. iv. 11 — 16. (*m*) See Exod. xvi.
 (*n*) xl. 34 — 38.

which the *Israelites* did not know the Contrivance and Composition (*nn*). To say these and other things of a like nature, in order to insinuate the Miracles that attended the *Israelites* in the Wilderness, to be like the Heathen Wonders, pretended only but not real, must be to say the most incredible Things in the World: If *Moses* had been an Impostor, he would never have attempted such Miracles, nor have been so hardy as to venture his Artifices in so open a Light, and to daily Examination for so many Years together, of so many hundreds of thousands of People; or if he could have been so romantick as to hazard the exposing them to so many such unlimited and repeated Trials, he must have been but a weak and rash Man, and consequently have come off many times detected and defeated, unless we can think his *Israelites* to have been a Camp of the most care-

(*nn*) A Beacon of this sort is said to have been made, and set up over the royal Tent in Alexander's Army: Quint. Curtius in loc. supra citat. And as Alexander's Forces were not at most above 35000. See Prideaux Connect. Part I. B. VII. it is conceivable that such a Light might be an useful Signal to a Camp of that Bigness; but the Camp of the *Israelites* consisted of many hundreds of thousands of People, and must have extended it self over many Miles of the Country, whenever they pitched it, and what one artificial Light could have been either formed or managed, consisting of a Body of Fire of a Size sufficient to be seen and recognized in every Quarter of so great a Nation of People?

less and inconsiderate People, blindly devoted to receive implicitly whatever he told them they saw, without opening their Eyes, or making any Trial, whether the Things he told them were so or no. But this cannot be pretended. For :

IV. If we look into the Conduct of the *Israelites*, where do we find them generally disposed to an implicit Belief of *Moses*? Did they not rather examine every thing he offered in the strictest manner, and endeavour indefatigably to oppose him in every Part of his Administration? They were but three Days over the Red-Sea, before they murmured against him at *Marah* (o), and tho' they were here miraculously relieved by him (p), yet at *Elim* they appear to have had but little Expectation, that he could lead them any further (q): When the *Manna* was given, and the particular Injunctions communicated for the Method of gathering it, what Disposition do we find in the People either to believe what *Moses* had told them, or to obey what he had directed? *They hearkned not unto Moses, but left of the Manna until the Morning, and it bred Worms and stank* (r): *And on the seventh Day, some of the People went out to gather Manna, but they found none* (s).

(o) Exod. xv. 22, 24.

(r) ver. 20.

(s) ver. 27.

(p) ver. 25. (q) xvi. 3.

At *Rephidim*, when they wanted Water, they were ready to stone him (*t*), and tho' at *Sinai* the Wonders that were seen and heard there, seemed at first to have made a deep Impression, yet it was not long before they were led away by their own Imaginations into Idolatry (*u*): They were dissatisfied at *Taberah*, even tho' the miraculous Direction of the Cloud had led them thither (*w*), and so mutinous at *Kibroth-battaavab*, that *Moses* found himself unequal to the Labour of bearing up against their Oppositions, and begged to have a Number of Persons appointed to assist him in endeavouring to promote amongst them a better Temper (*x*); a Work so far from having a promising Appearance, that two of the Persons nominated to it would fain have declined it, had they not been encouraged by a Miracle to undertake it (*y*): When the People came to *Kadesh*, and might have entred *Canaan*, how averse were they to every thing that *Moses* would have directed, tho' they had the most reasonable Application in the World made to them, to induce them to hope for Success in their Undertaking (*z*)? But afterwards, when by a most obstinate Opposition they had

(*t*) Exod. xvii. 4. (*u*) xix. xx. xxiv. xxxii.
 See Book xi. (*w*) Numb. xi. i. (*x*) ver. 14.
 (*y*) ver. 26. (*z*) xiv. 7, 9.

incurred the divine Displeasure, and were warned by *Moses*, that their Attempt would surely fail, then nothing could prevent their marching to a Defeat from their Enemies (*a*). In the Rebellion of *Korah*, two hundred and fifty Princes of the Congregation were engaged (*b*), and the Defection was so obstinate, that even the miraculous Destruction of *Korah* and all his Company could not quell it; but on the Morrow, the Congregation appeared in a new Ferment, and accused *Moses* and *Aaron* of having killed the Lord's People (*c*): fourteen thousand were hereupon taken off by a Pestilence, before the Camp could be brought into any Temper (*d*), and another most surprising Miracle was wrought before they came to have a due Sense of their Folly (*dd*): And now what Opposition could the most enterprizing of our modern Deists have made to *Moses*, which his *Israelites* did not make to him, or what Measures were omitted, that could possibly have been taken to make the utmost Trial of his Strength and Authority in every Part of his Administration? I might add to all this, that we never find *Moses* to have had any considerable human Confederacy to abet and support him:

(*a*) Numb. xiv. (*b*) xvi. (*c*) ver. 41. (*d*) ver. 49.
 (*dd*) xvii. 1—10.

In their Turns all Tribes and Orders of his People were hot in opposing him, and his nearest Relations, his Brother and Sister, *Aaron* and *Miriam*, whenever they thought they had a Pretence for it, were as ready as any others to withstand and condemn him (*e*), and were so positive in their Contradiction to him, that nothing less than a Miracle could silence them (*f*): A considerable Part of his own Tribe headed the fiercest Mutiny that was ever raised against him; and can it be thought, after all these things, that if *Moses* had depended upon Artifice, and Measures concerted between him and some Partizans, to impose upon the People, some or other of these Defections would not have brought the Secret into open Light, and have exposed it to the whole Congregation? But instead of this, throughout all his Administration, we see an evident Series of the clearest Miracles most openly performed, to give him Weight amongst the People; and whenever they either would not attend to him, or conspired to oppose him, then the divine Vengeance appeared in support of him, and gave the Congregation no other Choice, but to obey, or be *consumed with dying* (*g*).

(*e*) Numb. xii. (*f*) ver. 10. (*g*) xvii. 12, 13.

V. Will it be here remarked, that *Moses* did not finish the writing his Books, nor order the reading them, until the Generation, with whom he had so much Opposition, were all in their Graves; that perhaps the Children of these Men, being upon the Borders of the Land of Promise, when *Moses* delivered his Books to them, and warm with hopes of seeing at last an End of all their Labours, might be willing not to begin new Contests to embarrass their Affairs, but for Peace and Quiet's sake even consent to let him give what Account he would of what was past, tho' they might know the Substance of what he wrote, not to have been transacted in the manner recorded by him? I answer: If this were true, should we not have found the *Israelites*, when *Moses* was dead and gone, not over-fond of paying, and obliging their Posterity for ever to pay a most sacred Regard to all that he had left in Writing to be transmitted to them? The Account, which *Moses* left of their Journeyings in the Wilderness, if it was not true in Fact, was a most provoking Libel upon every Family except one or two of the whole People; for how strongly does it represent to them, that their Fathers had all been a *stubborn* and a *rebellious* Generation, a Generation, that would not set their Hearts aright, nor

that the
 more
 we say
 flatter
 many families

flattering them? No!
 many families stigmatized!

nor have their *Spirit stedfast with God* (b): At the first Entrance upon forming the *Jewish* Polity, the Name of every Male of twenty Years old of the whole People was taken down after their Families, by the House of their Fathers after their Poll (i): And this was again done almost forty Years after in the Plains of *Moab*, when all the Persons except four, whose Names had been taken in the former Poll, were dead (k); so that *Moses* left them a most clear Account, of whom every one of them was descended: And the keeping and filling up their Genealogies was necessary in their Polity, for ascertaining to each Family and Member of it, the Inheritance in the Land that was severally to belong to them; and can we now think that under these Circumstances they should all agree to a Man, to have *Moses* record with Infamy the immediate Father of almost every one of them; that in After-ages, when their Posterity should look back unto him that begat them, they might be told they were descended from one, who had been a Rebel against their God, and was cut off for his Iniquity? The Children of *Korah* were alive when *Moses* delivered his Books; for we have a

(b) See Exod. xxxii. 21. Numb. xiv, 28, 29. xx. 10. Deut. i. 35. ii. 14, 15, 16. Psalm lxxviii. 8.
 (i) Numb. i. 2. (k) xxvi.

Line of this Family continued down from *Korab* and his Son to the Times of *Solomon* (*l*); and is it to be imagined that this Family could have suffered an Account, so prodigious in all its Circumstances, of the Rebellion and Destruction of *Korab* and all his Company, as that which *Moses* has given (*m*), to go down without Contradiction to all Posterity; if they had not known the whole and every Circumstance of it, to have been undeniably true, and notorious to the whole Congregation? Men are, I might almost say, born with Sentiments of more Honour and Respect for those of whom they are descended; and it is not to be conceived that a Man of that excellent Temper, which *Moses* was of (*n*), should offer; or any Nation of People receive and adhere to such an Account of their Ancestors as *Moses* gave the *Israelites*, if the Truth of what he recorded had not been unquestionably known and confirmed to all of them. When *Romulus* the first King of the *Romans* became ungracious to his People, and probably fell a Sacrifice to some secret Conspiracy (*o*); tho' the unsettled State of their infant Constitution was not thought strong enough to have the real Sentiments, which

(*l*) See 1 Chronic. vi. 33 to 38. (*m*) Numb. xvi.
 (*n*) Numb. xii. 3. (*o*) Vid. Liv. Hist. Dionys. Halicarn. Plutarch. in Romul.

the Senate had of him, laid open to the People, but it was reputed good Policy to have an honourable Account of him go down to all Posterity (*p*); yet we do not find, that they took care to give an unalterable Sanction to his Institutions, or affected to have him thought the sole Founder of their Polity and Religion; but rather, the more amiable Prince that succeeded him, had the Reputation of completing what *Romulus* had attempted, and of giving a Fulness and Perfection to every Part of their Constitution (*q*). And something of this sort we should have found of *Moses*, if he had died in any Disrepute with his People: But instead hereof, after he was gone, the *Israelites* abundantly testified of him, that his Successor was not equal to him (*r*): And the Generation to whom he had given his Books, took the utmost Care to perform every Part of what he had enjoined (*s*). It was known amongst their Enemies, that his Directions were the Rule of all their Treaties (*t*): And they themselves looked at every Event of their Wars as a Completion of what *Moses* had foretold to

(*p*) Deum, Deâ natum, Regem, Parentemq; Urbis Romanæ salvere Universi Romulum jubent: Facem Precibus exposcunt, ubi volens propitius suam semper sospitet Progeniem. *Liv.* lib. 1. c. 16.

(*q*) Vid. *Liv.* *Dionys.*

Halicar. *Plutarch.* in *Numâ.*

(*r*) *Deut.* xxxiv. 10.

(*s*) *Josh.* viii. 35.

(*t*) *Josh.* ix. 24.

them (*u*): They fully ratified every thing he had done (*w*), paid the utmost Deference to any private Claims founded upon any thing, that he had said (*x*): They made all their Settlements according to what he had prescribed (*y*), and observed of all their Acquirements, that they had succeeded in them according to all that he had recorded (*z*), and they warned their Posterity, that if ever they departed from doing *all that was written in the Book of his Law, to turn aside therefrom to the right Hand or to the left* (*a*), that they would surely fall under the Displeasure of God, and have all the Evils come upon them which he had in such Case pronounced against them (*b*): And thus there appears all possible Evidence, that the Men to whom *Moses* delivered what he wrote, were so far from having a Disbelief or Doubt of what he had recorded, that they took a most abundant Care to have, as I might say, no Part of it *fall to the Ground*: We do not find, that in any one thing they added to it (*c*), neither did they diminish ought from it (*d*): not even the disadvantageous Account he had given of their Fathers, as is evident from the Appeal of their

(*u*) Josh. xi. 20. (*w*) xii. 6, 7. xiii. (*x*) xiv. 5
 20 15. (*y*) xx. xxi. (*z*) xxi. 44, 45. xxiii. 14, 15.
 (*a*) Jos. xxiii. 6. (*b*) Ver. 13—16. (*c*) Deut. iv. 2.
 xii. 32. Josh. i. 7. (*d*) Ibid.

Prophets in succeeding Ages to these very Facts recorded by him (e).

But I might observe one thing further of *Moses*: He must have wrote with a strict Regard to Truth indeed, when we do not find in him a Partiality even to his own Character. When the elder Cyrus was about to die, Xenophon represents him to have suggested to his Friends the Circumstances, that had completed the Happiness of his Life: “ I do not remember, says he, that I have ever aimed at, or attempted what I did not compass: I have seen my Friends made happy by me, and I leave my Country in the highest Glory, which was heretofore of but little Figure in *Asia*” (f): And how natural is this Sentiment? What wise Man would not wish to close his Day after this manner? And is it not obvious, that *Moses* might with much Truth have sent his Life down to Posterity adorned with many Hints of this Nature? For how easy had it been for him to have observed to his People to this purpose? “ I was born amongst you, when you were Slaves in the Land of *Egypt*: I brought you forth from the House of Bondage: I have for forty Years supported you in the great

(e) See Psalm lxxviii. xcv. 9, 10. Ezek. xx. 10—17.
 (f) Vid. Xenophon. Cyropæd. lib. 8.

“ Wilderuess: I have preserved you in
 “ all the Heats and intestine Divisions
 “ we have unhappily had amongst us:
 “ I have at last entred you into a Part
 “ of the Country where you are to set-
 “ tle: I am now old, and cannot hope
 “ to be much longer with you; but I
 “ think my self happy, and can now
 “ leave you with Joy, having-lived to
 “ shew you by Experience, that you have
 “ your Settlement in your Hands: You
 “ have seen already the Success you may
 “ have against your Enemies: Go on in
 “ the way I have opened to you, and
 “ you will soon triumph over the Re-
 “ mainder of them.” But instead of a-
 ny thing of this sort, *Moses* records of
 himself and *Aaron*, that the Lord had
 said unto them: *Because ye believed me
 not, to sanctify me in the Eyes of the
 Children of Israel, therefore ye shall not
 bring this Congregation into the Land,
 which I have given them (g):* He repeats
 it to them, that he had offended God (b),
 turns their Eyes from himself to his
 Successor (i), fully acquaints them that
 not he, but *Joshua* was to lead them
 into the Land (k); confessing at the same
 time, that he had a most passionate De-

(g) *Exod.* xx. 12.
 i. 37. xxxi. 2.
 Ver. 14, &c.

(b) *Numb.* xxvii. 14. *Deut.*
 (i) *Deut.* xxxi. 7. (k) *Ibid.*

fire to conduct their Conquests; but that God would not hear him in this matter (*l*): And thus *Moses*, tho' those who came after him highly extolled him above any of his Successors (*m*); tho' from the general Character, which God had given of him (*n*), he might certainly have covered his Dishonour in the one only Circumstance there ever was to be the Cause of it; tho' surely, if any Man ever had whereof to glory, in the many Revelations made to him, and the mighty Works (*o*) that had been done by him, he might be thought to have had so more abundantly; yet from a most sacred Regard to Truth, he was after all content to lay himself down *numbered with the Transgressors*: And now where in all History can we find an Instance of the like Nature? A wise Man would not indeed be so vain, as to wish to have a Lustre given to his Actions, which they will not all bear, and yet it is but natural for an honest Man, if he is to be known to those, who are to come after him, to wish to be seen in the best Light; to desire to have the good, that may be said of him, offered as much to his Advantage, as the Cause

(*l*) Deut. iii. 23—27. (*m*) xxxiv. 10. (*n*) Numb. xii. 7. (*o*) See Numb. xii. 6—8. Deut. xxxiv. 10, 11.

of Truth can fairly admit of, and as much of what may be said to his Disadvantage not told, as may be omitted of him: This was the Sentiment of the younger *Pliny* (m), and unquestionably *Moses* would not have treated his own Character with a greater Rigour, if he had not made it the great Point of his Work, to write with all Truth a full Account of the Proceedings of God's Dispensations, rather than his own History.

If *Moses* had not had the Direction of an immediate Revelation, I do not think he would have left the *Israelites* any Body of written Laws; at least he would never have thought of tying them and their Posterity in all Ages, whatever Changes and Chances might happen to their Affairs, to so minute and strict an Observance of so various and extensive a Body of Laws, without leaving them at any time a Power to add to them or diminish from them (n): *Lycurgus* reformed the *Lacedemonian* State, and he pretended himself to have had the Direction of *Apollo* (o); but he did not venture to give his People a Body of written Laws for them to live by (p) without

(m) Vid. Plin. Epist. lib. 8. Ep. 38. (n) Deut. iv. 2. (o) Diodor. Sic. Hist. Lib. 1. p. 59. (p) Νόμους ὃ γυροειμένους ὁ Λυκῦργος ἐκ Ἰθουζεν Plutarch. in Lycurg. p. 47.

Variation: If he had, the Shortness and Imperfection of human Wisdom would unquestionably in a few Ages have appeared throughout any such *Code*, in many Particulars contained in it: And this *Lycurgus* seems to have been well aware of, and therefore in one of his *Rhetoræ* recommended it to his People, not to tie themselves down to written Laws at all (q): He thought the Affairs of all States subject to such a Variety of Contingencies, that what could be appointed at one time, might be very improper at another, and that therefore a civil Polity would be more stable, that was founded only upon general *Maxims*, with a Liberty to direct Particulars, as Occasion should require, than where a Set of Laws are composed to be inviolably maintained, minutely to prescribe and limit the Incidents of political Life (r): We read of *Numa*, that, whilst he lived, he instructed the *Pontifices* in all the Rites and Appointments of his Religion; but he was not willing to leave the twelve Volumes he had written to the Perusal, or for the Direction of Posterity; but ordered his sacred Books to be buried with him (s): Some Ages after, the Place where they had been buried was accidentally broken

(q) Plutarch. in *Lycurg.* p. 47.(r) Id. *ibid.*(s) Id. in *Numâ.* p. 74.

up, and the Books taken out of the Stone-Chest in which they had been repositied, and *Petilius* the then *Prætor* was appointed to peruse them; but he found them so far from being likely to be of service to the Publick, that he made oath to the Senate, that the Contents of them ought not to be divulged; whereupon a publick Order passed to have them burned (t). *Philo* the *Jew* remarks, that in all other Nations, Time and Accidents had made many Alterations of their Laws absolutely necessary; that the *Jewish Law* was the only One on Earth that was not grown obsolete in any of its Branches (u): The *Medes* and *Persians* indeed affected to have the Compliment, which they paid their Kings (w), thought to be a real Perfection of their Laws, that they were to *live for ever* (x); but their Kings, we find, had a Power to

(t) Plutarch. in *Numâ* p. 74.

(u) Τα μὲν τῶν ἄλλων νόμιμα, ἔτις ἐπὶ πῶς λογισμῶ, διὰ μυσίας περφόσεις ὄρησι κεκινημένα, πολέμοις, ἢ τυραννίσιν, ἢ τισιν ἄλλοις ἀβουλήτοις, ἀνεωττεισμῶ τύχης κατασκήπει· πολλὰς δὲ ἢ τρυφῆ πλεονάσασα χορηγίας ἢ πεισιχίας ἀφρόνοις καθέλε νόμους, τὰ λίαν ἀγαθὰ τῶν πολλῶν φέρειν ἐδωαμέναι, ἀλλὰ διὰ κέρσον θξυβειζήτων· ὕβρις δὲ ἀλίπαλον νόμῳ· τὰ δὲ τέτε μόνου βέβαια, ἀσάλατα, ἀκράδαινα, καθάπερ σφραγίσσι σίσεως αὐτῆς σσημασμένα, μένει παγίως ἀσ' ἢς ἡμέρας ἐγγύθην μεχεὶ νῶν· *Philo de Vitâ Mosis, Lib. 1.*

(w) *Dan. ii. 4. iii. 9. (x) vi. 8, 15. Esther i. 19.*

make Decrees, that might (y) defeat the Effect, which Laws, that *altered not* and *could not be changed*, might have been attended with, whenever an Effect not approved of, would have been the Consequence of any of them. Human Foresight cannot at once calculate and provide for all the Changes and Chances, that must happen in a Course of Ages to the Affairs of a People: And *Moses* must have been a weak Man, too weak to be the Author of the Laws he has given us, if he did not know enough of human Life to cause him to consider, that how well soever he might estimate the then State and Views of his People, yet he could never be sure, but that something very different from what he might form for them, might in time be very proper to become their Constitution, in order to attain the political Prospects which might arise to them: But *known unto God* are all his Purposes, *from the Beginning of the World* (z), and He can secure them a full Effect, as he pleases, even to the End of it: And if it was indeed the Purpose of God to choose, as *Moses* represents, the House of *Jacob*, to be *unto himself a peculiar People* (a), and to give them

(y) See Esther viii. 8. Prideaux Connect. Part I. B. 5. ad An. 453. (z) Acts xv. 18. (a) Exod. xix. 5. Deut. vii. 6. xiv. 2. xxvi. 18.

a Law, by a punctual Observance of which they were to be kept, *shut up unto the Faith, which should afterwards be revealed (b)*; We may hence open a View of Things that will fully account for *Moses*, under the immediate Direction of a Revelation from God, appointing to the *Israelites* all his Institutions, and charging them not to *turn* therefrom, until the Fulness of Time was come (c), *to the right Hand or to the left (d)*.

Some Writers inform us that *Moses* was the first that ever gave written Laws to a People (e), and I do not find any thing valid to contradict this Opinion; tho' the Abettors of it have made Mistakes in their Attempts to support it. *Justin Martyr* cites *Diodorus Siculus* in Favour of it (f); but *Diodorus* evidently speaks not of *Moses*, but of *Mneves* an *Egyptian (g)*; for *Moses* is afterwards mentioned by *Diodorus* in the same Passage, and with such different Circumstances, as abundantly shew *Diodorus* to have thought *Mneves* and *Moses* not to be one and the same

(b) Galat. iii. 23. (c) Deut. xviii. 15 — 18. John i. 45. Acts iii. 22 — 24. Gal. iv. 4. (d) Deut. v. 32. xxviii. 14. Josh. i. 7, 8. (e) Joseph. cont. Ap. l. 2. (f) in Protreptic. p. 8. (g) The same Passage is cited by St. Cyril contr. Julian. l. 1. Both Cyril and Justin Martyr cite *Diodorus* thus: Μαυσῶν ἀίδεα ἔ τῆ ψυχῆ μέγαρον, &c. but *Diodorus's* Words are: Μνεῶν ἀίδεα ἔ τῆ ψυχῆ μέγαρον. Vid. *Diodor. Hist. l. 1. p. 59.*

Person (b): The learned *Editor* of *Diodorus Siculus* thinks the Word ἀγέπτοις in the Text should be corrected ἐβγεάφοις: The Passage, he says, is so worded in *Justin Martyr's* Citation of it (i): If this were the true Text of *Diodorus*, we might gather from him, that *Mneves* taught his People to live by written Laws (k), and this would hint such Laws to have been in use Centuries before the Times of *Moses*; for *Mneves* can be no other than *Menes*, who was *Moses's* *Mizraim*, the first Planter of *Egypt* (l): *Mneves* lived in the Age next after the Gods and Heroes (m), and this was the Time of *Menes*, or *Mizraim's* Life (n): *Mneves* had his Laws from *Hermes* or *Mercury* (o); and *Hermes* or *Mercury* was the Surname of *Thoth* or *Thyoth*, who was Secretary to *Mizraim* or *Menes* (p): In short, *Mneves* or *Menes* may reasonably be thought to be the same Name, with only a little Difference in writing it: And if we allow this, and take *Diodorus* to suggest, that *Mneves*

(b) *Diodorus* says of *Mneves*, Τὸν Μνέβω περὶ ποιηθῆναι αὐτῷ τὸν Ἑρμῶ δειδωκέναι νόμους, i. e. νόμους. Of *Moses* he says afterwards, Περὶ ἧ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωσῶν [περὶ ποιήσας τὰς νόμους αὐτῷ δειδῶναι] τὸν Ἰαῶ ἐπικαλέμενον θεόν. *Diodor. ubi sup.* (i) *Vid. Rhodoman. Conjectur. in loc.* (k) Πᾶσαι φασὶ πρῶτον ἐβγεάφοις νόμοις χρῆσασθαι τὰ πλῆθη τὸν Μνέβω. (l) See Vol. I. B. 4. (m) *Diodor. ubi sup.* (n) Vol. I. B. I. (o) *Diodor. ubi sup.* (p) Vol. I. B. IV.

taught his People to use written Laws; since *Menes* or *Mizraim* planted *Egypt* about *A. M.* 1772 (q), we shall make written Laws to have been in use in *Egypt* about seven hundred Years before the Times of *Moses*; but had they been so, we should unquestionably have found the *Greeks* forming their States with written Laws much earlier than the Times when they appear to have had their first Notion of them; for the Arts and Sciences of *Egypt* found a Way into *Greece* very early (r); and yet the Inhabitants of this Country seem to have had no Knowledge of written Laws, until after *Homer's* time; for, as *Josephus* has remarked, we find no Word in all his Poems that signifies a written Law, the Word *Νόμος* having a different Sense, wherever it is used by him (s): A due Consideration of these Points must suggest to us, 1. That both *Cyril* and *Justin Martyr* mistook the true Meaning of *Diodorus*, in the Passage they cite from him: They suppose him to be speaking of *Moses*; but he was mentioning another Person, the first Planter and King of *Egypt*: Accordingly, to accommodate his Words to what they thought his Inten-

(q) Vol. I. B. IV. (r) Ibid. and Vol. II. B. VIII. (s) Joseph. cent. Apion. l. 2. c. 15. Jos. Earnes in v. 20. Hymn. ad Apollin.

tion, they interpolated his Text, where he wrote Μνέων [Mneves] they wrote Μωσῆν [Moses], and having made this Emendation, *Moses's* Law being a written Law, forced upon them another; and induced them, where he used the Word ἀγραπτοῖς *unwritten*, to imagine he meant ἐγγράφοις or *written*, and to cite him, not as he really wrote, but as they falsely judged him to have intended. Whereas 2. *Diodorus* really meant to remark, that *Mneves* was the first Person that taught the *Egyptians* the use of Laws; but they were νόμοι ἀγραπτοί, *unwritten Laws*: The early Kings instructed their People by verbal Edicts, and *Diodorus* in the Passage cited intimates this most ancient *Egyptian Legislator* to have formed his People in this manner, before the Use of written Laws was introduced into the World, and he imagines him to have feigned *Mercury* or *Hermes* to have given him (ss) what he spake to them, in order to his Words having Weight amongst his People (t), that they might think a *divine Sentence* to be in the Lips of their (u)

(ss) Περσποινδῆναι δ' αὐτὰ τὸν Ἑρμῶν δεδωκέναι τέρας· The Word δεδωκέναι here signifies to dictate to the Mind what is to be spoken, as in Mark xiii. 11.

(t) Πρὸς τῷ ἑσφοχῷ ἢ δωιάμεν ἢ ἄρην λογομένων τέσ νόμοις ἀποκλέψαντα τὸν ὄχλον μάλλον ὑπακούσασθαι διαλαβόντας· Diodor. ubi sup. (u) Prov. xvi. 10.

King, and that *his Mouth* transgressed *not* in the *Judgments* which he delivered to them.

There are some Particulars commanded in the Law of *Moses*, which it is evident that *Moses*, at the time when he enjoined them, knew might be fatal to the Welfare of his People; if God did not interpose, and by an especial Providence preserve them from what the Obeying such Commands tended evidently to bring upon them: Of this sort is the Law he gave them, for all their Males to appear three times in a Year before the Lord (w); and the Command not to sow or till any of their Lands, or dress their Vineyards, or gather any Fruit of them every seventh Year (x); And if, as some of the Learned calculate, the Year of *Jubilee* was a different Year from the seventh Sabbatical Year (y), then after seven times seven Years,

(w) Exod. xxi. 17. xxxiv. 23. (x) Ibid. xxiii. 10, 11. Levit. xxv. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. (y) *The Learned have been much divided about the Year of Jubilee, whether it was to be kept in the forty ninth Year, which taken inclusively may be called the fiftieth, or whether forty nine Years were to run out, and then the next or fiftieth Year was to be the Year of Jubilee. Vid. Cleric. Comment in Levit. xxv. Petav. Rationar. Tempor. Part 2. c. 7. and we have so few, and such imperfect accounts of the Practice of the Jews, in their Observance of this or their Sabbatical Years, that it may be difficult to offer any thing certain upon this Subject. The most learned Dean Prideaux thought the Text Levit. xxv. 8 — 12. to be in favour*

Years, on every fiftieth Year, they were to have their Lands and Vineyards lie undressed and uncultivated two Years together

favour of the Jubilee Year's being the next to the forty ninth or seventh Sabbatical Year: [Preface to Vol. I. of his Connect.] The Words of the Text are, Thou shalt number seven Sabbaths of Years unto thee, seven Times seven Years; and the Space of the seven Sabbaths of Years shall be unto thee forty and nine Years. Then shalt thou cause the Trumpet of the Jubilee to sound on the tenth Day of the seventh Month; in the Day of Atonement — And ye shall hallow the fiftieth Year — A Jubilee shall that fiftieth Year be unto you, ye shall not sow, neither reap that which groweth of it self in it — Levit. xxv. 8 —

11. We may perhaps come at the true Meaning of this Text, if we take it, 1. to direct the Israelites to observe at their due Intervals seven Sabbatical Years. 2. To remark that a Course of seven such Years, with the six Years of Tillage belonging to each of them duly observed, were to make up the full amount of forty nine Years, the Space of the seven Sabbaths of Years shall be unto thee forty and nine Years, or, to render the Hebrew Text verbatim, the Days of the seven Sabbaths of Years shall be unto thee forty and nine Years: The Meaning of which Remark will appear, if we allow the Text, 3. to suggest to them, that they were to begin the Jubilee Year on the tenth Day of the seventh Month of the forty ninth, or seventh Sabbatical Year, Thou shalt cause the Trumpet of the Jubilee to sound on the tenth Day of the seventh Month. The Observance of each Sabbatical Year was, I imagine, to begin as soon as the sixth Year's Crop could be got off the Ground in the Beginning of the seventh Year; for the Harvest in Canaan fell in the first Month [See and compare Josh. iii. 15. with 1 Chron. xii. 15.]: And when the Israelites had counted the seven times seven Years, so as to be in Observance of their seventh Sabbath Year, then on the tenth Day of the seventh Month, they were to begin a Year of Jubilee, only remembering, that they were not to reckon the Sabbath Year they were then keeping, to end upon commencing the Jubilee; for the seven Sabbaths of Years were to contain the Days of forty nine Years, which they would not have amounted to, if the seventh Sabbath Year was to have been thought finished,

gether (\approx): The first of these Laws obliged them to leave their Cities and Habitations exposed and without Defence to any Invaders, who might at such times make Incurſions upon them; for at these three Times in every Year, all their Males were to come up from all Parts of the Country into the Place where the Tabernacle was fixed before the Temple was built (*a*), and afterwards to the Temple at *Jerusalem*: The second must ordinarily speaking have brought upon them many Inconveniencies, as it required them to lose at once a whole Year's Produce of all their Country: And if the *Jubilee*

finished, on the tenth Day of the seventh Month, upon beginning the Jubilee. 4. As, according to this Account, the Year of Jubilee, did not begin and end with the Sabbatical Year; but commenced some Months later, and extended a like Space of Time longer; so it was evidently not any one of the Years contained in the seven Sabbaths of Years, tho' it was in Part concurrent with the last of them: and accordingly it is properly stiled in the Text a fiftieth Year, as not being any one of the forty nine before mentioned. If what has been offered may be admitted, then, 5. Tho' the Jubilee-Year began and ended some Months later than a Sabbatical Year; Yet, as the Season for Seed-time did not come on in Canaan before the fifteenth Day of the seventh Month was over [See Levit. xxiii. 39.] the Jubilee-Year ending as it began, on the tenth Day of this seventh Month, did not command a Year's Neglect of Harvest and Tillage, other than what the Sabbath Year in part concurrent with it enjoined: Only perhaps the Year of Jubilee obliged them to defer preparing their Lands some Months longer than a Sabbatical Year, not attended with a Jubilee, required; causing them hereby to end every forty ninth or seventh Sabbatical Year, with, as I might say, a greater Solemnity.

(\approx) Levit. xxv. 8—12. (*a*) Deut. xvi. 1 Sam. i. 3.

Year

Year was to be kept, as is above hinted, and they were not to sow nor reap in the fiftieth Year, when the Year immediately foregoing had been a *Sabbath* Year, this, one would think, must have distressed them with the Extremities of a Famine (b): *Moses* had a full sense, that all these Evils might attend the Observance of these Laws: He was well apprized that, as *Canaan* was an inland Country, and his *Israelites* were to be surrounded with, and open to many foreign Nations, it could never be thought agreeable to good Policy, three times a Year to draw all the Males from the Frontiers of the Land; for what would this be less, than to give every Enemy they had, so many remarkable and well-known Opportunities to enter their Coasts without Fear of Resistance, and to plunder or take possession of them, as they pleased? And can it be conceived, that any State or Kingdom could be long flourishing, that should be bound by Law to expose it self in this manner? But against these Fears *Moses* assured his People, that God would protect them: He sets before them God's Promise: *I will cast out the Nations before thee, and en-*

(b) We find a sore Famine in Samaria in *Elijah's* Time, from unseasonable Weather for three Years together, 1 Kings xvii. xviii.

large thy Borders, neither shall any Man desire thy Land when thou shalt go up to appear before the Lord thy God thrice in the Year (c); So that in obeying this Command, the *Israelites* were three times a Year to expose themselves contrary to all Rules of good Policy, in Confidence of a marvellous Protection of God, who had promised to prevent any Enemies taking Advantage of their so doing. In like manner, *Moses* answers the Objection to be made to the observing the Law for the seventh or *Sabbatical Year*: *If ye shall say* [says he to them in the Name and Words of God] *What shall we eat the seventh Year? Behold, we shall not sow nor gather in our Increase: Then I will command my Blessing upon you in the sixth Year, and it shall bring forth Fruit for three Years (d)*; a most extraordinary Produce was promised all over the Land, at all times the Year before they were to begin their Neglect of Harvest and Tillage. And now can any one imagine,

(c) Exod. xxxiv. 24.

(d) The Meaning of the Expression for three Years is explained by what follows, Levit xxv. 22. And ye shall sow the eighth Year, and eat yet of old Fruit until the ninth Year; until the Fruits come in, ye shall eat of the old Store: The Promise meant not that the sixth Year's Produce should last the Term of three complete Years; but that it should suffice for the seventh Year, for the eighth Year, and for a Part of the ninth Year, namely, until the Harvest, in the Beginning of the ninth Year, should bring in the Fruits of the eighth Year's Tillage.

that *Moses* could ever have thought of obliging the *Israelites* to such Laws as these, if God had not really given a particular Command about them? Or would the *Israelites* have been so weak, as to obey such pernicious Injunctions, if they had not had a sufficient Evidence, that the Commands were of God, and that he would indeed protect them in their Observance of them? Or had they been so romantic, as to have gone into an Obedience to keep such Institutions as these, if they had not been of God, and without an especial Providence to protect and preserve them from the Consequences that would naturally arise from them; would not a few Years Trial have brought home to them a dear bought Experience of so great a Folly? Their Enemies would unquestionably have many times made Advantage of the Opportunities they gave them, to enter their Country: And a sixth Year's Crop no better than ordinary, must have perpetually convinced them that the Observance of the *Sabbatical* Year was a mere idle Fancy, not supported by such a Blessing from God as they had been told was annexed to it. The *Israelites* fell indeed into a great Neglect of observing their *Sabbatical* Years some Centuries before their Captivity(e); but it is remarkable, that they

(e) Prideaux's Pref. to C. nation Part I.

thought themselves to have had so little Colour for this Breach of their Duty, from any Failure of God's Promise to them, that they looked upon the Number of Years which their Land was to be desolate, when they were carried to *Babylon*, to be a particular Judgment upon them, designed by God to answer to the Number of the *Sabbatical* Years, which had not been observed by them, (f): After the Captivity the *Jews* were more observant of this Injunction; we find them keeping their *Sabbath* Years in the times of *Alexander* the Great; for upon Account of their not tilling their Lands in those Years, they petitioned him for a Remission of every seventh Year's Tribute (g). As to the Command for appearing three times in the Year before the Lord, we find it practised by the *Jews* to their very latest Times: When *Cestius* the Roman came against *Lydda*, he found no Men in the City; for they were all gone to *Jerusalem* to the Feast of Tabernacles (ff), and afterwards when *Titus* laid Siege to *Jerusalem*, he shut up in it, as it were, the whole *Jewish* Nation; for they were

(f) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21. (g) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 11. c. 8. Thus they kept their *Sabbatical* Years in the times of the *Maccabees*, 1 Mac. vi. 49, 53. (ff) Joseph. de bello Judaic. Lib. 2. c. 19.

then assembled there to keep the Feast of unleavened Bread (gg): *Josephus* indeed remarks, that the keeping this Feast at the time of *Titus* his coming to besiege *Jerusalem*, greatly conduced to the concluding the Fate of his Country (h); but we are to observe, that this did not happen until after our Saviour's Times; until the *Jews* were given up by God, and their City and Polity were to be troden down of the Gentiles (i.)

Upon the Death of *Moses*, A. M. 2554, at the Beginning of the Year, *Joshua* took the Command of the *Israelites*; and when the Days of Mourning for *Moses* were over, he prepared, according to Directions which God had given him, to remove the Camp, and to enter *Canaan* (k): But before he began to march, he sent two Spies to *Jericho*, a City over against the Camp, on the other side the River *Jordan* (l): The Spies, when they came to *Jericho*, went to the House of a Woman named *Rakab*, and lodged there (m): She concealed them from the Search which the King of *Jericho* made for them, and after three Days they came back to *Joshua*, and reported to him what Terror the Inhabitants of (mm) *Ca-*

(gg) *Joseph. de bello Judiac. Lib. 6. c. 19.* (h) *Joseph. ibid.* (i) *Luke xxi. 24.* (k) *Josh. i.* (l) *ii. 1.* (m) *Numb. xxii. 1.* (mm) *Josh. ii. 1.* (mm) *ver. 2—24.*

naan were in upon Account of the *Israelites*: The Behaviour of *Rahab* to the Spies was indeed extraordinary, and cannot but at first sight appear liable to Objections; for upon what Principle could she receive into her House the known Enemies of her Country, conceal them from the Searchers, and dismiss them in Safety, contrary to her Duty to the Publick, and Allegiance to the King of *Jericbo*? We are told, that she professed her self to know, that the God of the *Israelites* was *God in Heaven above, and in Earth beneath* (n), and that *the Lord had given them the Land* (o); but we are not informed by the Writer of the Book of *Joshua*, whether she collected these Things only from having heard, what she mentioned to the Spies, how the Waters of the Red-Sea were dried up, and the Kings of the *Amorites* on the other side of *Jordan* were conquered and destroyed (p); or whether God had been pleased to give her any special Direction to entertain the Spies, in obeying which she was to save her Family from Ruin; however, the Book of *Joshua* is but a short Account of what the *Israelites* did, and of what happened to them whilst they were under the Command of their

(n) Josh. ii. 11. (o) ver. 9. (p) ver. 10.

Leader of that Name; and we may imagine, that many Circumstances attending some Facts recorded in it, were perhaps registred by some other Hands, and afterwards related more at large in other Books that are now lost (*q*): The Writer of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* says of *Rahab*, that, *By Faith she perished not with them that believed not, when she had received the Spies with Peace* (*r*): And if we compare what she did with the Actions of other Persons mentioned with her by the sacred Writer, as influenced by a like Faith, we must judge of her, that she had received some Command from God, and that she acted in Obedience to it: *By Faith Noah being warned of God of Things not seen as yet, moved with Fear* (*s*), *prepared an Ark to the saving of his House* (*t*): He received an express Revelation, that the World was to perish by Water, and was instructed by God how he might save himself and Family (*u*); he believed what God revealed to him, made an Ark in Obedience to the Orders that were given him, and by thus believing, and acting according to his Belief, he saved himself and Family from perishing: In like manner, *Rahab* undoubtedly was informed by

(*q*) Josh. x. 13. (*r*) Heb. xi. 31. (*s*) ver. 7.
The Word is ενλαβηθηεις (*t*) *ibid.* (*u*) Gen. vi. 13, 14, &c.

some Revelation of God's Will, and acted in Obedience to it, or she could not have been an Instance of the Faith which the inspired Writer treats of in the Chapter where she is mentioned: Had she proceeded upon a general Report, or had she enquired and been assured upon the best Information, that the People, who were about invading the Country she belonged to, had been wonderfully raised up and preserved by the miraculous Power of God, and that they were likely to conquer and destroy all that would not submit to them, and been hence induced to think, that it would be prudent for her to ingratiate herself with them, if possibly she might thereby save herself and Family from Ruin; all this, I think, would not have justified her Conduct; but her concealing the Spies upon these Motives would have been a Treachery to her Country, and might at last have proved a vain as well as wicked Action; for unless she certainly knew, that God designed to give the *Ijraelites* Possession of *Jericho*, his having hitherto protected them could be no Argument, that they would be enabled to destroy every City which they might have a mind to attack and depopulate: But if the Design of God towards the Inhabitants of *Canaan* had been made known to the King and People of *Jericho*, and he and they had been

been

been sufficiently warned to save themselves from the Destruction that was coming upon them; if they would not obey, but upon their Refusal, if *Rahab* believed, and obediently acted according to what was required of her, her whole Behaviour will stand clear of every Imputation: And this appears to me to have been her Case: *Rahab perished not with them that believed not* (w); the Greek Words are, *not τοῖς ἀπίστοις, with the Unbelievers, but τοῖς ἀπειθήσασι, that is, with them who were disobedient* (x): But how can the Inhabitants of *Jericho* be said to have been disobedient, if God had required nothing of them? Some sufficient Information both they and *Rahab* must particularly have had, or they could not have been condemned as disobedient, refusing to obey what they were directed to; nor could she have been an instance of one, who was saved by her Faith, *i. e.* by believing and acting according to the Will of God made known to her. The Writer of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* suggests nothing that contradicts any Fact recorded in *Joshua*; but by the mention he makes of *Rahab's* Case, it is evident, that there were some Circumstances attending it, which in *Joshua* are not recounted: Admit these Circumstances, and her Behaviour is clear of every Ap-

(w) Heb. ubi sup.

(x) 1 Pet. iii. 20.

pearance of a Crime, nay it is just and commendable: And the Writer of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* needed not to have made *Rabab* an Instance of the Faith he was treating of, if he had not sufficient Grounds for what he intimates about her; especially when he had so many illustrious Patterns in his Mind, as not to have room particularly to treat of many of them (y): And thus, after all, what our modern Reasoners think they have to insinuate against *Rabab*, as guilty of a Treachery to her Country, is but an unjust Accusation, founded upon a partial View of the Circumstances attending what she did, and the Motives she had to do it.

The Day after the Return of the Spies from *Jericho*, early in the Morning *Joshua* removed the Camp to the Banks of *Jordan* (z): Here they halted for three Days (a): After the three Days the proper Officers instructed the People for their passing the River, according to the Directions which God had given (b), and on the next Day the Waters of *Jordan* were miraculously divided; so that the *Israelites* marched thro' the Channel on dry Ground (c): They were near a whole Day in their March thro' the River,

(y) Heb. xi. 32. (z) Josh. iii. 1. (a) ver. 2.
 (b) ver. 3, &c. (c) ver. 16, &c.

and they made their Passage thro' the River on the tenth (d) Day of the first Month of the Year, and it is easy to adjust the particular Transactions, mentioned from the Beginning of the Month unto this tenth Day, to the several Days they belong to: On the first Day of the Month *Joshua* sent the Spies to *Jericho*: The King of *Jericho* ordered the Search for them the very Night they came thither (e): *Rabab*, before they went to sleep, conferred with them, and let them down out of the City from the Window of her House (f): They hid themselves in the Mountain for three Days (g), and therefore came to *Joshua* on the Evening of the fourth Day: On the fifth Day of the Month the Camp removed from *Shittim* to *Jordan* (h): After three Days, or on the ninth Day, the Officers went thro' the Host (i) to instruct the People for their going over the River, and on the Morrow they were to see the Wonders which the Lord designed to do among them (k), and accordingly, on the tenth Day of the Month, the Waters were divided, and they passed over *Jordan*.

When all the People were clean passed over Jordan, God commanded Joshua to

(d) *Josh.* iv. 19. (e) ii. 2. (f) ver. 8.
 (g) ver. 22. (h) iii. 1. (i) ver. 2. (k) ver. 5.

send twelve Men, one out of each Tribe, back to the Place, where the Priests that bare the Ark stood in the midst of the River (*l*), and to order them, each Man to take upon his Shoulder a Stone out of the River, and to bring it on Shore with him (*m*), and on the next Day *Joshua* pitched these Stones in *Gilgal* (*n*) for a Monument, to perpetuate to future Generations a Remembrance of the Waters of *Jordan* being miraculously divided for the *Israelites* marching thro' the River into (*o*) *Canaan*: The ninth Verse of this Chapter seems to intimate, that besides the twelve Stones that were pitched in *Gilgal*, *Joshua* set up also twelve other Stones in the midst of the River: 'The LXX (*q*) and the *Chaldee Paraphrast* took the Text in this Sense (*r*); but the *Syriac* (*s*) and *Arabic* Translators (*t*) thought otherwise, and *Josephus* seems to have had no Notion of any more than one Monument set up on this Occasion (*u*). We read of no Command to *Joshua* to erect any in the midst of the River: And if he really

(*l*) *Josh.* iv. 1 — 3. (*m*) *ver.* 5. (*n*) *ver.* 8, 20.
 (*o*) *ver.* 7, 21 — 24. (*q*) Ἐστῆσε ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἀλλοὺς
 δωδεκά λίθους ἐν ἀντῶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ &c. *Verſio* LXX.
Græc. (*r*) *Vid.* *Targ. Jonathan.* in *Loc.* (*s*) *Lapides,*
inquam, duodecim crexerunt, quos tulerunt è medio Jor-
danis deſub pedibus Sacerdotum. Verſio Syriac. in *Loc.*
 (*t*) *The Arabic Verſion leaves out the ninth Verſe.*
 (*u*) *Vid.* *Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. Lib. 1. c. 4.*

designed any thing of this nature, what would twelve Stones, no bigger than such as a Man could carry, have signified, if they had been laid upon one another in the Channel? *When the Waters of Jordan returned to their Place, and flowed over all his Banks, as they did before (w),* such a Monument would have been washed away by them. The Hebrew Words do indeed imply, that *Joshua set up twelve Stones in the midst of Jordan, in the Place where the Feet of the Priests, which bare the Ark of the Covenant, stood (x);* but I would submit it to the Judgment of the Learned, whether a small Mistake of ancient Copyists may not be supposed to have happened in this Passage: [תּוֹק הַיַּרְדֵּן] *be Tok ha Yarden* does indeed signify *in the midst of Jordan*: But if the Text was originally written not [בְּתוֹק] *be Tok*, but [מִתּוֹק] *mittok*, the Place will have quite a contrary Meaning: The Mistake of one single Letter, the Writing ב instead of ט before the Word [תּוֹק] *Tok* might happen and escape the Correction of Transcribers: And if we make this little Emendation, the Verse will run thus. *And Joshua set up twelve Stones from out of the*

(w) Josh. iv. 18.

(x) *The Hebrew Words of the Text are*

וַיִּשְׂתָּם עֲשָׂרָה אֲבָנִים הַקֵּימָה יְהִישֵׁעַ בְּתוֹק הַיַּרְדֵּן
 הַזֶּה מִשֵּׁב רֵגְלוֹ וּמִבְּנֵימָה נִשְׂאוֹ אֶרְוֶן הַבְּרִית

midst of Jordan, from under the Station of the Feet of the Priests, who carried the Ark (y), and hints only what is repeated more fully towards the Close of the Chapter, that *Joshua* set up in *Gilgal* those twelve Stones which were taken up out of *Jordan*: As to the Words which end this ninth Verse, *And they are there unto this Day*, these were originally no Part of the Text of *Joshua*, but rather a Remark made in a later Age in a MS. of this Book: We find several of these in the sacred Pages (a); which having not been duly kept distinct, are handed down to us, as if they were indeed Part of the Text in the Places where they are added.

Some Modern Writers mention the River *Jordan* as a Stream of no very considerable Breadth or Depth, and from their Notion of it, it may be thought that a Miracle could not be much wanted to enable the *Israelites* to get over it. *Sandys* says, that it is “not navigably deep, nor “above eight Fathoms broad, nor (except “by Accident) heady (b)”: But I would observe: 1. That the sacred Books do constantly represent this River as not fordable,

(y) If the learned Reader thinks the Præfix ב necessary before the Word בַּיּוֹדָן , we may reasonably suppose the Copyist, having made the Mistake above-mentioned, to have here dropped this Letter. (a) See *Prideaux's Connect.* Vol. I. B. 5. (b) *Sandys's Travels*, B. III. p. 141.

except at some particular Places, made probably by Art, that the Countries on each side the Water might have a Communication. Thus the Spies, who were sent by *Joshua* to *Jericho*, when they were pursued by the Searchers, are not represented to have found any Way to return to the Camp but by the Fords of *Jordan* (c). In like manner when *Ehud* and the *Israelites* had taken the Fords of *Jordan*, not a Man of the *Moabites* could pass the River (d). And thus the *Gileadites* intrapped the *Ephraimites*: They took the Passages of *Jordan*, and then the Fugitives of *Ephraim* having no Way to get over the River, fell into their hands (e): *Elijah* passed over *Jordan* with *Elisha*, near unto the Place where the *Israelites* entred *Canaan* (f), and *Elisha* repassed it when *Elijah* was taken from him; But a Miracle was wrought by both of them in order to their getting over (g); which undoubtedly neither would they have attempted, nor would God have enabled them to perform, if they could have passed over in that Place without it. But, 2. We have modern Testimonies sufficient to refute any one that should imagine the River *Jordan*, to have been an inconsiderable

(c) *Josh.* ii. 2. (d) *Judg.* iii. 28. (e) *xii.* 5.
 (f) *2 Kings* ii. 4, 5, 7, 8, 13, 15. (g) *ibid.*

Stream, easily forded in any Part of it: *Sandys* took his View of it at a Place where, in length of Time, the Channel was landed up, and the Flow of Water nothing so great, as it had been in former Ages (*i*): *Thevnot* went to or near the Place where the *Israelites* passed over it, and describes it to be “ deep, half as “ broad as the *Seine* at *Paris*, and very “ rapid” (*k*), and according to *Maundrel*, the River is hereabouts “ twenty Yards “ over within its Channel, deeper than “ a Man’s Height, and runs with a “ Current, that there is no swimming “ against it (*l*)”. But whatever be the now State of the River *Jordan*, how obvious is it to observe, 3. That all the Parts of our Globe are liable to great Alterations, and the Course of Rivers admit of many Changes in the Revolutions of Ages: *Jordan* was a much larger River than it now is, when the *Israelites* came into *Canaan*: In *Pliny’s* Time it filled a larger Channel than it now runs in (*m*), and when *Strabo* wrote, Vessels of Burden were navigated in it (*n*): But, 4. *Jordan overfloweth all his Banks all the Time of Harvest* (*o*), and the Time

(*i*) *Sandys’s Travels*, p. 197. (*k*) *Thevnot’s Travels*, p. 193. (*l*) *Journey from Aleppo*, p. 83. (*m*) *Annis*, quatenus patitur locorum situs, ambitiosus. *Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 5. c. 19.* (*n*) *Vid. Strab. Geogr. Lib. 16. p. 755.* (*o*) *Josh. iii. 15. 1 Chron. xii. 15. Eccclus. xxiv. 26.*

of Harvest was in this first Month, when the *Israelites* entred *Canaan* (p): *Maundrel* observes, that upon this Flow of *Jordan*, the Waters had anciently covered a large Strand, and washed up to an outer Bank about a Furlong from the common Channel (q): At this time there could be no passing it, and therefore the *Israelites* being now able to get over was very extraordinary, and it is no Wonder, that when the Kings of the *Amorites* on the West Side of *Jordan*, and all the Kings of the *Canaanites* by the Sea, heard how the Waters were dried up from before the Children of *Israel*, their Heart melted, and there was no Spirit in them (r); because, whatever might have been attempted when the River ran in its ordinary Channel, the Passage of the *Israelites* was at the Time of a known and annual Flood, when the Waters flowed to a great Height, and an Attempt to get over them was, naturally speaking, impossible.

After the *Israelites* were over the River, *Joshua* encamped at *Gilgal* on the East Side of *Jericho*, and here God directed him to revive the Rite of Circumcision (s); for the *Israelites* had circumcised none of their Children that

(p) See 1 Chron. xii. 15. (q) *Maundrel's Journey from Aleppo.* ubi sup. (r) *Jesh.* v. 1. (s) *Ver.* 2.

were born after the *Exit* out of *Egypt* until this Time (*w*): What occasioned this Neglect is not said expressly, but it is easy to guess it: The Covenant which the *Israelites* made with God in *Horeb*, was to do and observe all the Things which the Lord should command them (*x*), and they were to be strictly careful not to make any thing a Rite of their Religion, which the Lord commanded them not (*y*): And therefore tho' God had ordered *Abraham* to circumcise himself and Children, and to injoin his Posterity to use this Rite; yet when God was giving the *Israelites* a new Law, in the manner which he now did by the hand of *Moses*, I imagine they could not warrantably take any Rite, how ancient or usual soever, as Part of it, unless God himself gave them a Command for it: God indeed had given them a Command for Circumcision: We find it amongst the Laws given after the Death of (*z*), *Nadab* and *Abihu* the Sons of *Aaron*, who were killed by Fire from the Lord, for offering Incense in a manner which he commanded them not (*a*); an Incident that could not but admonish the whole Camp to be careful to obey God's

(*w*) Josh. v. 5, 7.
Deut. v. 27. xxvi. 17.
(*z*) Levit. xii. 3.

(*x*) Exod. xix. 8. xxiv. 3, 7.
(*y*) See B. XI. p. 185, &c.

(*a*) x. 1.

Voice indeed, and not to mingle their own Fancies in the Performance of any of his Institutions; and the Vengeance, that had so lately fallen upon the two Sons of *Aaron*, seems to have given them a due Caution in this Matter: Tho' the Passover was a Feast, which they were commanded to keep to the Lord throughout their Generations, by an Ordinance for ever (*b*); yet we see they did not attempt their second Celebration of it, without an express Command from God for it (*c*); nor venture to proceed in a Case of Doubt, which arose about the Men, who were defiled by the dead Body of a Man, but stood still, until *Moses* heard what the Lord would command concerning them (*d*): In like manner, as the Law for Circumcision required the Males to be circumcised at eight Days old (*e*), and was not given until within the second Year of the *Exit*, when there must have been in the Camp great Numbers of Children uncircumcised, who were past the Day of Age, at which this Rite was appointed to be performed, there could not but arise great Matter of Doubt, when or how these were to be put *under the Law*, and the *Israelites* not receiving Directions from God how to proceed herein was, I should think,

(*b*) Exod. xii. 14.

(*c*) Numb. ix. 1, 2, 3.

(*d*) ver. 6, 7, 8.

(*e*) Levit. xii. 3.

the Reason, that they *stood still* in this Matter. The *Critics* and Annotators abound in assigning Reasons for the Omission of Circumcision in which the *Israelites* had lived hitherto (*f*) ; but I think they are not happy in assigning the true one: We find no Fault imputed to the *Israelites* for their Neglect of it, and it was God that now *rolled away the Reproach of Egypt from off* them (*g*) ; so that the *Israelites* had long esteemed it a Reproach to them, that they did not practise this Rite ; but their Misfortune was, God had not yet given them Orders how or when to begin it, and therefore they were forced to live in an Omission of it. Some Writers misunderstand the Expression here made use of: A State of Uncircumcision is called *the Reproach of Egypt*, that is, say they, the *Egyptians* thought it a Reproach to them who lived in it: It is indeed necessary to take the Words in this Sense, if we would infer from them, that Circumcision was originally an *Egyptian* Rite, and that the *Hebrews* learned from them the Use of it: This is indeed a favourite Point with these Writers, but I have already proved it to have no Foundation (*b*), and I would here observe, that the true Meaning of the Expression *the Re-*

(*f*) Vid. Pol. Synopf. Critic. in loc.
 (*b*) See Vol. I. B. V.

(*g*) Josh. v. 9.

proach of Egypt, is directly contrary to the Sense which these Writers would give to it: *My Reproach, my Shame, my Dishonour* (i), do all signify, not what I may have to impute to others, but what others may object to me: In like manner, *the Reproach of Egypt*, or *Egyptian Reproach*, signifies not what the *Egyptians* might think a Disrepute to others, but what other Nations esteemed a Blemish and Defect in *them*: We find an Expression of like Import thus used by one of the most elegant *Classics*. The Swallow is said to be, unhappy Bird

— *Cecropiæ domûs*
Æternum opprobrium (k)

the everlasting *Reproach of the House of Cecrops*, not as hinting any Thing, for which the Descendants of *Cecrops* might reproach others; but upon Account of Facts, that were a lasting Dishonour to this Family: Not the *Egyptians* therefore at this Time, but the *Israelites* thought Uncircumcision a disreputable Thing, and accounted all Nations profane, who did not use this Institution, and the *Egyptians* at this Time not observing this Rite, this, in the Esteem of the *Israelites*, was their Reproach, was a Thing opprobrious or a Disgrace to them; and therefore when God

(i) Gen. xxx. 23. 2 Sam. xiii. 13. Psal. lxix. 19.
 (k) Hor. Carn. Lib. IV. Ode XII.

here appointed the *Israelites* to be circumcised, he rolled away the *Reproach of Egypt* from off them; he removed from them that State of Uncircumcision, which they thought an infamous Defect in the *Egyptians*. It may be here queried, whether the *Egyptians* could at this time be an uncircumcised Nation, if, as I have formerly supposed, they received the Rite of Circumcision very near as early as the Times of *Abraham* (l): But I think an Answer hereto is not difficult: The *Pastors* overran *Egypt* some Time before the Birth of *Moses*, and overturned the ancient Establishment in the Parts they conquered (m), and many Points both of the Policy and Religion of *Egypt* were neglected by them: These *Pastors* were, I think, the *Horites*, who fled from the Children of *Esau* out of the Land of *Edom* (n): They were an uncircumcised People: And as they took all Methods they could think proper, when they had got possession of the Land, to oppress the ancient Inhabitants, and to establish themselves; it is not likely they should pay so much Regard to the Institutions of the *Egyptian* Religion, as once to think of submitting to a Rite, the Operation of which, would for a Time disable them for War, and

(l) See Vol. I. B. V. in Just. (m) Vol II. B. VII. ad fin. 8.
(n) Vol. II. B. VII.

give the *Egyptians* an Opportunity to attack and destroy them (o): Here therefore we may suppose a Neglect of Circumcision introduced amongst the *Egyptians*: The *Israelites* were in *Egypt*, before these *Pastors* invaded the Land, and tho' they suffered great Oppressions from their Tyranny (p), yet they did not, in Compliance with these their new Masters, part with this Rite of their Religion, and it might, in their Opinion, be a Matter of particular Reproach to the *Egyptians* that they had not only fallen under the Power of foreign Conquerors; but in Compliance to them had altered and corrupted their Religion. There are two Points obvious to be remarked upon the Revival of Circumcision by *Joshua*: The one, that the *Israelites* must hereupon have a convincing Demonstration, that all their Fathers were to a Man dead, against whom God had denounced, that their Carcases should fall in the Wilderness (q); for upon this Renewal of Circumcision, none having been circumcised from the Time of the *Exit* until now (r), it became evident how many of the Camp had been in *Egypt*, and by computing the Age of those who had

(o) *The Sichemites were destroyed by the Sons of Jacob, when they were fore, after having been circumcised.* Gen. xxxiv. 25. (p) Vol II. B. VII. (q) *Numb. xiv.* (r) *Josh. v. 5.*

been there, it would appear, that there were no Persons then alive except *Caleb* and *Joshua*, who were twenty Years old, when the Pole was taken in the Year after the *Exit* (s): The other Point is, that as the *Israelites* were now in an Enemy's Country, in the Neighbourhood of a powerful and populous City, and could not be secure any one Day, that the *Canaanites* might not attempt to march against them: If God had not required it, *Joshua* could never have thought this a proper Time, to disable any (t) Part of the Camp by circumcising them, and therefore that he most certainly had a Command from God for what he did in this Matter.

On the fourteenth Day of the Month at Even, the *Israelites* kept the Passover in the Plains of *Jericho* (p), and on the fifteenth Day they began the Feast of unleavened Bread (q) according to the Orders they had received for keeping it (r); and it being now Wheat Harvest in the Land of *Canaan*, they reaped of the Corn, which was ripe in the Fields, and made their unleavened Cakes with it (ss); and God having now brought them into the Country, where Provisions were plentiful, the miraculous Food, which he had hitherto

(s) Numb. xii. 1. (t) See Gen. xlii. 25.
 (p) J. i. v. 10. (q) ver. 11. (r) See Levit. xxiii. 6.
 (ss) J. ii. v. 11.

given them, ceased; for on the sixteenth Day, and from thence forwards, there fell no *Manna* (t): The Commentators suggest a Difficulty in determining what Produce of the Land the *Israelites* made use of: They remark, that the *Sheaf* of the First-fruits of the Harvest was to be waved before the Lord, and a Day set apart for the waving it, and performing the Offerings that were to attend it, before it was lawful to eat of the Fruits of the Ground (u), and the *Israelites* not having performed this Injunction, they contend that they used in their Feast of unleavened Bread, not of the Corn then growing and ripe in the Fields; but rather of Corn of a former Year's Produce (w): Our Translators favour this Opinion, and render the Place, *They did eat of the old Corn of the Land*: And *Drusius* and *Bonfrerius* thought they could conjecture, how a sufficient Supply of such old Corn might be had for them (x): *Drusius* imagines, that they found Corn-Dealers to buy it of; *Bonfrerius*, that they seized upon Stores of Corn laid up by the *Canaanites*: But, 1. It seems far more reasonable to imagine, that the *Israelites* reaped the Crop, which the Fields before them afforded, than that they should either find Stores sufficient in the Plains of *Jeri-*

(t) Josh. v. 12.

(u) Levit. xxiii. 10.

(w) Vid. Pool. Synopf. in loc.

(x) Pool. ibid.

cho, or Merchants, that either could or would produce enough for the Occasions of such a numerous hostile Army: 2. It does not appear, that the Observance of the Wave-sheaf Offering, was to commence immediately upon their Entrance into the Land: I should rather think they began this Performance upon the first Harvest from their own Tillage: And this seems to have been *Josephus's* Opinion, for, 3. He expressly asserts the *Israelites* to have reaped and used the Crop they found ripe and standing in the Fields of *Canaan* (y): 4. None of the ancient Versions favour what our Translators hint, that the *Israelites* used here the old Corn of the Land. Nor, 5. do the Words of *Joshua* at all suggest it. It is indeed a common Remark of the *Critics*, that the *Hebrew* Word [מְנַבֵּר] *Mēnabur* here used, being derived from the Verb [*Nabar*] to pass, must necessarily signify the Crop, not of the present, but of the past Year; but as the Word occurs, I think, no where in the Bible, but in the Passage before us, 'tis not so easy to be certain of its Signification: The Verb *Nabar* not only signi-

(y) *Josephus's* Words are: Καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξέταζον ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ γῆσιν, τὸ ἴδιον ὃν αὐτοῖς νεότερον συνέλαυνε σπανίζοντα τῆς Ἰουδαίας εὐπορόντες, τῆς γὰρ σίτου ἀπερὶ ζῆλον ἢ τῆς Καναανῶν ἐδέεζον. *Antiq. Lib. 5. cap. 4.*

fies to *pass*, but in the Conjugation *Pibel*, to *cause to be big with Young*: It is thus used in the Book of *Job* (z), and by a *Metaphor* authorized by *Tully* in (a) a *Latin Word* of this Signification, [*Nibber*] may express to cause the Earth to be impregnated or loaden with Corn, and [*Menabur*] may be a Noun derived from the *Participle* of this Conjugation, and signify the Burden or Crop upon the Ground; and the Suggestion of the *Israelites* using old Corn of a past Year's Growth, will thus appear to have no Foundation in the *Hebrew Text* at all.

Upon the *Israelites* Encampment in the Plains of Jericho, the Inhabitants of that City shut up their Gates, and kept close within their Walls (b): The Cities of the *Canaanites* were encompassed with Walls so high, as to be said to be fenced up to Heaven (c); and Men had not yet invented proper Engines of War for the assaulting such Towns, so as to get possession of them: We shall find, Ages after these Times, Cities impregnable to the greatest Armies, by the Strength and Height of their Walls:

(z) Job xxi. 10. (a) *Tully thus uses the Word Gravidati. He says, Quod si ea, quæ à Terrâ illis,ibus continentur, arte Nature vivunt et vigent; profectò ipsa Terra eâdem vi continetur et arte Nature, quippe quæ gravidata Seminibus, omnia pariat, et fundat ex sese: De Nat. Deorum. Lib. 2. c. 33.* (b) *Joh. vi. 1.*

(c) *Deut. ix. 1.*

The City of *Troy* could never have been taken by the *Greeks* without a Stratagem, and *Joshua* was obliged to invent an Artifice in order to gain Entrance into *Ai* (d): The Men of *Jericho* having shut up their City might reasonably think themselves secure from the *Israelites*, and *Joshua* and his Army could have no Hopes of reducing them, except by starving them into a Surrender; unless they could allure them to make Sallies, and thereby get an Opportunity of beating back their Forces to the City, and entring with them: But here the Lord appeared unto *Joshua* in the Form of a Man with a drawn Sword in his Hand (e): The Person, who now appeared, called himself the Prince, or Leader, or *Captain of the Host of the Lord* (f), a very proper Appellation for that divine Person, who had frequently appeared unto *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Moses*; for the Lord of Hosts is his Name (g), is one of his Titles: That the Person, who at this time appeared to *Joshua*, was not an Angel, but this God of *Israel*, seems evident from the Worship which *Joshua* paid him (h), and from his requiring the same Regard to be had to his Presence, as he before demanded from *Moses*, when he called himself the God of *Abraham*, the God of

(d) *J. 6. v. 7.* (e) *v. 13.* (f) *ver. 14.*
 (g) *See Gen. 22. 14.* (h) *J. 6. v. 17.*

Isaac, and the God of *Jacob* (i); and accordingly *Joshua* gives him the incommunicable (k) Name of God, calling him *Jehovah*, in his Relation of what he said to him (l). He told *Joshua*, that he had given *Jericho* into his Hand, and the King thereof, and the mighty Men of Valour (m); He instructed him what he expected the *Israelites* to do, to express their Reliance on his Promise (n); and when they had for seven Days marched round *Jericho* in the Manner which *the Lord* had directed, the Walls of *Jericho* without any Assault fell down flat upon the Ground, and they entered the Town and sacked it, and put all the Inhabitants, Man, Woman, and Child to the Sword, except *Rahab* and her Family, and destroyed all the Cattle, and burnt the City; only the Silver and Gold, and the Vessels of Brass and Iron, they reserved, according to the Directions which had been given them (o): And *Joshua* pronounced the Man to be accursed, who should ever attempt to rebuild *Jericho*, and prophesied, that he should lay the Foundation thereof in his First-born, and in his youngest Son set up the Gates of it (p); and this Prophecy was remarkably fulfilled

(i) Josh. v. 15. E. cod. iii. 5. 6. (k) See Vol. II. B. IX.
 Isa. xlii. 8. (l) Josh. vi. 2. (m) ibid.
 (n) ver. 3, 4, 5. (o) Josh. vi. 15. ——— 23.
 (p) ver. 25.

above five hundred Years after in the Days of *Ahab*; for in his Days *Hiel* the *Bethelite* built *Jericho*, and his eldest Son *Abiram* died, when he laid the Foundations, and his youngest Son *Scrug* died at his setting up the Gates of it (g). The taking of *Jericho* was much noised throughout all the Country (r), and the *Israelites* prepared to attack *Ai* a neighbouring City; but the Detachments appointed for this Service were intirely routed (s): Whereupon *Joshua* and the Elders of *Israel* consulted God, and were informed, that a Transgression had been committed in the sacking *Jericho*, for which they suffered this Punishment (t); and upon Enquiry, *Achan* the Son of *Carmi*, of the Tribe of *Judah*, was found to be the Transgressor, and he and his Family were condemned to Death, and all his Substance burnt in the Valley of *Achor*: After this exemplary Punishment of *Achan's* Transgression, the *Israelites* soon took *Ai*, and destroyed all the Inhabitants of it, and they took the Cattle and Spoil of the City for a Prey unto themselves; according to the Word of the Lord, which he commanded *Joshua* (u).

Moses had enjoined, that when they should have passed over *Jordan*, they

(g) 1 Kings xvi. 34. (r) Josh vi. 27. (s) viii. 5.
 (t) ver. 6—11. (u) 11—20. viii. 1—29.

should set up on Mount *Ebal* great Stones, and plaister them with Plaister, and write the Law upon them (*w*); and they were to build an Altar there unto the Lord their God, and to offer Burnt-offerings and Peace-offerings, and to celebrate a Feast unto the Lord (*x*); and they were to divide the People, and to place six of the Tribes on *Gerizim* a Mountain opposite to *Ebal*, and six on Mount *Ebal*, and then the *Levites* from Mount *Ebal* were to read, with a loud Voice, the Curses set down by *Moses* for the Transgressions of the Law (*y*), unto each of which the People were to answer *Amen* (*z*): Then the Blessings promised to the Observance of the Law were to be pronounced from Mount *Gerizim* (*a*), and hereby the *Israelites* were to make Acknowledgment of their Covenant with the Lord their God, and of their Obligation to keep his Commandments (*b*), and *Joshua* being now come to the Place, where these two Mountains were situate, took care to have every Part of what God had commanded herein, punctually performed (*c*).

It may not seem at first Sight easy to determine, what it was that *Joshua* here wrote upon the Stones, which he set up

(*w*) Deut. xxvii. 2, 3, 4. (*x*) ver. 5, 6, 7.
 (*y*) ver. 12, 13. (*z*) ver. 14, &c. (*a*) chap. xxviii.
 (*b*) xxvii. 9, 10. (*c*) Joth. viii. 30—35.

on Mount *Ebal*: The *Samaritans* indeed, if what they offer might be admitted, determine the Question very clearly; for in their *Pentateuch* in the XXth Chapter of *Exodus*, after the tenth Commandment, they add these with other Words; *And it shall be when the Lord thy God shall cause thee to enter the Land of the Canaanites which thou goest unto, to possess it, that thou shalt set up great Stones, and shalt plaister them with Plaister, and shalt write upon the Stones all the Words of this Law, &c.* So that according to this Account the Command for what was here to be done, was originally given in an audible Voice by God himself from Mount *Sinai* to all the People, and what *Moses* directed about it afterwards, must be understood with Reference, and agreeably to what God himself here first commanded about it; and accordingly the Command here given being, that the *Israelites* should write upon the Stones all the Words of *this Law*, namely of the Law just then published, (for there had then been no other as yet given) it will follow, that the Decalogue or ten Commandments was what they were to inscribe upon the Stones to be erected: This would unquestionably be the Fact, if what the *Samaritans* here insert in their *Pentateuch*, ought indeed to be inserted; but that it ought not is most evident; for *Moses* himself expressly testifies, that
when

when God spake the ten Commandments out of the midst of the Fire (*w*) from Mount *Sinai* unto the Assembly of the *Israelites*, that he spake only the ten Commandments, and added no more; and consequently, all that the *Samaritans* add here is a manifest Interpolation: And it is a known Imputation, which the *Jews* have ever charged them with, that they have tampered with this Place, as well as changed the Names of the two Mountains *Ebal* and *Gerizim*, putting *Gerizim* where *Moses* wrote *Ebal*, and *Ebal* where *Moses* wrote *Gerizim* (*x*), in order to procure a Veneration to Mount *Gerizim*, such as might favour their choosing it in Opposition to the *Jews* for their Place of Worship: And thus we have no Information from the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, about what *Josua* inscribed, or was directed to inscribe upon the Stones set up on Mount *Ebal*: The *Jewish* Writers abound in Fictions upon this Point: Some of them say that *Josua* inscribed the whole five Books of *Moses*; nay they add, that he did it seventy times over, in seventy different Languages, in order to leave Monuments, such as might instruct all the Nations upon Earth in the Law, and that in their own Tongue: And thus these Writers were so far from seeing any Difficulty in the Query, which to others

(*w*) Deut. v. 22. (*x*) See Prideaux's Connect. Part. I. B. VI. has

has seemed considerable ; namely, whether *Joshua* could find either Stones enow to contain, or had Time enough to inscribe so large a Transcript, as a Copy of the whole five Books of *Moses*, that they shew evidently, that nothing can be so marvellous, but that their Imagination can surmount it: If 700 or 7000 had been as favourite a Number with them as 70, they would have had no Scruple of multiplying the Copies up to their Humour: But 70 being the Number of the Elders of *Israel* chosen by *Moses*, and appointed by God to assist in the Government of his People (y) ; they hence imagined that there were originally from the Dispersion of Mankind but 70 Nations, and 70 different Languages in the World ; tho' considering that *Moses* and the High-Priest, joined with the seventy, made two more, they should have made 72 their darling Number, as it was afterwards when *Aristeas's* Fiction about the *Septuagint* Translation of the *Hebrew* Scriptures obtained amongst them (z). *Moses with the Elders of Israel commanded the People, saying, Keep all the Commandments which I command you this Day ; And it shall be on the Day, when you shall pass over Jordan ---, that thou shalt set thee up great Stones, and plaister them with Plaister, and thou shalt write upon*

(y) Numb. xi. (z) See Priccau's Connect Part. II. B. I.
them

them all the Words of this Law ———
 This was the Command which *Moses* gave about what they were to do at Mount *Ebal*, and I have often thought, that all the Words of this Law might be the Words of the Law he then at that time gave them; namely, the Words which *Moses* has set down in the xxvii and xxviii Chapters of *Deuteronomy*, beginning at the 15th Verse of the xxvii Chapter, *Cursed be the Man*, and so on to the End of the xxviii Chapter. That this was what *Joshua* wrote, and consequently what *Moses* had enjoined to be written, seems evident to me from the Account we have of *Joshua's* Performance (a) of this Commandment: *Joshua built an Altar unto the Lord God of Israel in Mount Ebal ——— an Altar of whole Stones ———, and he wrote there, upon the Stones, in the Presence (b) of the People, [Mishneh Torath Moseh,] i. e. a Copy of the Law of Moses; certainly not a Copy of all the Statutes of the Jewish Law; for the Stones of the Altar could not be sufficient to contain such a large Body of Institutions; rather he wrote the*

(a) Josh. viii. 30—32. (b) The Hebrew Text is,

וַיִּכְתֹּב - שָׁם עַל-הָאֲבָנִים אֵת מִשְׁנֵה תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה
 אֲשֶׁר כָּתַב לִפְנֵי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

i. e. And he wrote there upon the Stones a Copy of the Law of Moses, which he [i. e. Joshua] wrote, [we should say in English, and he wrote it] before the Faces [in the Presence] of the Children of Israel.

several Curses and Blessings, which *Moses* had charged to be here pronounced to the People (c): This appears to have been the Fact from the thirty fourth Verse. *Joshua*, after he had wrote the Law, read what he had written, *all the Words of the Law*; And what he read was only, *the Blessings and Cursings, according to all that is written in the Book of the Law, (d)*; so that he transcribed only the several Blessings and Cursings that *Moses* had recorded; these he copied out from the Book of the Law, and wrote upon the Stones [*Mishneh*] a Copy or *Duplicate* of them. As to the Opinion of some Writers, that *Joshua* might perhaps inscribe, not indeed all the Law of *Moses*, but an Abstract or *Compendium* of it; the Heads or Titles, say others; the Account we have of what *Joshua* wrote, does not favour any such Conjectures: He copied from the Book of the Law the several Blessings and Cursings, which were here to be pronounced: The Transcript of these is said to be *a Copy of the Law of Moses*, and so it was, as far as the particular Case they were here concerned in, obliged them to take a Copy of it.

The Success of the *Israelites* against *Jericho* and *Ai* alarmed the neighbouring Nations of *Canaan*, and caused them to form a Confederate Army for their common Safety (e); but the *Gibeonites*, who

(c) Deut. xxvii. 11, &c. (d) Josh. viii. 34. (e) ix. 1, 2.
were

were a People of the *Hivites* (*f*), declined the Association, and sent Ambassadors to *Joshua*, and by a Stratagem obtained a League with *Israel* (*g*). *Joshua* and the Elders of *Israel* appear to have treated unadvisedly with this People; for they *asked not Counsel* about them *at the Mouth of the Lord* (*h*): And it may be questioned whether the Treaty, which they went into with them, was not directly contrary to what God had commanded; for with some particular Nations, of one of which these *Gibconites* were a People (*i*), God had strictly commanded them, to *smite them and utterly destroy them*, and to *make no Covenant with them, nor shew Mercy unto them* (*k*): In like manner, there are Doubts to be raised concerning the *Israelites* Performance of what they had promised: When they came unto the Cities of this People, they *smote them not, because the Princes of the Congregation had sworn unto them by the Lord God of Israel* (*l*): They apprehended that they might *not touch them because of the Oath* which they had sworn *unto them* (*m*); and yet one would think, they did not truly keep the publick Faith which they had given; for tho' they did indeed let the *Gibeonites*

(*f*) Josh. xi. 19. (*g*) ver 4.—15. (*h*) ver. 14.
 (*i*) Exod xxxiv. 12, &c. (*k*) Deut. 7. 2. (*l*) Josh. ix.
 18. (*m*) ver. 20.

live, yet they did not perform this Promise in the publick Sense in which they seem to have treated with this People; they did not let them live a People; they took from them the very Being of a Nation; reduced them to a State of Servitude, which a brave and valiant People would probably have died a thousand Deaths, rather than have submitted to (n): These and other Reflexions that do naturally arise from what the Book of *Joshua* offers us upon this Affair, would induce us to enquire, whether the *Israelites* were absolutely commanded utterly to destroy all the Inhabitants of the seven Nations of *Canaan*; whether they could upon no Terms enter into a League with any of them; whether what the *Israelites* granted to the *Gibeonites* upon their Embassy, was contrary to what God had commanded; and how they at last acquitted themselves of the League they had made with them.

I. Were the *Israelites* absolutely commanded to destroy all the Inhabitants of the Nations, whose Lands God had given them for an Inheritance? I answer, No. The Direction to the *Israelites* was this: *When thou comest nigh unto a City to fight against it, then proclaim Peace unto it: and*

(n) Libertatem [*says* Caius Manius in Sallust. Lib. de bello Catilinar.] quam nemo bonus nisi cum vitâ simul amittit.

it shall be, if it make thee an Answer of Peace, and open to thee, then it shall be, that all the People that is found therein, shall be Tributaries unto thee, and shall serve thee (o): Thus the Israelites were to behave unto all Cities; unto the Cities of the Hittites, of the Amorites, of the Canaanites, of the Perizzites, of the Hivites, of the Jebusites, and of the Girgashites (p); as well as unto the Cities of other Nations, as is intimated from what follows: If [says Moses] it will make no Peace with thee, but will make War against thee, then thou shalt besiege it, and when the Lord thy God hath delivered it into thy Hands, thou shalt smite every Male thereof with the Edge of the Sword: But the Women and the little Ones, and the Cattle, and all that is in the City, even all the Spoil thereof, thou shalt take unto thy self— Thus shalt thou do unto all the Cities which are very far off from thee, which are not of the Cities of these Nations. But of the Cities of these People, which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an Inheritance,

(o) Deut. xx. 10, 11. (p) Trinas [says Rabbi Samuel Ben Nachman] Præmisit Joia Epistolas in Terram Israeliticam, seu potius Litteris tria proposuit; qui Fugam mallerent, aufugerent; qui Pacem, in Fœdus venirent; qui Bellum, arma susciperent: Unde Girgeæi credentes in Deum O. M. aufugerunt, in Africam se conferentes— Gibeonitæ in Fœdus veniebant, adeoque Terræ Israelitiæ Incolæ manebant; Reges triginta ac unus Bellum suscep-erunt, et cecidere: Gem. Hierosolym. Vid. Selden de Jure Nat. et Gentium, juxta disciplin. Hebræor. Lib. 6 c. 14. p. 116

thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth: But thou shalt utterly destroy them, namely, the Hittites, and the Amorites, the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee (s). In these Verses *Moses* directs the *Israelites* how they were to behave towards the Cities of their Enemies, that should attempt to hold out against them: And they were ordered to use a Severity towards the Nations of the Land of their Inheritance, if they refused Peace, greater than towards the Cities of other Nations for the like Obstinacy; which there had been no room to enjoin, if these Nations were to have been utterly destroyed without any Offers of Peace to be made to them: But the *Israelites* were to proclaim Peace to all the Cities of their Enemies; and whatever City accepted the Offer, the Inhabitants of it were to become their Servants: But if the Peace thus offered was refused, then, if the City that rejected it was not one of the Land of their Inheritance, the *Israelites*, as soon as they had reduced it, were to put all the

(s) Deut. xx. 12 — 17. Our present Hebrew Copies seem to have omitted the Gurgashites, who were one of the seven Nations, that were to be destroyed; See Deut. vii. The Samaritan Text supplies this Defect in this Place, and gives us the seven Nations in this Order, the Canaanites and the Amorites, and the Hittites, and the Gurgashites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites.

Men to the Sword, and to spare the Women and little Ones and Cattie, and to take the Spoil: Or, if it was a City of the Land of their Inheritance that had rejected their Offers, then as soon as they could reduce it, they were utterly to destroy all the Inhabitants, and to save alive nothing that breathed belonging to it. That this is indeed the true Meaning of what *Moses* directs, is confirmed from a Remark of *Joshua's*. He observes, that as God had purposed utterly to destroy the Nations of *Canaan* (t), so he did not dispose any of them to accept of Peace from the *Israelites*, in order to their Preservation: *There was not, says he, a City, that made peace with the Children of Israel, save the Hivites, the Inhabitants of Gibeon; all other they took in Battle; for it was of the Lord* (u) *to harden their Hearts* (w), *that they should come against Israel in Battle, that he might destroy them utterly, and that they might have no Favour; but that he might destroy them, as the Lord commanded Moses* (x). *Cunæus* comments up-

(t) See Wisdom xii. 3. (u) I cannot but observe how closely the Reflexion of *Joshua* here is copied by *Homer*. In all the Evils that came upon the Greeks from the Difference between *Achilles* and *Agamemnon*, *Homer* says: Διὸς δ' ἐπέλειετο Βουλῆ. II. 1. (w) I have formerly observed in the Case of *Pharaoh*, what is the true Meaning of the Scripture-Expression of the Lord's hardning any one's Heart. See Vol. II. Book IX. (x) *Joh.* xi. 19, 20.

on this Text very justly to this Purpose: “ It is plain, says he, from hence, “ that these Nations were therefore extirpated, because they chose rather the “ Chance of War, than to accept the Terms “ which the *Israelites*. could offer them: “ But if they would have surrender’d “ when summoned, undoubtedly they had “ not been destroyed” (y).

There is a Passage in the Book of *Deuteronomy*, which may seem to intimate, that these Nations of *Canaan* were absolutely to be destroyed by the *Israelites*, without any Terms of Favour or Mercy. *When the Lord thy God, says Moses, shall bring thee into the Land, whither thou goest to possess it, and hath cast out many Nations before thee, the Hittites, and the Girgashites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven Nations greater and mightier than thou: And when the Lord thy God shall deliver them before thee, thou shalt smite them and utterly destroy them, thou shalt make no Covenant with them, nor shew Mercy unto them —. But, thus shall ye deal with them: Ye shall destroy their*

(y) Enimvero illud hinc efficitur, deletas propterea eas Gentes esse, quia Belli Fortunam tentare, quam conficere Pacem in *Israelitarum* Leges maluerunt: Quod si Fecialibus auscultassent, utique jam salus eorum nequaquam in dubio fuisset. Cunctus de *Repub. Hebræor.* l. 2. c. 20.

Altars, and break down their Images, and burn their graven Images with Fire — . And thou shalt consume all the People, which the Lord thy God shall deliver thee, thine Eye shall have no pity upon them (z): I would observe upon this Text, that it is a Direction to the *Israelites*, what they were to do to these Nations, after they had attacked them and subdued them; but it gave them no Charge to extirpate or destroy any People who should choose to submit and surrender without engaging in a War against them: The Directions given in this Text were to be executed, when the Lord *had brought* the *Israelites* into the Lands of these Nations (*a*), and *had cast out* the Inhabitants before them, (*b*); When the Lord had given the People of these Nations into the Hands of the *Israelites* (*c*), and had discomfited them, and caused them to flee (*d*); then indeed the

(z) Deut. vii. 1, 2, 5, 16, &c. (a) ver. 1. (b) *ibid.*
 (c) ver. 2. (d) None of the Translators of the Bible have, I think, carefully attended to the Hebrew Text in rendering the Words in the 2d Verse, which we translate, Thou shalt smite them. The Hebrew Word is [וַיִּהַרְגוּם], which I take to be not in the second Person THOU, but to be the third Person of the Præterit. Hiphil of the Verb [נָתַת], and that the Lord thy God going before, is the Nominative Case to it. I should imagine the Word [וַיִּפְּנֵוּ] to be referred to this Verb, and should render the Place thus: And when the Lord thy God shall have given them up, and smote them before thee, thou shalt utterly destroy them, &c.

Israelites were to have no Pity upon them, but to smite them and utterly destroy them; to consume them and make an end of them (*e*). This Vengeance the *Israelites* had in charge to execute upon all these Nations, after they had entred into a War with them, and obtained a Conquest over them: But nothing in the Text intimates, that they were to have proceeded with this Severity against any Nation, that chose to surrender, before they had tried the Issue of War, and determined their Fate by it: If any of them had not come out against the *Israelites* in Battle (*f*), but had delivered up their Cities upon Summons (*g*), before the Lord had defeated and discomfited them, they might have had Terms to save their Lives (*b*): But let us enquire what Terms the *Israelites* could give them, and whether,

II. They could make a Covenant, or enter into a League with them. And this Point may be clearly determined, if we consider distinctly the several Injunctions laid upon them: And here, 1. They were evidently commanded not to tolerate the Worship of the Idols of *Canaan* in any Part of the Land. Wheresoever they could carry their victorious Arms, they were to

(*e*) Deut. vii. 2. (*f*) According to Joshua xi. 19, 20.
 (*g*) Deut. xx. 10, 11. (*b*) Ibid. et Josh. ubi sup.

take care not to bow down to the Gods of these Nations, but they were *utterly to overthrow them, to break down their Images (i), to destroy their Altars, cut down their Groves (k);* or, as it is expressed in another Place, they were *utterly to destroy all the Places, wherein these Nations had served their Gods, upon the high Mountains and upon the Hills, and under every green Tree: They were to overthrow their Altars, break their Pillars, burn their Groves with Fire, hew down the graven Images of their Gods, and destroy the Names of them out of the Place (l):* Thus they were intirely to abolish the Religion that was embraced in these Nations, and it is hard to be imagined, that they could make a League with any of the States of them, whilst they were so doing; for as a League between two Nations implies, in the very Notion of it, their having upon some Terms given their mutual Faith each to other, to observe punctually what had been stipulated between them; and as such publick Faith was, according to the Custom of these Times, generally given and taken at a publick Sacrifice, where the Parties to the Treaty sware solemnly to each other by

(i) Exod. xxiii. 24.

(k) Exod. xxxiv. 13.

(l) Deut. xii. 2, 3.

their respective Gods (*m*); so it is hard to say how the *Israelites*, who were in no wise to allow the Idols of *Canaan* to be Gods, could take this publick Faith from the Worshippers of them. And this I think is hinted in the Command given them: *Thou shalt make no Covenant with them and their Gods (n)*: According to the Forms of these Times, a Covenant could hardly be made with a People, without admitting their Gods into it, to be their Witnesses of it, and Avengers of those who should break it: But the *Israelites* could not so far recognize the false Objects of the Worship of these Nations, and therefore could not thus enter into Covenant with them. But, 2. The *Israelites* were not only to demolish and destroy the Idols of *Canaan*, but they were to take away from the People both their *Place and Nation*. All the Lands and Cities of the several Nations that inhabited *Canaan*, were to be divided by Lot amongst the Tribes of the Children of *Israel*, to every Family of each Tribe

(*m*) See and compare Gen. xxvi. 28. — 31. with xxxi. 44 — 55. and in this manner the Heathen Nations made Truces and Leagues with one another, as might be proved from many Places in Homer, and other ancient Writers. (*n*) Exod. xxiii. 32 Our English Version of the Text is injudicious, and not strictly agreeable to the Hebrew Particle. One thing only is here forbidden, the making or confirming a League with them. for the doing of which it was necessary to proceed according to the Religious Rites used for that Purpose.

a suitable Part and Portion of them (o), and in order hereto the *Israelites* were, as God should enable them, to dispossess the Inhabitants, and to take Possession of them. God had indeed determined not to drive out the *Canaanites* before the *Israelites* all in one Year, immediately upon the *Israelites* entering into their Land; because such a Procedure would have had its Inconveniencies (p): But the *Israelites* were, as they increased, to be enabled by little and little to subdue them (q), and they were strictly commanded, as they grew able, to take from them their Possessions, and not to suffer any of them to retain wherewith to live as a People, amongst them (r). From the xxth of *Deuteronomy* it may perhaps at first Sight seem as if the *Israelites* had Power, when they summoned the Cities of these Nations, if they had an Answer of Peace from them, to let the Inhabitants hold their Cities upon Condition of paying Tribute for them (s); but the Text duly considered gave no such Liberty: If a City opened unto them, then it was to be, that all the People that were found therein, were to be Tributaries, and to serve them (t): It is not said, that the *Israelites* were

(o) See Numb. xxxiii. and xxvi. 1—53.

(p) Exod. xxiii. 29. (q) ver. 30. (r) ver. 33.

Deut. vii. 22, 23. Josh. xxiii. 5, 7, 11, 12, 13.

(s) Deut. xx. 11. (t) *ibid.*

to *put* such Cities *under Tribute*, which would have been the Expression, if they were to have treated them as political Bodies, and to have continued them in that Capacity, only raising a Tax or Tribute upon them (*u*); but all the People found therein, were to be Tributaries and Servants: The Terms to be given were, not to a City, or People in their collective Capacity, but to the Individuals; to the several Persons, who had composed it: And they were to become Tributaries and Servants in the Manner, that *Solomon* afterwards dealt with their Children in some particular Cities, where he found them (*w*); he *made them pay Tribute* (*x*), or, as it is otherwise expressed in the Book of *Kings*, he *levied a Tribute of Bond-Service* upon them (*y*), the Nature of which is sufficiently explained by what follows: *Of the Children of Israel did Solomon make no Bond-men, but they were his Men of War, and his Servants, and his Princes, and his Captains, and bare Rule over the People,*

(*u*) *When Pharaoh Necho, after the Death of Josiah, sent for Jehoahaz, whom the People had made King at Jerusalem, and sent him Prisoner to Egypt, and set up Jehoiakim King in his stead; as he did not take away from the Jews their being a People, tho' he raised a Tax or Tribute upon them; so it is not said that all the People became Tributaries unto him and served him, but that he put the Land to a Tribute.* 2 Kings xxiii. 32.

(*w*) 2 Chron. viii. 7, 8.

(*x*) *ibid.*

(*y*) 1 Kings ix. 21.

that wrought in the Work (z), and consequently the Tributaries, those who paid him the *Tribute of Bond-service*, were, under the Direction of these *Israelites*, obliged to perform the Work and Service, that was required of them. And that this was the true Intent of the Direction to the *Israelites* in the Text above-cited (a), is evident from what appears to have been the Failure, when afterwards they did not execute what had been given in Charge to them. Thus after the Death of *Joshua*, the Children of *Benjamin* did not drive out the *Jebusites* from *Jerusalem* (b); the Children of *Manasseh* did not dispossess the Inhabitants of *Bethshean*, and several other Towns, of their respective Cities (c): *Ephraim* was faulty in like manner with regard to the *Canaanites* of *Gezer* (d), *Zebulun* to the Inhabitants of *Kitron* and *Nahalol* (e), *Asher* and *Naphtali* to several other Cities (f); tho' in all these Cases, as the several Tribes grew strong enough, they reduced these Communities so far, as to compel them to pay Tribute for their Possessions (g); but because herein they came to Terms with them, contrary to what God had commanded them, to *make*

(z) 1 Kings ix. 22. 23. (a) Deut. xx. 11.
 (b) Judg. i. 21. (c) ver. 27. (d) ver. 29.
 (e) ver. 30. (f) ver. 32, 33. (g) ver. 30, 33, 35.

no League with them (*b*); therefore what *Joshua* had before threatned (*i*), was now by an Angel denounced against them; that God would not drive these Nations out from before them; but that they should be as *Thorns in their Sides*, and *their Gods a Snare unto them* (*k*). This, I think, is a true Representation of what the *Israelites* were enjoined, with Regard to the Treatment which the Inhabitants of these Nations were to have from them; And from all this, I think, it evidently appears, that the *Israelites* could enter into no Alliance, could make no (*l*) League, no Covenant with them. They had indeed Liberty to give them Quarter; to grant them their Lives upon Condition they would become their Servants; but this, I think, cannot properly be called making a League, Covenant or Alliance with them; for a League is one Thing, and Servitude quite another (*m*): The Word League is indeed used in a large Sense by the *Civilians*. The *Romans* admitted it to signify a Grant

(*b*) Exod. xxiii. 32. Deut. vii. 2.

(*i*) Josh. xxiii. 13. (*k*) Judg. ii. 2.

(*l*) Exod. and Deut. ubi sup. (*m*) Dedititii non proprie in Fœdere, sed in Ditione esse dicuntur, unde illud Latinorum de Campanis apud Livium; Campanorum aliam Conditionem esse, qui non Fœdere, sed per Ditionem in Fidem venissent. Item de Apulis, ita in Societatem eos esse acceptos, ut non aequo Fœdere, sed ut in Ditione Populi Romani essent. Vid. Calvin. Lexic. Jurid. in verbo Fœdus.

of any Favours to conquered Nations (*n*); and *Diodorus Siculus* uses a Word of like Import, where a Conqueror had reduced the Persons he had subdued to accept such Terms as he thought fit to give them (*o*): In like manner the Men of *Jabesh-Gilead* were offered a League with the *Ammonite*, by which they were to submit to serve him, and to have all their right Eyes thrust out, in order to be made a Reproach to all *Israel* (*p*): And in both these Cases, as the People treated with were to be continued a People, what was granted might be stiled a League or Covenant made with them: But the *Israelites* were not to suffer the Nations of *Canaan* any longer to have a Being: Their Cities, Country and Possessions were to be taken from them, and their Persons to become the Property of the new Possessors of their Lands and Estates: And under these Circumstances, whatever Favour each *Canaanite* might meet with in his private Capacity, from the several *Israelites* into whose Hands he

(*n*)—Effe autem tria Genera Fœderum: unum, cum bello victis dicerentur Leges: ubi enim omnia ei, qui armis plus potest, dedita essent, quæ ex iis habere victos, quibus multari eos velit, ipsius Jus atque Arbitrium esse. *Livii Hist. Lib. 34. c. 57.*

(*o*) Τεύταμον κὶ τὸς μετ' αὐτῶ καταπληξάμενΘ, κὶ σπονδὰς οἴας ἐπέλετο δέδξ παρασηκασάμενΘ ἔδωκε χάρακιν κὶ πόλιν ἐς κατοίκησιν. *Diodor. Sic. Ecl. p. 839.*
 Edit. Rhodoman. (p) 1 Sam ii. 2.

might

might fall; yet no League or Covenant could be lawfully concluded with any Nation or Community of them; because the *Israelites* were not at Liberty to permit any such Body-politic of them to remain in Being, to receive and enjoy what by such League might be granted to them. Let us now enquire,

III. Whether the League concluded between *Israel* and the *Gibeonites* was contrary to what God had enjoined: And I should think it certainly was; for unquestionably the Peace and the League made by *Joshua* with this People was of a publick Nature: It was confirmed to their Ambassadors, who appeared to treat no otherwise than in their publick Character; as Agents, not stipulating to save the Lives of a few or of any Number of private Men; but as negotiating for the Publick, for the Health and Safety of the Community that employed them: And to take Occasion, from the Words that tell us the Nature of the League, which *Joshua* made with this People, to say; that he had only promised to let them live (q), and consequently, that the *Israelites* had fully performed what they had engaged, inasmuch as they did not put the Men, Women and Children of *Gibeon* and its Cities to the Sword,

(q) *Josh.* ix. 15.

would be, I should think, a lower Quibble, than the *Romans* were guilty of to the *Carthaginians*; when having granted by a publick Decree of the Senate, that *Carthage* should be a free State, enjoy its own Laws, and possess its Domains in *Africa*; if they immediately delivered Hostages, and performed what the Consuls had in Charge to require of them (r); they explained to them, that they thought the People, not the City to be the State of *Carthage* (s), and demanded of them to raze their City, and to build themselves another in a Situation higher up in their Country (t). The *Israelites* were undoubtedly obliged by their Treaty to stop the War, when they came to the Cities of *Gibeon*; they had disarmed themselves, and were not at Liberty to touch or to smite this People, because of the Oath they had sworn unto them; and as the saving alive the Inhabi-

(r) Ἐὰν τοῖς ὑπάτοις τεικασίης τὴς ἐνδοξοτάτης
 σῶν παίδας ἐς ἐμνήαν παρέρχωντι, καὶ τ' ἄλλα κατα-
 κίσωσιν αὐτοῖς, ἐξῆς Καρχηδόνα ἐλώθεται τε καὶ ἀν-
 τίνουσι, καὶ γὰρ ὅσον ἔχουσιν ἐν Λιβύῃ. Appian. de
 bello Punic. p. 43.

(s) Καρχηδόνα γὰρ ἡμεῖς, ἢ τὸ
 ἕδος, ἢ γὰρ ἡμεῖς. Id. p. 52. In voce, liberam relinqui
 Carthaginem, manifesta erat Captio: frustra Vocem Cartha-
 ginis urgebant Romani. dicentes Civium multitudinem, non
 Urbem significari. Grot. de Jure Belli & Pac. Lib. 2. c. 16.

(t) Ἐκστει τῆς Καρχηδόνας ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀνοικήσαθι ὅπου
 θέλετε, ἢ ὑμετέρας οὐδοόκοιθα σαρδίας ἐπὶ θαλάσσης·
 τήνδε γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐγκωσαι κατασκάψαι. Appian. p. 46.

tants,

tants, but demolishing or taking from them their Cities and Inheritance, would have been not keeping, but evading the publick League that was made with this Nation; so in this the *Israelites* had unadvisedly brought themselves into a great Strait, having solemnly granted what they could not perform, without a manifest Neglect and Violation of what God had in the strictest Manner required of them. It will,

IV. Be asked, how then did the *Israelites* acquit themselves in this Matter: And to this, I think, the Answer is obvious: They remonstrated to the *Gibeonites* the Fraud they had been guilty of to obtain the Treaty; they proposed as an Expedient, upon what Terms they could give them their Lives; the *Gibeonites* consented to accept the Offer they made them, and their consenting hereto was what set the *Israelites* free from the Embarrassments they were under in this Matter: *Joshua* said unto the *Gibeonites*, *Wherefore have ye beguiled us, saying, We are very far from you, when ye dwell among us (x)?* The *Israelites* had fully explained to this People, that they should be under Difficulties in making a League with them, if they dwelt amongst them (y), and therefore

(x) *Josh.* ix. 22.

(y) *ver.* 7.

Joshua had the highest Reason to resent and expostulate the inexcusable Baseness of their Behaviour in the Treaty: However, as the *Israelites* had Power to receive any of these Nations, if the People of them would become their Bondsmen to serve them (*z*), upon these Terms *Joshua* made them an Offer of their Lives (*a*): The *Gibeonites* embraced the Proposal, which he made to them; acknowledged that they expected, that all their Lands could not but be taken from them; and that they aimed at nothing more, in what they had done, than barely to save their Lives (*b*), and that they intirely acquiesced in his Disposal of them in any Manner he could contrive for them (*c*): Accordingly upon this second Treaty or Accommodation, *Joshua* made them *Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water for the Congregation, and for the Altar* (*d*): Had the *Gibeonites* been unwilling to comply with what was thus proposed to them, I imagine *Joshua* would have brought their Cause before the Lord (*e*), would have asked the special Direction of God, before he and the Elders of *Israel* would have thought themselves at Liberty to proceed in it. Two Things may be observed upon the Manner of fini-

(*z*) Vid. quæ sup. (*a*) Josh. ix. 23. (*b*) ver. 24:
 (*c*) ver 25. (*d*) ver. 26, 27. (*e*) See Numb. xxvii.
 5. ix: 8.

shing this Affair. 1. *Joshua* did not dissipate this People, by allotting them to be Servants to the Families of the *Israelites*: He kept them together, as much a Nation as he had Power to allow them to be, a publick Body of Servants for the Occasions of the Congregation. 2. He seems to have punished their Perfidy, by appointing them and their Posterity to a perpetual Bondage: And this, I think, he expressed to them: *Now therefore ye are accursed, and there shall none of you be freed from being Bondmen (f)*: Had the *Gibeonites* treated openly and uprightly with the *Israelites*, I imagine, there was nothing in the Law, that would have prevented their being received upon such Terms, as that after some Generations, their Children might have come into the Congregation, and been free in *Israel* (g).

When the *Canaanites* heard, that the Inhabitants of *Gibeon* were gone over to the *Israelites*, they were uneasy at it: such a Defection from their common Cause gave them new Fears; for *Gibeon* was a large and powerful City (a): However they resolved to take Measures to deter other Towns from following this Example, and to defeat *Joshua* of the additional Strength, which the *Gibeonites* might be to him.

(f) *Josh.* ix. 23.
(a) *Josh.* x. 1, 2.

(g) See *Deut.* xxiii.

And for this End they immediately marched their Forces, under the Command of five of their Kings, against the *Gibeonites* (b): The *Gibeonites* sent unto *Gilgal* to *Joshua* for Succour (c): *Joshua* with his Army soon came to their Relief, and obtained an intire Victory over the five Kings, took them all Prisoners, and put them to Death (d): Two very great Miracles attended the Battle this Day fought between the *Canaanites* and the *Israelites*: One, that God was pleased by a Storm of Hailstones to kill more of the Enemy, than (e) fell by the Sword of the *Israelites*; the other, that at the Word of *Joshua*, the Sun and Moon were seen to stand still, for near a whole Day, to afford the *Israelites* a Continuance of Day-Light (f) to pursue their Victory. It is obvious to observe how remarkably pertinent both these Miracles were, to the Circumstances of the Persons concerned in them. The Elements, and the Sun, Moon and Lights of Heaven, were the Deities at this Time worshipped by the Inhabitants of *Canaan* (g); but the *Israelites* were the Servants of a truer God, by whose Command, and under whose Protection they were to war against these Nations and against their Gods: and what greater Demonstration could be given of

(b) *Josh.* x. 3. 4. 5. (c) ver. 6. (d) ver. 7.
 (e) ver. 11. (f) ver. 13. (g) See Vol. I. Book V.

the Power of their God to support them, or of the Inability of the false Deities of the *Canaanites* to assist their Worshipers, than to see, that the God of *Israel* could cause these to contribute to, instead of preventing the Ruin that was coming upon those who served them? We cannot imagine, that *Joshua* should, without a special Intimation from Heaven, have addressed unto God the Prayer concerning the Sun and Moon, which he is recorded to have made in the Sight of *Israel* (b); for of what an Extravagance had he appeared guilty, if an Effect had not been given to what he asked for? or how could he be so wild as to think of an Accomplishment of so strange an Expectation as this would have been, had it been only a Thought of his own Heart to wish for it? But unquestionably the same Lord, who spake unto him before the Battle; who bade him not fear the Armies of the *Canaanites*; who assured him that they should not be able to stand before him; directed him to ask for this wonderful Miracle, and in granting what he had asked for, gave a full Testimony both to the *Israelites* and their Enemies, that *the Gods of the Heathen were but Idols*, and that *it is the Lord that made, and that ruleth in, the*

(b) Josh. x. 12.

Heavens (i). But there are some further Observations, that ought to be made upon this extraordinary Miracle. For,

It is remarkable, that what *Joshua* desired, and what was said to be done upon this Occasion, is recorded in the sacred History in Words not agreeable to what are now abundantly known to be the Motions of the Bodies, that compose the Mundane System: *Joshua* desired, that the *Sun* might stand still upon *Gibeon*, and the *Moon* in the *Valley of Ajalon* (k): And the Event said to be the Effect of this his Prayer unto the Lord (l) is thus related, *And the Sun stood still, and the Moon stayed, until the People had avenged themselves upon their Enemies; so the Sun stood still in the midst of Heaven, and hastened not to go down about a whole Day* (m); and there was no Day like that before it or after it. The Thing which *Joshua* here prayed for, was to have the Day lengthened, and the Manner in which he desired to have this his Prayer accomplished, was by having the Sun and Moon stopped in their Motions, and agreeably to his Request the Text tells us, that the Sun and Moon were stopped, and did not move forward for about a whole Day: But it is now sufficiently known, that Day and Night are not caused by any

(i) Pſal. xcvi. 5.
(n) ver. 13.

(k) Joſh. x. 12.

(l) ibid.

Motion of the Sun and Moon, but rather by the Earth's Rotation upon its own *Axis*, and consequently the sacred Pages state this Fact absolutely wrong, as to the Circumstances that caused it; and if so, can we think them to have been dictated by God, who cannot err in this, or in any Matter? I answer, 1. Tho' the Succession of Day and Night is indeed caused by a real Motion of the Earth, and not of the Sun and Moon, as our modern Astronomers can abundantly demonstrate; yet to Appearance, not the Earth, but the Sun and Moon seem to have those Motions, which are vulgarly ascribed to them; as to a Mariner at Sea, sailing within View of a distant Coast, not the Ship he sails in, but the Land he sees at a Distance, seems to be in Motion, as he passes by it. 2. In the early Ages, both before and long after the Days of *Joshua*, the most learned Astronomers had no Notion of the Improvements, which our modern Professors have since attained to, but conceived the Sun and Moon to have their respective Courses, according to what common Appearance enabled them to judge and think of them, and agreeably hereto they formed their Schemes, and thought themselves able to solve and account for all Appearances by them: And consequently, 3. Had God enabled *Joshua* to form his Desire of a longer Day in a Manner more agreeable to our

new and more accurate Astronomy, and dictated to him to record the Miracle in Terms suitable and agreeable to it, *Joshua* must have appeared both to have wished a Thing, and expressed it to have been effected, in a Manner directly contrary to all Rules of Science then known, and his Account of what had happened would have been decryed, in the Times he lived in, as false in Astronomy, and no great Regard would have been paid to it. It would have appeared rather a wild Fancy or gross Blunder of his own, than a true Account of a real Miracle, and so have been but little attended to by the Persons for whom, and in the Ages, which succeeded that, in which it was written.

4. We do not read in the sacred Text, that God declared the Sun and Moon to have stood still upon this Occasion: We may suppose that God might intimate to *Joshua* that he would grant him a miraculous Prolongation of the Day, if he would at the Head of his Army ask publicly for it (*n*); Hereupon *Joshua* made his Request in such Terms, as according to his own Conceptions, were proper to be used to ask such a Miracle: "May the Sun, said he, stand still upon *Gibcon*, and the Moon in the Valley of *Ajalon*".

(*n*) *Josh.* x. 12.

This he thought must have been caused, if such a Length of Day, as he was ordered to require, was to be given to him. God heard his Request, and gave him the Thing he was to ask for, a Day of near twice the Length of any other: The Historians of the Times recorded the Fact according to what it appeared to be to them, and agreeably to what was then thought to be true Astronomy; and accordingly, the Sun and Moon appearing, and being thought for several Hours together, not to have moved forward in their Courses, both the Author of the Book of *Jasher* (o) afterwards, and *Joshua* now in his History relate to us, that *the Sun stood still, and the Moon stayed — and hastened not to go down about a whole Day.* And, 5. We may reasonably suppose, that tho' *Joshua* wrote his History under the Direction of a divine Assistance, yet that God would not interpose to prevent his recording this Fact in this Manner: For, tho' *all Scripture is given by Inspiration of God*, yet certainly it is given so no further, than is necessary to make it *profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Instruction in Righteousness* (p); and the Narration of *Joshua* might tully answer this the great End of Scripture; might teach the *Israelites* the Power of their God to direct and govern the Hea-

(o) *Jesh.* x. 13.(p) 2 *Tim.* iii. 16.

vens as he pleased ; might reprove the Idolaters of their vain Worship of the Sun and Moon, whom they fondly called the King and *Queen of Heaven* (q), notwithstanding that it did not relate the Fact exactly according to what might be the true astronomical Manner in which God effected it. The most judicious Writers have agreed, that “ the sacred Historians “ were not usually inspired with the Things “ themselves, which they related, nor with “ the very Words by which they expressed *what they have recorded*” (r) : Their Histories were wrote, not to satisfy our Curiosity, but to be a standing Proof of a Providence to After-ages ; to shew us the Care that God always takes of good People, and the Punishments he inflicts upon the Wicked ; to give us Examples of Piety and Virtue, and lastly to inform us of Matters of Fact which tend to confirm our Faith (s) : And so far God was unquestionably pleased to direct and assist the Composers of them, as to prevent their inserting in any of their Narrations, thro’ human Frailty, any Thing that might contradict or disserve these the Purposes for which he incited them to draw up

(q) See Vol. I. B. V. Jer. vii. 18. xlv. 17—25.

(r) Lowth’s *Vindicat. of the divine Authority and Inspiration of the Old and New Testament*, p. 220.

(s) Id. p. 221. *Five Letters concerning the Inspiration of the holy Scriptures*. p. 28.

their Compositions. And thus far *Joshua* appears in every Part of his History to have had the Benefit of a divine Inspiration; tho' we have no reason to imagine that God dictated to him the very Words he was to write in, or prompted him to record the Miracle we are treating of, otherwise than his own natural Conceptions disposed him to relate it, and that probably, amongst others, for this great Reason; because if God had inspired him to have related this Fact in a manner more agreeable to true Astronomy, unless he had also inspired the World with a like Astronomy to receive it, it would rather have tended to raise amongst those who read it and heard of it, *Disputes and Oppositions of Science falsely so called*, than have promoted the great Ends of Religion intended by it.

It may be asked, If the Miracle recorded by *Joshua* was indeed Fact, and *one Day* was hereby made *as long as two* (t): Could so remarkable a Thing have happened without being observed by the Astronomers of all Nations? Such a Variation of the Sun's Setting, as was hereby occasioned in the Land of *Canaan*, must have made a longer Day or a longer Night than was natural in every other Part of the habitable World: a longer Day, where-

(t) *Ecclus. xlvi. 4.*

ever the Sun was visible at the Time of *Joshua's* making his Request, and a longer Night in every Part of the opposite *Hemisphere*: Astronomy was studied in these Times with great Application in many Nations (*o*), and Observations of the Heavens were taken and recorded with as much Exactness as the Professors of those Times were capable of attaining to; and is it probable that if so remarkable an Alteration of the Course of Day and Night, as this was, had really happened, we should not find some Hint or Remain of some Hea-then Writer to concur with and bear Testimony to the Truth of what the sacred Historian relates about it? But in Answer hereto let us observe, 1. That it is highly improbable, I might say meerly impossible, that *Joshua* should attempt to record such a Miracle as this, if it had not been done; for every one of his *Israelites*, as well as all their Enemies, must have known and rejected the Falsity of his Narration, and he could never think of making the World believe a thing so conspicuously false, if it had not happened. 2. This Fact might be recorded not only by *Joshua*, and afterwards in the Book of *Jasher* (*p*); but also by divers other Writers of other Nations, and yet what they had registred

(*o*) See Vol. I. B. V. Vol. II. B. VI. VIII.

(*p*) Josh. x. 13.

about it, may easily be conceived not to have come down to us: The most ancient Heathen Chronicles were very short and concise, and in a few Ages were disfigured by *Mythology* and false Learning (q); so as to go down to succeeding Times in a Shape and Sense quite different from what was at first the Design of them: And the Original Accounts hereby becoming not suitable to the Taste that succeeded, were soon neglected, and in Time lost. But 3. If we could unravel the ancient Fables, we should find, that the Fact of there having been one Day in which the Course of the Sun had been irregular, had been indeed conveyed down in the Memoirs of the Heathen Literature: *Statius* had heard of it, and supposed it to have happened about the Time of the *Theban War*, when *Atrous* made an inhuman Banquet of *Thyestes's* Children (o): Other Writers imagined it to have been in the Days of *Phaeton*, and *Ovid* has beautified the Fable told of him, that it was he that occasioned it, by having obtained Leave to guide the Chariot of the Sun for that Day, which he was in no wise able

(q) See Vol. II. B. VIII. "Όταν εν ᾱ μυθολογῆσιν —
 δα τ̄ περιηρημένον μνημονόει, κ̄ μηδέν οἰαζ̄ τέτων
 λόγων γεγονός ἔτω κ̄ περιηρημένον. Plut. de Isid. et
 Osirid. (o) Stat. in Thebaid. L. 1, ver. 325. L. 4
 ver. 307.

to manage. And thus the Heathen Poets and *Mythologists* dressed up and disfigured the Hints, which they found in ancient Records: *Atrous* was Father of *Agamemnon*, and lived but a Generation before the *Trojan War*, and therefore the Sun's standing still in the Days of *Joshua*, could not have happened in his Time; so that *Statius*, or any Writer from whom he took the Hint, were not true in their Chronology: But *Phaeton* lived much earlier: He was Son of *Titbonus* (p) who was the Son of *Cephalus* (q), the Son of *Mercury* (r) who was born of *Maia* the Daughter of *Atlas* (s): *Atlas* lived about *A. M.* 2385 (t): His Daughter *Maia* might have *Mercury* by *Jupiter* about *A. M.* 2441, about the 20th Year of *Jupiter's* Age (u): *Mercury* at 25 Years old might beget *Cephalus* about *A. M.* 2466: *Cephalus* at 30 beget *Titbonus* *A. M.* 2496: *Titbonus* at 34 beget *Phaeton*, who would thus be born about *A. M.* 2530. The Sun stood still in the Days of (uj) *Joshua*

(p) Apollodor. Lib. 3. c. 13. (q) *ibid.* (r) *ibid.*
 (s) *Id.* Lib. *cod.* c. 10. (t) See Vol. II. B. VIII.
 (u) *Jupiter was born* *A. M.* 2421. See B. X. (uj) *Clemens Alexandrinus supposes Phaeton to have lived about the Times of Crotopus.* *Stromat.* Lib. 1. p. 138. and so does *Tatian.* *Orat. ad Græc.* p. 133. *Crotopus was the 8th King of Argos.* *Castor.* *Euseb. Chron.* *Crotopus, I think, died about* *A. M.* 2525; so that *Clemens Alexand.* and *Tatian seem to place Phaeton about 30 Years earlier than Joshua's commanding the Israelites: But 30 Years is no great Variation in the Chronology of these Times.*

A. M. 2554: *Phaeton* was then about 24 Years old, a young Man, not of Age to guide the Chariot of the Sun: And thus the Time of *Phaeton's* Life may synchronize with the Year of the Sun's standing still in the Days of *Josbua*; and the Fable told of him, might have its first Rise from a Fact recorded to have happened in his Youth, dressed up and diversified with the various Fictions of succeeding *Mythologists*, until it was brought to what *Ovid* left it. But, 4. If we go into *China*, we may there find something more truly historical relating to the Fact before us: The *Chinese* Records report, that in the Reign of their Emperor *Yao* the Sun did not set for ten Days together, and that they feared the World would be set on Fire (*w*): *Yao*, according to *Martinius*, was the seventh Emperor of *China*, *Fohi* being the first: And, as he computes, from the first Year of *Fohi's* Reign to *Yao's* are 587 Years; for *Fohi* reigned 115 Years (*x*), after him *Xin-num* 140 (*y*), *Hoang-ti* 100 (*z*), *Xao-haon* 84 (*a*) *Chuen-bio* 78 (*b*), *Cou* 70 (*c*) and next to him succeeded *Yao* (*d*): The first Year of *Fohi's* Reign in *China* was *A. M.* 1891 (*e*): Count down

(*w*) Per hæc Tempora diebus decem non occidisse So'em, Orbemque conflagraturum Mortales timuisse scribunt. *Martini* Histor. Sinic. Lib. 1. p. 37. (*x*) Id. pag. 21. (*y*) Pag. 24. (*z*) Pag. 25. (*a*) Pag. 32. (*b*) Pag. 33. (*c*) Pag. 35. (*d*) Pag. 36. (*e*) See Vol. II. B. 6.

from hence 587 Years, and the first Year of *Yao* will be *A. M.* 2479: *Yao* reigned 90 Years (*f*) to *A. M.* 2560: The Year in which the Sun stood still, in the Days of *Joshua* was *A. M.* 2554, in about the 75th Year of *Yao's* Reign. And thus what is recorded in the *Chinese* Annals synchronizes to the Fact related in *Joshua*: The *Chinese* Records are said to report, that the Sun did not set for ten Days; but I suspect our *European* Writers have not here exactly hit the Meaning of the *Chinese* Annals, and that the Word they have translated Days, may perhaps rather signify a Space of Time little more than one of our Hours: If so, the sacred Historian, and the *Chinese* Annalist agree minutely in their Time of the Duration of this Miracle (*g*): If the Sun's not setting at this Time was thus observed in *China*, we may guess about what time of Day *Joshua* desired this Miracle: And we may be sure it was not towards the Evening, as some Writers have imagined (*b*); for had the Day been almost over in *Canaan*, the Sun would have been set in *China* before the Miracle happened, and therefore could not have been there ob-

(*f*) Martin. ubi sup. (*g*) Josh. x. 13. *The Sun hastened not to go down about an whole Day. One Day was as long as two,* Eccus. xlvi. 4. *i. e.* The Sun was stopped about 10 or 12 Hours, the Space of about a natural Day.

(*b*) Cleric. Comment. in loc.

served at all (i): It was therefore a little before Noon in *Canaan* when *Joshua* desired the Sun might be stopped, and about this time the Sun might be seen by *Joshua* in such a Position as to seem to stand over *Gibeon* (k), or as it is expressed in the next Verse *in the midst of Heaven* (l); and it would be Afternoon in *China* at this Time of Day in *Canaan*: If the *Chinese* saw and observed this Miracle, then the Light of Day, which the *Israelites* were favoured with, was occasioned by the Sun's really not going down as usual, and not from a Vapour or *Aurora* shining in the Air, as *Le Clerc* and some others have imagined (n); for such a Vapour would not have been seen from *Canaan* to *China*, and could not possibly have appeared near the time of Sun-set in both Countries; nor would it have occasioned the Heat that was felt in divers Parts of the World, during the time of the Miracle: The *Chinese* Annals intimate, that it was feared the Earth would have been set on Fire: The *Mythologists* relate a Conflagration to have really happened, and *Ovid* paints a poetical Scene of it, as his Fancy prompted him (o), and unquestionably the Continu-

(i) Geographers know that the Day begins and ends four or five Hours earlier in *China* than in *Canaan*.

(k) Josh. x. 12. (l) ver. 13. (n) Comment. in Lib. Jos. in loc. (o) Ovid, Metam.

ance of the Sun in one Position of the Heavens for about ten Hours together, must affect with a very intense Heat even Places not under his Meridian Height all that time. The *Israelites* would probably have been greatly incommoded with the Warmth of such a Day, if God had not been pleased to give a Temperature to the Air proper to relieve them, and perhaps suitable to the producing the prodigious Hail, which he caused at this Time to afflict the *Canaanites* (p): I am sensible, that such a Suspension or Retardation of the Motion of the Earth, Moon, and perhaps of the other heavenly Bodies, that have relation to them, as is necessary to cause this Miracle in the manner I imagine it to have been effected, may be calculated to be naturally productive of Consequences fatal to our System; but then I cannot but think it easy to answer in this Matter; that if we have sufficient Reason to induce us to believe, that God really wrought this Miracle, it is not hard to conceive the great Ruler of the Universe not only able to direct it, beyond what we can imagine, but also as abundantly able, so to *uphold all Things by the Word of his Power* (q), during the Time of it, as to have no other Effect follow, than what he proposed to have done in the

(p) Josh. x. 11. (q) Heb. i. 3.

World. One Design of the mighty Works which God was pleased to do before his chosen People, was, if Men would have paid a due Attention and Regard to them, to offer a reasonable Conviction for the Earth's being *filled with the Glory and Knowledge of the Lord (r)*: What they might have *known of God, even his eternal Power and Godhead, he had at divers Times, and in various Manners, before shewed unto them by the Things which he had done (s) from the Creation of the World (t)*: But as these things had, ere this Age, lost their Influence in almost all Nations, and the World was departed *from the living God, to go after the Sun, Moon and Stars, to serve them; what could there have been done more remarkably worthy of God's infinite Power, to shew himself to be a God above all Gods, than to have the Sun and Moon made to stand still in favour of his declared Will, to support a People, chosen to be distinguished by his Worship? The time of Day in Canaan when this Miracle happened, was such, that the Sight of it could not but go forth thro' all the then known Nations of the Earth; so that there could be no Speech nor Language (u), where, had a due Inquiry been made into*

(r) Numb. xiv. 21.

(t) Rom. i. 19, 20.

(s) Τοῖς ποιήμασι.

(u) Psal. xix. 3.

it, the *Voice* of it would *not* have been *heard*, powerfully proclaiming; that however the World had been falsely amused *with the Beauty*, or *astonished at the imagined Power* of the *Lights of Heaven* (*w*); yet that there was a Being, who ruleth in the Heavens, higher than them all; and who could over-rule and dispose of any of them as he pleased.

After the Defeat of the Army of the five Kings, *Joshua* reduced the Nations of the South-Parts of *Canaan*, and having broken every Opposition that could here make head against him, he marched his victorious Forces back to *Gilgal* (*x*).

Upon *Joshua's* Return to *Gilgal*, *Jabin* King of *Hazor*, a City of great Figure and Command in the North Parts of *Canaan* (*a*), sent unto the Kings of the Nations round about him, and proposed to them to unite their Forces, in order to act with their whole Strength against the *Israelites* (*b*): The Kings he sent to, agreed to his Proposal, made their Levies, and came together a numerous and well-appointed Army (*c*): They rendezvoused at the Waters of *Merom* (*d*): *Joshua* on the other hand led the *Israelites* against them, under a special Promise of God's Assistance

(*w*) Wisdom xiii. 3, 4. (x) Josh. x. 28 — 43.
 (*a*) xi. 10. (b) ver. 1, 2, 3. (c) ver. 4.
 (*d*) ver. 5.

and Protection (*e*), and gave them battle, and obtained a great Victory (*f*): After having given them this Defeat he turned back, took the City *Hazor* and burnt it to the Ground (*g*): From *Hazor* *Joshua* marched against the Cities of the other Kings, and in time became master of all this Country (*h*); but it was the Work of some Years for him to reduce these Nations (*i*): In about five Years he entirely subdued them (*k*), and having now triumphed over, in all, one and thirty Kings (*l*), and obtained the *Israelites* full room to settle their Families in all Parts of the Land, he was ordered to put an end to the War (*m*). *Caleb* the Son of *Jephunneh* was forty Years old, when *Moses* sent him as one of the Spies into the Land of *Canaan* (*n*); the Spies were sent into *Canaan* after the Tabernacle was erected, in the second Year of the *Exit* (*o*) *A. M.* 2514. *Caleb* was now at the finishing of the War eighty five (*p*); so that the War was finished *A. M.* 2559, I suppose towards the End of the Year: *Joshua* passed over *Jordan* on the tenth Day of the first (*pp*) Month *A. M.* 2554, and began the War

(*e*) Josh. xi. 6. (*f*) ver. 7, 8, 9. (*g*) ver. 10, 11.
 (*h*) ver. 12 ——— 17. (*i*) ver. 18. (*k*) Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 5. c. 1, (*l*) Josh. xii. 24. (*m*) xiii. 1 — 7.
 (*n*) xiv. 7. (*o*) See Book xi. p. 298. (*p*) Josh. xiv. 10.
 (*pp*) iv. 19.

by the Siege of *Jericho* a few Days after: From this Time to about the End of the Year 2559, are near six Years, and so long was *Joshua* engaged in his Wars against the *Canaanites*: Almost one Year was employed in his first Campaign in the South Parts of *Canaan* (q); the other five were spent against the King of *Hazor* and his Confederates (r).

Upon giving over the War *Joshua* was directed by God to apply himself to the dividing the Land of *Canaan* amongst the *Israelites* (s): *Moses*, before he died, had fixed the Inheritance of two Tribes and an half Tribe on the other side *Jordan* (t): There remained nine Tribes and an half to be now settled (u): And unto these *Joshua* and *Eleazar* the Priest, and the Heads of the Tribes, were preparing to set out their Inheritance: But before they began to make Division of the Land, the Children of *Judah* came to them, and *Caleb*, who was of this Tribe, represented, that *Moses* had made him a solemn Promise, which might determine the Place of his particular Inheritance (x): When the Spies were sent by *Moses* into *Canaan*, they went to *Hebron*, where *Ahiman*, *Shephai*, and *Talmai*

(q) Josh. vi. vii. viii. ix. x. (r) xi. (s) xiii.
 (t) Id. xiii. 8, 32. Numb. xxxii. Deut. iii. 12 — 17.
 (u) Josh. xiii. 7. (x) xiv. 6 — 9.

the Children of Anak were (y), and at their Return they took occasion from the Largeness of the Stature of these Men to fill the Camp with Fears, that the *Israelites* would never be able to make their way into the Country (z): But *Caleb* endeavoured to animate the People with better Hopes (a); whereupon, when God pronounced against the Congregation, that the Men who had seen his Miracles and Glory should not come into the Land, but should die in the Wilderness (b), he was pleased to promise, that *Caleb* should be brought [*el ha Aretz, asher ba shammab*] into the Land, to the very Place he went to (c), and that his Seed should possess it (d): Now *Hebron* was the particular Place they went to, and from whence they brought home the Fears which had so disturbed the Camp (e), for faithfully endeavouring to quell which, *Caleb* had this particular Promise made to him (f), and upon this account *Caleb* argued, that this was the Place, at which God had promised that he should be settled, adding withal, that tho' the very Men were then in possession

(y) Numb. xiii. 22. (z) ver. 33. (a) ver. 30.
 xiv. 6. (b) xiv. 22, 23. (c) ver. 24. *The Hebrew Words are,*

והבאתיו אל הארץ אשר בא שמה
 illuc adiit quam in Terram et introducam eum
 ad ipsum Locum illam

(d) *ibid.* (e) Vid. Loc. supr. citat. (f) Numb. xiv. 24.

of it, who had so terrify'd his Companions; yet that he should not at all doubt, but be enabled to eject them (b): *Joshua* admitted the Plea of *Caleb*, and appointed his Inheritance at *Hebron* (c), and then allotted the Tribe of *Judah* the Country from *Hebron* to *Kadesh-barnea*, as described in the xvth Chapter of the Book of *Joshua*. Next after *Judah* the Children of *Joseph* were allotted their Inheritance (d), and we have in the xvith and xviith Chapters of *Joshua* a particular Account of the Boundaries of the Lands assigned to them, namely, to the Tribe of *Ephraim*, and to the half Tribe of *Manasseh*, which was to inherit on this side *Jordan* (e). The Families of this Tribe and half Tribe were settled on the North side the Country, wherein the Camp of the *Israelites*, which was formed at *Gilgal*, rested, as the Tribe of *Judah* was settled on the South of it; so that the Camp was, as it were, secured on either side from any sudden Irruption, and having proceeded thus far, the whole Congregation assembled at *Shiloh* within the Confines of the Tribe of *Ephraim* (f), and there set up the Tabernacle (g).

(b) *Josh.* xiv. 12. (c) *We must here remark, that the City of Hebron was not the Property and Inheritance of Caleb; for Hebron was one of the Levitical Cities: Caleb's Inheritance consisted of some Fields near adjoining to this Town. See Joshua xxi. 11, 12.* (d) *Josh.* xvi. 1, &c. (e) xvii. 5. (f) *See Judges xxi. 19.* (g) *Josh.* xviii. 1.

Josephus seems to represent the Tabernacle to have been erected before they began to divide the Land (*b*): But this I should think a Mistake; for when they began to part the Land, there were nine Tribes and an half Tribe, that had no Inheritance (*i*): But at the time of erecting the Tabernacle, seven Tribes only were not provided for (*k*): Two Tribes and an half Tribe, besides those who were to inherit on the other side *Jordan*, had had their Countries assigned to them, according to what is above represented, as the Book of *Joshua* very plainly intimates. Thus far therefore the *Israelites* had proceeded, but they began to find Difficulties in the Method they were taking: To *Judah* they had given too large a Country (*l*), and *Ephraim* and the half Tribe of *Manasseh* were not satisfy'd with what was allotted them (*m*): And for this Reason, I imagine, they now set up the Tabernacle: Their Enemies were so far subdued, and the Place where they were to fix it, so surrounded with the Settlements already made, that they had no reason to fear any sudden Invasion to oblige them to take it down again (*n*): And by having the Tabernacle erected they would have Power

(*b*) *Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 5. c. 1.* (*i*) *Josh. xiv. 2.*
xiii. 7. (*k*) *xviii. 2.* (*l*) *xix. 9.* (*m*) *xvii. 14.*
 (*n*) *xviii. 1.*

to apply to God for his immediate Direction in all Difficulties (*o*); so as both to prevent Mistakes in their Division of the Land, and to leave no Pretence for any Tribe's being dissatisfied at the Lot that should be assigned to them.

The Directions which God had given for the Division of the Land were these:
 1. They were to divide the Land by Lot (*p*): Each Tribe was to have that Portion of it which by Lot should fall to him (*q*).
 2. When the Lot of a Tribe was fallen, the Land so allotted to that Tribe was to be divided amongst the several Families of it (*r*), and this, I think, was to be done partly by the Lot (*s*), and but in part by it. When they began to set out the particular Inheritances of Families, they threw the Lot, which Family they should settle first, which next, and so on: And thus *every Man's Inheritance would be in the Place where his Lot fell* (*t*); but the Place of it being thus fixed, they did not cast the Lot for the Quantity to be assigned to a Family; for they were to set out more or less Land to each Family according to the Number of the Names of the Persons belonging to it (*u*).
 3. Every private Person was to have his Inheritance within

(*o*) See Exod. xxix. 42, 43. (*p*) Numb. xxxiii. 54.
 xxvi. 55. (*q*) Ibid. (*r*) Ibid. (*s*) xxvi. 56.
 (*t*) xxxiii. 54. (*u*) Ibid.

the Bounds of the Country assigned to the (u) Tribe he belonged to. 4. To prevent Disputes or Uneasinesses in or from the Choice of the Persons who were to manage and direct the Division, God had expressly named, who should divide the Land unto the Children of *Israel* (w); and 5. He had also set them their Bounds, described how far every way the Land reached, which was to be (x) divided by them. We may now examine, what Method *Joshua* and the Princes of the Congregation took, when they began to execute the Commission herein given to them.

And I imagine in the first Place, they cast Lots to know what Tribe they should begin with in making the Division: And the Lot came out for the Tribe of *Judab*: The next Question that could arise, must be where they should settle this Tribe; and here *Caleb* offered his Claim to have his Inheritance at *Hebron* (z), the admitting which, seems to have rendred all further Enquiry about the Situation of the Country to be assigned to this Tribe superfluous, and also to have led the *Israclites* to set out a Tract of Land for them, more at Random perhaps, than they would otherwise have done. The

(u) Numb. xxxiii. 54.
(x) Ibid. ver. 3—12.

(w) xxxiv. 17—29.
(z) Josh. xiv. 6.

Journey of the Spies upon which *Caleb's* Claim was founded^(a) began from *Kadesh-barnea*: *Caleb's* Claim did not aim at any thing higher up into the Country than *Hebron*: If *Caleb* was fixed here, the Tribe he belonged to was to be settled contiguous to him: The Tribe of *Judah* was the most numerous of all the Tribes; it mustered 76000 Men of twenty Years old and upwards, when the Sum of the Congregation was taken in the Plains of *Moab* ^(aj), and consequently a pretty large Country would be necessary for it: And these Considerations seem to have induced them to set out at Adventure for this Tribe all the Land between *Kadesh-barnea* and *Hebron*, according to the Description and Bounds that are given of it^(b). Having thus fixed the Tribe of *Judah* their Country, they proceeded to allot each Family a proper Share and Portion in it; but when they had done this, they found, that *the Part of the Children of Judah was too much for them*^(c): After each Family of the Tribe had received an Inheritance as large as they could be conceived to have occasion for, there remained a Tract of the Country to spare, and undisposed of: And this could not but suggest to the Dividers, that if they did

(a) Numb. xxxii. 8. Josh. xiv. 7. (aj) Numb. xxvi. 32. (b) Josh. xv. (c) xix. 9.

not go into some stricter Method for the setting out the Assignments to the several Tribes, they might in time be brought into Difficulties: They might set out to the Tribes, which were first provided for, too much of the Land, and not leave enough for those, whose Lot might come up to be last settled: And accordingly in their next Appointment they appear to have a little altered their Method of Proceeding: For,

Here I think they first set out such a Quantity of the Land, as they thought the Country of *Canaan* might afford for a Tribe: Then for the eight Tribes and an half they made eight Lots, assigning but one Lot to the Tribe of *Ephraim* and half Tribe of *Manasseh*, considering them under one Appellation, namely, as the Children of *Joseph*(*d*): After this they cast the Lots to determine, who should have the Inheritance put up to be disposed: The Lot of the Children of *Joseph* came out for it(*e*): That but one Lot was here made for the Sons of *Joseph*, appears evidently from their Complaint to *Joshua*: *The Children of Joseph spake unto Joshua, saying, Why hast thou given me but one Lot, and one Portion to inherit* (*f*)? The Children of *Joseph* here concerned, were more than a Tribe; they

(*d*) *Josh.* xvi. 1. (*e*) *Ibid.* ver. 1, 2, 3, 4. (*f*) xvii. 14.

were a Tribe and an half Tribe, and in all Respects a flourishing People (*g*), and they thought that they ought not to have been put thus together, and represented in but one Lot, when, if they had been a Tribe only, one Lot would have been assigned to them: And this Complaint of the Sons of *Joseph* intimates also, that the Quantity of Land, which the Lots were cast for, was settled, and the Bounds of it agreed upon, before the Lots were cast for it; otherwise the Complaint would have been groundless; for if this had not been the Case, where would have been the Hardship of the Sons of *Joseph's* being represented by but one Lot, when the Dividers of the Land might, upon finding them to be the Persons to be provided for, have set them out as much Land, and half as much Land, as they would have portioned out to a Tribe, if the Lot of a single Tribe had come up upon this Occasion? But herein the Sons of *Joseph* argued the Inequality of the Procedure: A Tract of Land was set out for the Inheritance of a Tribe: In the Lots they were represented but as a Tribe; and hereby they received not a Portion and an half Portion, which they might think they had a just Claim to, but one single Portion only (*b*); for any other sin-

(*g*) Josh. xvii. 15, 17. (*b*) ver. 14.

gle Tribe, if their Lot had come up for it, would have had all the Country, which was assigned to them. After it was determined what Country the Sons of *Joseph* were thus to have, it remained to consider how to divide it to their Families: And herein the Lot was to be used (*i*): And the Dividers having perhaps fixed where they would begin to set out the Lands, might cast the Lots to know whether they should settle the Families of *Ephraim* first, or of *Manasseh*. They began, I think, in the Parts nearest to the Camp with the Families of *Ephraim* (*k*), and having provided for them in order as their Lot directed (*l*), and given them each Family a greater or a lesser Inheritance, as the Number of Persons belonging to it required (*m*); there remained the Portion to be divided to the half Tribe of (*n*) *Manasseh*, which they distributed to them in like manner (*o*); adding to them, over and besides the Residue of what was first allotted, some Tracts of Land taken from the Coasts, that were afterwards assigned to the Tribes of *Asher* and *Issachar* (*p*); for upon their repeated Remonstrances (*q*), *Joshua* did indeed confess, that they were a great People, and that *one*

(*i*) Vid. quæ sup. (*k*) Josh. xvi. 5. (*l*) Vid. quæ sup.
 (*m*) Numb. xxxiii. 54. (*n*) Josh. xvii. 2.
 (*o*) Ibid. ver. 7, &c. (*p*) ver. 11. (*q*) Ver. 14, 16.

Lot only was not altogether enough for them (*r*).

There were seven Tribes to be still provided for (*s*); but before they proceeded any further, the whole Congregation assembled at *Shiloh*, and set up the Tabernacle (*t*): and then *Joshua* proposed to the People to name to him seven Men, one out of each Tribe, that he might send them out to survey the Country, that remained still to be divided (*u*): What was already done he was for having ratified and confirmed; *that Judah should abide in their Coasts on the South, and the House of Joseph in their Coasts on the North* (*w*), each of these were to keep what had been assigned to them: And the Persons appointed to make the Survey of the Lands not yet disposed of, were to cast their Survey into seven Parts, and to bring their Accounts of it in a Book to *Shiloh*, where *Joshua* purposed to have the Lots thrown *before the Lord*, at the Tabernacle, to determine to each Tribe his Part of it (*x*): The Proposal was received with an universal Approbation: The Men were appointed, and brought in their Survey, and *Joshua* cast the Lots in *Shiloh, before the Lord* (*y*), and divided the Land according

(*r*) Josh. xvii. 17. (*s*) xviii. 2. (*t*) Ibid. 1.
 (*u*) ver. 4. (*w*) ver. 5. (*x*) ver. 6. (*y*) ver. 9.

to their Divisions (*z*), that is; he made no Alterations in any of the seven Parts, which the Men that took the Survey had agreed upon, but each Tribe as their Lot came up, had the Country for which the Lot was drawn, as the Surveyors had described it.

From the Account we have in the Book of *Joshua* of the Order and Part of the Country, in which each of these seven Tribes were settled (*a*), we may easily apprehend in what manner the Lots were drawn for them: First, it was agreed to draw for the Land, that lay between *Judah* and the Sons of *Joseph*; the Countries where the Camp had been so long at *Gilgal*, and this fell to the Tribe of *Benjamin* (*b*): The second Lot was cast for the Land, that remained over and above what was occupied by the Tribe of *Judah*, and this fell to the Tribe of *Siméon* (*c*): The third Lot was for a Tract of Land, which at one End was bounded by the Sea of *Tiberias*, and this fell to the Tribe of *Zebulun* (*d*): Fourthly, they drew for the Land between *Zebulun* and the Sons of *Joseph*, and this fell to the Tribe of *Issachar* (*e*): The fifth Lot gave to *Asher* the Country next to the

(*z*) *Josh.* xviii. 10. (*a*) *Ibid.* ver. 11. to ver. 48 of
 Chap. xix. (*b*) xviii. 11. (*c*) xix. 1. (*d*) ver. 10.
 (*e*) ver. 17.

North Extent of the Land to be divided (*f*): The sixth Lot assigned to *Naph-tali* a Country East to *Asher* (*g*): And the last Lot remained for *Dan*, and placed him upon the Coasts of the *Philistines* (*h*). It is remarked, that *the Coast of the Children of Dan went out too little for them* (*i*); an Observation probably not made by *Joshua*: The Words that follow it hint the Expedition, which the *Danites* made afterwards against *Leshem*: *Therefore the Children of Dan went up to fight against Leshem, and took it, and smote it with the Edge of the Sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and called it Leshem Dan, after the Name of Dan their Father* (*k*): These Words cannot be supposed to have been written by *Joshua*; for they speak of an Expedition not made until after his Death (*l*), and therefore I should think this whole Verse an Addition to the sacred Pages, made in the manner of some others, which I have observed to be of a like Nature (*m*). The Children of *Dan* were indeed a large People; they mustered 64400 Men of twenty Years old and upwards, when the Poll was taken in the Plains of *Moab* (*n*): *Judab* only was a bigger Tribe: But I

(*f*). Josh. xix. 24. (*g*) ver. 32. (*h*) ver. 40.
 (*i*) ver. 47. (*k*) Ibid. (*l*) Judg. xviii. (*m*) See
 Prideaux Connect. Part. 1. B. 5. p. 492. (*n*) Numb.
 xxii. 43.

should not imagine, that the Surveyors of the Land had made their Assignments so injudiciously, as to have any very remarkable Disproportion appear in any of them: *The Coast of Dan was too little for them*(*q*), probably not that the Country assigned them was not in it self large enough to receive, and produce an abundant Provision for all their Families; but because *all their Inheritance did not fall unto them*(*r*): The *Philistines* were in their full Strength (*u*), and Part of their Territories were in this Country (*w*), and the *Amorites* possessed other the most fruitful Parts of it (*x*); so that the Children of *Dan* had comparatively speaking Possession of but a small Part of what was intended to be their Inheritance: And we do not find, that they enlarged themselves (*y*); and therefore as their Families increased, they must have been in Straits in a Country, of which they had so imperfect a Tenure: Otherwise, from the Fruits (*z*), and Pasturage of this Part of (*a*) *Canaan*, not to mention, that they had undoubtedly Corn-Fields, as well as their Neighbours on their very Borders(*b*); nor to suggest how many of the Tribe

(*q*) Josh. xix. 47. (*r*) See Judg. xviii. 2. (*w*) Josh. xix. 2. (*u*) Compare Josh. xix. 43. with xiii. 3. 1 Sam. v. 10. vi. 16, 17. (*x*) Judg. i. 35. (*y*) i. 34, 35. (*z*) See Numb. xiii. 24. (*a*) Gen. xxxviii. 13. (*b*) Judg. xv. 5.

of *Dan* might abide in *Ships* (bj), and have the Advantages of Employment in a Sea-Life; we may judge, that had a full Possession of their whole Allotment fallen to them, a mighty and a great People might have flourished and increased in it.

The sacred Writer has given us a very particular Account of the Bounds and Extent of the Country assigned to each Tribe (c); but we cannot hope to be able to trace out their Borders with the same Exactness: *Canaan* must have been too much altered from what it was in the Days of *Joshua*; for perhaps the *Jews* themselves in their later Days have found the Face of things, that in these Times appeared in it: Ten of the twelve Tribes of *Israel* were lost in the Captivity (co): Two Tribes only, *Benjamin* and *Judab*, with some few Families of the other Tribes incorporated with them, returned from *Babylon* (d): And the Number that returned was comparatively so small (e), that, if all *Canaan* had been restored to them, they would in no wise have been sufficient to enter upon a full Possession of what had been the Inheritance of the twelve Tribes in their several Divisions of it. *Judæa* alone was

(bj) *Judg.* v. 17. (c) *Josh.* xiii. xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix.
 (co) *Prideaux Connect.* Part. 1. B. 1. (d) *Id.*
 B. 3. (e) *Id. ibid.*

a Country more than large enough for them, and they were obliged to contrive Means, that *Jerusalem* it self should not want People (*f*): In this State of Things, the Country of the ten Tribes might not be much inquired after: Other Nations of People were become the (*g*) Possessors of it, and the Bounds of the Inheritances that had formerly been known in it might be, in a few Ages, not to be ascertained with a great Exactness, even before the Times of a very late Posterity: And accordingly, I think, we find not only *Adrichomius*, and other modern *Chorographers*, giving us, in many Particulars, very confused and unscriptural Accounts of the Situation of divers of the ancient Towns of these Countries (*h*); but even *Josephus* himself rather able to say at large, whereabouts each Tribe had been placed, than to describe with Exactness the Borders of their Situations: He represents *Zebulun* to have had his Country from the Lake *Gennesaret* to Mount *Carmel*, and to the Sea (*i*); but we cannot, I think, conceive this Tribe to have had this Situation: That the Country of *Zebulun* touched upon *Gennesaret* is indeed con-

(*f*) Nehem. xi. (*g*) Prideaux ubi sup. (*h*) Walton. in Prolegom. ad Bib. Polyglot. (*i*) Ζαβουλωνίται ἤ τὴν μερὲν Γεννησαίτιδος, καθήκουσαν δὲ πρὸς Κάρμιλον ἢ θάλασσαν ἔλαχον. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 5. c. 1.

firmed by St. *Matthew* (k); but how shall we extend it from thence to *Carmel*, and to the Sea? *Asher* reached to *Carmel* westward (m): *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* met together in *Asher* on the North (n): The only Point, where these two Tribes could thus meet, must be at the Sea at *Carmel* (o); but they could not meet in this Point, if the Land of *Zebulun* lay here between them. I might observe further: *Zebulun's* Inheritance, according to what *Jacob* had prophesied of him, was to reach, not unto *Carmel*, but unto *Zidon* (p), and undoubtedly according to this Account of what was to be his Border, his Portion was in due time assigned to him: We must therefore suppose the Inheritance of this Tribe to have been extended from *Genesaret*, between the Lands of *Asher* and *Naphtali* up to the northern Extent of *Canaan*, and in this manner the Border of *Zebulun* might indeed be unto *Zidon*: *Zidon* was a Town perhaps not of *Zebulun*, but of *Asher* (q), *Zebulun's* Country then reached only to the Borders of it (r).

When *Joshua* and the Persons in Commission with him had made an End of di-

(k) Mat. iv. 13. (m) Josh. xix. 26. (n) xvi. 10.
 (o) Any Map of the Country will offer this to View.
 (p) Gen. xlix. 13. (q) See Josh. xix. 27. 28.
 (r) I might observe, that the giving *Zebulun* this Situation agrees to another Hint of *Joshua's*; that *Zebulun* lay East, or to the Sun-rising of *Asher*. Josh. xix. 27.

viding the Land for Inheritance by their Coasts (s), the Children of Israel gave an Inheritance to Joshua: They gave him the City which he asked, even Timnath-Serah in Mount Ephraim, and he built the City, and dwelt therein (t): What he asked for was in a Situation not occupied by any, to whom Inheritances had been given; for it was in *Mount Ephraim*, probably in that Part of the Hill, of which *Joshua* had observed to his People, that it was a Wood, and that they might cut it down, and open to themselves an Enlargement of their Borders in the Outgoings of it (u): If *Timnath-Serah* was a Town before *Joshua* built it, it might perhaps be an old ruined Village, that had been long evacuated in this wild and overgrown Country; so that *Joshua* asked a Property, such as might give him an Opportunity of being an Example to his Tribe for the improving their Inheritance, to instruct them how to make their Allotment commodious for them: *Joshua built the City, and dwelt therein*: In so commanding a Situation we may conceive him to have formed, as it were, a new and beautiful Country round about him, and to have planted himself not inelegantly, and agreeably to a Taste, which the Ancients of almost all

(s) Josh. xix. 49, 50.

(t) Ibid.

(u) xvii. 18.

Countries

Countries were not Strangers to in their early Times (w).

The Inheritances being fixed, the *Israelites* appointed the six Cities of Refuge, and agreed upon the Cities to be set out in every Tribe for the *Levites* to dwell in (x), and all things being hereby settled for the *Israelites* of all the Tribes enjoying their respective Possessions in all Parts of the Land, *Joshua* called together the *Reubenites*, *Gadites*, and the half Tribe of *Manasseh*, whose Inheritances were on the other Side *Jordan*, and having made a public Acknowledgment of their Assistance to their Brethren, and of their having now punctually fulfilled all that *Moses* had required of them, he strictly charged them to resolve most stedfastly to keep the Law; he ordered them their Share of the Spoil of the conquered Nations, and dismissed them, in order to their going home unto their own Possessions (y): The two Tribes and an half drew off from the Congregation, and began their March towards their own Country (z): And when they were come to *Jordan*, before they passed the River, they built a very large Altar, near the Place where the *Israelites* had formerly come over into

(w) ὥκισε πέλας μικρὰς ἢ συνεχῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ὅπερ ὡς τοῖς παλαιῖς τρόποις ἐκίσεως συνήθης. Dionys. Halicar. lib. 1. c. 12.

(x) Josh. xx. xxi.

(y) xxii. 1—8. (z) ver. 9.

Canaan(*e*), intending to leave here a lasting Monument to all future Ages, that they acknowledged themselves to belong to the Tribes in *Canaan*, and that they had no separate Altar in their own Country; but that the Altar at which they were to sacrifice was on the other Side the River, before the Tabernacle of the Lord their God (*f*): A Rumour of what they were doing soon came to *Shilob*, and the Congregation there were greatly alarmed at it (*g*): The *Israelites* in *Canaan* not knowing their Intention, were afraid they were setting up an Altar for themselves, and that they intended to fall off from the Worship, which the Law commanded, and resolved upon a War against them, rather than suffer an Innovation, which they apprehended would bring down the divine Vengeance upon all *Israel* (*h*): Hereupon they sent an Embassy (*i*): The two Tribes and the half Tribe explained their Intention to the Princes who were sent to them (*k*); so that they returned with an Account, that gave great Satisfaction to the Congregation (*l*), who thereupon blessed God, that their Brethren were not guilty of the Defection from his Worship, which they had im-

(*e*) Josh. xxii. 11. (*f*) ver. 21—29.
 11—20. (*h*) Ibid. (*i*) Ibid.
 21—29. (*l*) ver. 33.

(*g*) ver.
 (*k*) ver.

puted to them (*m*): And so with great Joy they laid aside the Preparations they were making for a War (*n*).

As the Sword of *Joshua* had been fatal to the *Canaanites*, wherever he had marched against them; for we read of all the Nations conquered by him, that he utterly depopulated them, as the Lord God of *Israel* had commanded (*o*); so it is imagined, that many Companies fled before him out of every Country, and escaped into foreign Lands. *Procopius*, who flourished in the Time of *Justinian*, mentions some Pillars, near the Place where *Tangier* is now situate, with an Inscription upon them in old *Phœnician* Letters to this Purpose, WE ARE THE FUGITIVES FROM THE FACE OF JOSHUA THE ROBBER THE SON OF NUN (*p*), and the *Hebrew* Writers tell us, that the whole Nation of the *Gergashites* escaped into this Country (*q*): But the sacred Historian intimates the contrary: The *Gergashites* were one of the Nations, that fought with the *Israelites* (*r*): It is not indeed probable, that in the Battles fought by *Joshua* every Person of every Nation subdued by him fell by the Sword: Some

(*m*) *Josh.* xxii. 33. (*n*) *Ibid.* (*o*) *Josh.* x. 40.
 (*p*) *Procop.* in *Vandalicis*. *Bochart.* *Præf.* in *Lib. de Colon.*
et Sermon. Phœnic. (*q*) *Rab. S. B. Nachman. Gem.*
Hierosol. vid. Selden. de Jur. Nat. et Gentium. lib. 6.
c. 13. (*r*) *Josh.* xxiv. 11.

Remains of every Kingdom might escape, as *Æneas* and a few *Trojans* did in a succeeding Age from the Ruin of *Troy*: And if any little Companies in this manner took their Flight in *Joshua's* first Campaign, when he overthrew the Kings of *South-Canaan*, they might make their Rout by Way of *Egypt* into these Parts of *Africa*, or they might fly into the Land of the *Philistines*, which was not yet conquered(s); and from Towns on these Coasts, of Repute for their Shipping in these Days(t), they might sail for foreign Lands, and a Voyage from these Parts to *Africa* was suitable to the Skill of these Times in the Art of Sailing, it fell naturally down along the Coast from *Canaan* to *Egypt*, to *Libya*, without a Necessity of going a great Distance out of Sight of Shore: Such a Voyage *Dido* made afterwards from *Tyre* to *Carthage*. When *Alexander* the Great was to make his Entry into *Babylon*, there were Embassies attending him from divers Nations, who had employed their Agents to offer to him a State of their several Interests and Affairs, and to beg of him to accept an Arbitration of their Differences(u): *Arrian* mentions Ambassadors from *Africa* to have waited upon him at this time(w), and the *Talmudical* Writers say, that the

(s) *Josh.* xiii. 3. (t) See *Judg.* v. 17. (u) *Arrian.*
de expedit. *Alexand.* lib. 7. p. 476. (w) *Id.* *ibid.*

Canaanites abovementioned, who had fled into *Africa*, were the People who made him this Compliment, and that their Deputies were instructed to lay before *Alexander*, how the *Israelites* had expelled their Ancestors, and to pray him to restore them back to their old Country again (x): But whether this was not a mere Fancy of these Writers, and whether *Procopius* had a sufficient Information of what he related, I cannot determine.

Other Writers tell us that *Canaan* sent out many Colonies into divers Parts of the World in these Times (y), and *Bochart* hints the States of *Lesser-Asia*, of *Greece*, and the Isles in the *Ægean* Sea, to have received many Companies of *Canaanites* who fled from their own Country: But whoever will duly examine the Labours of this Writer, will find his whole Work upon this Subject to offer rather a very learned Appearance of Arguments, than true and real Argument to support his Opinion. The Foreigners who might come from or pass thro' *Canaan* into these Countries, came earlier than the Times of *Joshua*: And of this *Bochart* himself could not but feel a Conviction in many Particulars: There were no Revolutions in *Greece*, or its neighbour Islands, that happened after

(x) Vid. Gemar. Babylon. ad Tit. Sanhed. c. 11. f. 91. Selden de jure Natural. & Gent. Lib. 7. c. 8. (y) Vid. Bochart. de Colon. et Serm. Phœnic.

the Days of *Joshua*, but which may be accounted for without any Migrations from *Canaan* into these Countries: In like manner the States in *Lesser-Asia* which were of Figure in the succeeding Times, and particularly the Kingdom of *Troy*, which grew to be the Mistress of these Parts, were formed and growing up in their own Strength, before *Canaan* was in Trouble: And the Wars of *Joshua* seem to have been so far from having had any Effect which extended it self towards these Countries, that we find Nations thro' or nigh unto which great Routs of Exiles must have passed, if any considerable Migrations had been made out of *Canaan* into *Lesser-Asia* in these Days, open and unguarded against Incurfions, *careless, quiet, and secure*, under no Apprehensions that any neighbouring People might want Settlements and be tempted to dispossess them (z), which they could not have been insensible of, if many Troops had passed their Borders in their Flights to foreign Lands. The *Israelites* had indeed reduced many Kingdoms of *Canaan*, and divided their Countries to each Tribe their Share of them; but they had not so intirely dissipated and destroyed the Inhabitants, but that in a little time they got again together, formed them-

(z) See Judges xviii. 7.

felves to a new Strength, and were able to difpute with their Conquerors, whether they fhould have the Towns, which when preffed by *Jofhua* to a precipitate Flight, they feemed to have evacuated and given up to them (a). I muft add to all this, that there were many States and Cities of *Canaan* that flood ftill in their Strength, unattacked by the *Israelites* (b), who were able afterwards to bring into the Field numerous Armies (c): and to thefe the fcattered Remains of the Nations that were reduced did undoubtedly fly; and it is reasonable to imagine, that the Cities they fled to might be willing to receive and provide for them, in order to ftrengthen themfelves by an Addition of People, rather than to have them defert the Country and leave *Canaan*: It is very probable an Increate of People in this manner was what raifed the Strength of the *Philiftines* in a few Ages, fo as to make them more than a Match for all *Israel* (d).

Jofhua lived feveral Years after he had fixed the *Israelites* their Settlements in the Land (e), and had the Satisfaction of feeing them happy in a Scene of great Peace and Quiet all the reft of his Days: He was

(a) Judges i. 1. compared with *Jofhua* xii. 13. (b) See *Jofh.* xiii. 2—6. (c) See Judges i. 4. (d) Vid. Lib. Samuel. (e) *Jofh.* xxiii. 1.

now *old and stricken in Age* (*f*): And as he did not expect to be much longer with them, he summoned a Congregation of all *Israel* (*g*), represented the great things which God had done for them; observed to them how he had been enabled to assign them their Inheritance (*h*), and assured them that if they would truly and strictly keep the Law, and not associate themselves contrary to it, with the Nations, which as yet were not expelled the Land, that God would certainly in due time, intirely drive them out, and give the *Israelites* a full Possession of all *Canaan* (*i*): But, said he, on the other hand, If Ye do not persevere, but shall incline unto the Remnant of the Nations that are left, and make Marriages and Alliances with them, then God will not drive them out; but the Nations with whom ye shall have thus engaged your selves, shall be *Snares and Traps, Scourges and Thornes* to you (*k*); shall in various ways seduce and incommode, bring Distress and Calamities upon you, until ye shall perish from off this good Land, which the Lord your God hath given you (*l*): I, in a little time, shall die and leave you; but suffer me to remind you, how punctually hitherto every good Thing has befallen you, which God promised to you,

(*f*) Josh. xxiii. i. (*g*) ver. 2. (*h*) ver. 3, 4.
 (*i*) Josh. xxiii. 5—11. (*k*) ver. 13. (*l*) ver. 15.

and let me tell you, that every Evil which God has threatned, will as exactly come upon you, if you transgress the Covenant of the Lord your God (m).

Some time after he summoned the Tribes to Shechem (n); and sent thither *for the Elders of Israel, and for their Heads, and for their Judges, and for their Officers* to attend him before the Lord (o), where he repeated to them all the Mercies, which

(m) Josh. xxiii. 14—16. (n) xxiv. 1. (o) *Some Copies of the LXX read Shiloh and not Shechem in this Place, and as Joshua and the Elders are said to have presented themselves before God, i. e. at the Tabernacle, agreeably to which Sense of the Expression it appears ver. 26. that they were at their holding their Meeting by or at the Sanctuary of the Lord; and as the Tabernacle was set up not at Shechem, but at Shiloh, chap. xviii. 1. it may be thought, that here is some Mistake, and that Shiloh not Shechem was the Place to which Joshua convened the Tribes of Israel: Some of the Critics thought the Ark and Tabernacle were removed to Shechem against the holding this Convention, but we have no Hints of the Fact having been so, nor occasion to suppose it. Shechem and Shiloh were about twelve Miles distant from one another: Joshua lived at Timnath-Serah a Place almost in the Mid-way between them: He summoned the Tribes to meet in the Fields of Shechem: From thence he called the Heads of the Tribes and Officers to attend him to Shiloh to present themselves before God. All the Tribes of Israel were gather'd to Shechem; but not all the Tribes, rather the Heads, Judges and Officers only presented themselves before God. A Meeting of all the Tribes must form a Camp, not to be accommodated, but in a large and open Country: Shechem had in its Borders Field enough for the Reception of all the People. See Gen. xxxiii. 19. Here therefore they met, and from hence made such Detachments to Shiloh a Place in the Neighbourhood, as the Purposes for which they were convened required: Take the Fact to have been thus, and the Difficulties which some Commentators surmise in this Passage, do all vanish.*

God

God had vouchsafed to their Fathers and to them, from the calling of *Abraham* down to that Day (*oj*); then he desired them to consider and resolve whether they would indeed faithfully serve God, or whether they would choose to fall away to Idolatry (*p*): upon their assuring him that they would not forsake the Lord to serve other Gods (*q*), *Joshua* reminded them that to serve their God was a thing not so easy to be done as said (*r*); for that God would be strict in demanding from them a punctual Performance of what he had required, and that if they should be remiss or unmindful of any Part of it, that his Vengeance would most certainly fall upon them (*s*): Hereupon they repeated their Resolution to serve the Lord (*t*): Well then, said *Joshua*, if after all this you do not do it, let your own Declarations this Day testify against you (*u*): Unto this the People readily assented (*w*): And thus did *Joshua* summon them to a most strict Engagement of themselves never to vary or depart from the Law which God had given them (*x*): And that a lasting Sense of what they had in so solemn a manner agreed to, might remain upon them, he wrote what had passed in

^r (*oj*) Josh. xxiv. 2—13. (*p*) ver. 14, 15.
 (*q*) ver. 16, 17, 18. (*r*) ver. 19. (*s*) ver. 20.
 (*t*) ver. 21. (*u*) ver. 22. (*w*) *ibid.* (*x*) ver. 25.

the Book of the Law (*y*), and set up a Pillar in remembrance of it (*z*), and then dismissed the People. Not long after, *Joshua* being an hundred and ten Years old died, and was buried on the North Side of the Hill of *Gaash*, in the Border of his Inheritance in *Tinnath-Serah* (*a*): *Josephus* informs us that *Joshua* governed the *Israelites* twenty five Years from after the Death of *Moses* (*b*); accordingly we must fix the Time of his Death to about *A. M.* 2578.

It has been a matter of Dispute amongst the Learned, whether *Joshua* was himself the Author of the Book which is called by his Name (*c*): But 1. It is obvious to be observed, that the Book of *Joshua* seems to hint, that a Person, one of the *Israelites*, who made the miraculous Passage over *Jordan*, was the Writer of it: This the first Verse of the fifth Chapter intimates to us: *When all the Kings of the Amorites — heard, that the Lord had dried up the Waters of Jordan from before the Children of Israel, until we were passed over — (d)*; the Writer would not have here used the first Person, *WE were passed*

(*y*) Josh. xxiv. 26. (*z*) ver. 27. (*a*) ver. 29, 30.
 (*b*) *Joseph. Antiq. Lib. 5. c. 1.* (*c*) *Vid. Pol. Synop. Critic. Cleric. in Dissert. de Scriptorib. Historic. Vet. Testam. Carpzov. Introduc. ad Libros Hist. Vet. Test. et al.*
 (*d*) *The Hebrew Words are* [עַד-עַבְרַנו]

over, if himself had not been one of the Persons who had passed the River (f): 2. It is evident, that this Book was written before *Rahab* died; for we are told, that *Joshua saved Rahab the Harlot alive, and her Father's Household, and all that she had, and she dwelleth in Israel unto this Day* (g): The Writer was here willing to record to Posterity, that *Rahab* had not only her Life given her, but that she was so well received by the *Israelites*, as to continue even then to dwell amongst them; a Remark that could not have been made after *Rahab* was dead (h); and consequently the Book that has it must have been composed whilst *Rahab* was yet alive: *Rahab* was afterwards married to *Salmon*, the Son of *Naasson* (i), the Head of the House of *Judab* (k); had she been so, when the Book of *Jeshua* was composed, I should imagine the Author of it, as he appears, by the Hint abovementioned, inclined to intimate all the good Circumstances of her Condition, would not have omitted that, and consequently, by her Marriage not

(f) I ought not to omit, that the marginal Reference in the Hebrew Bibles reads the Word [קַרְיָוִי]; but the Learned allow the Hebrew Keri and Ketib not to be of such Authority, as that we must be absolutely determined by it. Walton. Bibl. Polyglot. Prolegom. viii. c. 26. (g) *Jesh.* vi. 25. (h) The Remark is not, that *Rahab's Family, Descendants, or Father's Household* were then in *Israel*; but the Verb is [רָחַבָּה] in the third Person feminine, and refers to *Rahab* in particular.

(i) *Mat.* i. 5. (k) *Numb.* i. 7.

being mentioned, we have some reason to think the Book of *Joshua* to have been written not late in *Rahab's* Life. 3. We are expressly informed that *Joshua* did himself write, and add what he wrote to *the Book of the Law of God* (l). 4. The Words that inform us of this Fact may, if taken in their natural Sense, and according to the Construction put upon Words of the like Import, when we find them upon ancient Monuments or Remains, be supposed to be *Joshua's* Conclusion of his Book, designed by him to inform Posterity, that himself was the Writer of it: *Joshua wrote these Words in the Book of the Law, &c.* may fairly imply, unless we have good reason to think the Fact was otherwise, that all that was found written *in the Book of the Law*, from the End of what was penned by the Hand of *Moses*, unto the Close of the Period, of which these Words are a Part, was wrote by *Joshua*: And this was the Opinion of the *Talmudists* (n): *Joshua* was the only sacred Penman which we read the *Israelites* to have had in his Age: And after he had finished the Division of the Land, he had many Years of great Leisure (p): In these he probably applied himself to give account of the Death and Burial of *Moses* (q), and from thence continu'd a Narra-

(l) Josh. xxiv. 26.

(n) Bava Bathra cap. 1.

(p) Josh. xxiii. 1.

(q) Deut. xxxiv.

tive of what had been transacted under his own Direction (*r*), filling it up with a general Terrier of the Settlements of the Tribes (*s*), such as it could not but be expedient for the *Israelites* to have on Record, to prevent Confusions about their Inheritances in future Ages. After having done this, he summoned the Tribes (*t*), gave them his Exhortations, and having added, to what he had before prepared, an Account of the Conventions he had held, and what had passed at them, he transcribed the (*u*) whole into the Book of the Law, and then dismissed the People (*w*): Accordingly I take the Work of *Joshua* to begin from where *Moses* ended; at the xxxivth Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, and to end with the 27th Verse of the xxivth Chapter of *Joshua*: As *Joshua* thus added at the End of *Deuteronomy* the Account of *Moses's* Death; so what we find from the 28th Verse of the xxivth Chapter of *Joshua* to the end of that Book, was unquestionably not written until *Joshua* and all the Elders his Contemporaries, who over-lived him, were gone off the Stage (*x*), and was added to the End of the Book of *Joshua*, by some sacred Penman, who was afterwards employed to record the subsequent State of the Affairs of *Israel*.

(*r*) *josh* i. — xii. (*s*) *xiii.* — *xxii.* (*t*) *xxiii.* 2.
 (*u*) *xxiv.* 26. (*w*) *ver.* 23. (*x*) *ver.* 31.

As to the Objections, that are offered against *Joshua's* being the Writer of the Book so called, they are but inconsiderable: It is remarked, that there are many short Hints and Intimations in divers Parts of the Book, that appear evidently of a later Date than *Joshua's* Time: Of the Stones which *Joshua* set up at *Gilgal*, it is observed that they were *there unto this Day* (y); a Remark very proper to be made in a distant Age, but not likely to be hinted by *Joshua*, of a Monument designed by him, not so much for his own Times, as for the Information of a late Posterity (z): Of the *Canaanites* in divers Tribes it is suggested, that the *Israelites* did not drive them out; but admitted them to live amongst them, and made them pay Tribute (a), and of the Tribe of *Dan*, that they went up against *Le-shem* (b): But this Expedition was not undertaken until after *Joshua's* Death (c), nor did the Tribes of *Israel* come to Agreement with the Inhabitants of *Canaan*, whilst *Joshua* was living (d); and therefore all these Observations must have come not from *Joshua*, but from a later Hand: We are told, that what *Joshua* wrote about the Sun and Moon's standing still,

(y) Josh. vii. 26. (z) iv. 21, 22. (a) xiii. 9.
 xvi. 10. (b) xix. 47. (c) Judg. xviii.
 (d) Judg. i.

was also found in the Book of *Jasher* (*f*): But the Book of *Jasher* was more modern than these Times: It contained Hints of what *David* desired the Children of *Judab* might be taught (*g*), and therefore was a Book probably not in Being until *David's* Age: In like manner a Tract of Land in the sixth Chapter of *Joshua* is called *Cabal* (*i*); but this Country seems not to have had this Name until *Hiram* called it so in the Days of *Solomon* (*k*) I might add to these some other Observations of a like Sort (*l*); but how obvious is it to reply to all of them? 1. That the Observation of *Rahab's* being alive (*m*) suggests the Book of *Joshua* to have been composed long before any of these more modern Intimations could be given, and consequently, that none of these could be in the original Book of *Joshua*. 2. The learned are abundantly satisfied, that there are many little Strictures and Observations of this Nature now found in divers Parts of the sacred Books, which were not written by the Composers of the Books they are found in (*n*). 3. Dean *Prideaux* says of them, that they were Additions made by *Esra*, when, upon the Return from the Captivity, he collected and settled for

(*f*) Judg. x. 13. (*g*) 2 Sam. i. 18. (*i*) Josh. xix. 27.
 (*k*) 1 Kings ix. 13. (*l*) Vid. Cleric. Dissertat. de Scriptoribus Lib. Hist. Vet. Testam. (*m*) Josh. vi. 25. (*n*) See *Prideaux* Connect. Part 1. Book v.

the *Jews* a correct Copy of their holy Scriptures (o): What Authority this most learned Writer had for this Opinion, I cannot say: I suspect it proceeded from a Desire to preserve the same Regard to these Additions and Interpolations as is due to the sacred Writings; for he says, *Ezra* was assisted in making these Additions by the same Spirit, by which the Books were at first wrote (p): But, whether *Ezra* made his Copy of the Scriptures from original Books of them then extant; or rather, whether he did not make his Copy from collecting and comparing such transcribed Copies as were in the Hands of the *Israelites* of his Times; whether in the Copies he consulted, the Additions we are speaking of might not stand as marginal Hints made by private Hands in their Copies of the sacred Books; whether *Ezra* could ever design either to add to the sacred Books, or to diminish ought from them (q); tho' perhaps finding divers of these Intimations of use to the Reader for illustrating, and comparing one Part of the sacred Writings with another, or suggesting what might explain an obscure or antiquated Name or Passage in them, he might take such as he judged thus serviceable into his Copy also;

(o) See Prideaux Connect. Part 1. Book v. (p) Ibid.
 (q) Prov. xxx. 6.

but whether he made them Part of his Text; or rather, whether he did not insert them in his Copy, as marginal Hints and Observations only; and whether their being made, as we now find them, Part of the Text, has not been owing to the Mistake or Carelessness of later Transcribers from *Ezra's* Copy, are Points which I submit, with all due Deference, to the Judgment of the Learned.

The End of the Third Volume.

E R R A T A.

Page	Line	
	3	<i>in the Notes for Rata read Rate</i>
129	25	<i>for vejaomcen read vejaomciu</i>
148	22	<i>for Demonstrations read Demonstration</i>
251	22	<i>for 1667 Years read 1667 Year</i>
253	12	<i>for 284 read 348</i>
294	10	<i>for This read Diodorus</i>
323	31	<i>for Fortune read Fortunes</i>
352	23	<i>for Vices read Views</i>
334	ult.	<i>for Men put on read Men might put on</i>
350	2	<i>for Ages read Years</i>
354	16	<i>for a March read such a March</i>
363	1	<i>for Institution read Institutions</i>
367	20	<i>for mere Moderns read more modern</i>
383	25	<i>for will not all bear read will not at all bear</i>
418	4	<i>for Pole read Poll</i>
459	8	<i>for of thole Times read of that Science</i>
	18	<i>for meerly read morally</i>
461	11	<i>for Phaeton read Phaethon</i>
463	3	<i>for 2560 read 2569</i>
465	1	<i>for of read in</i>
481	15	<i>Leshem Dan dele Leshem</i>
483	15	<i>have read to have</i>
489	21	<i>Geigashites read Girgashites</i>

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