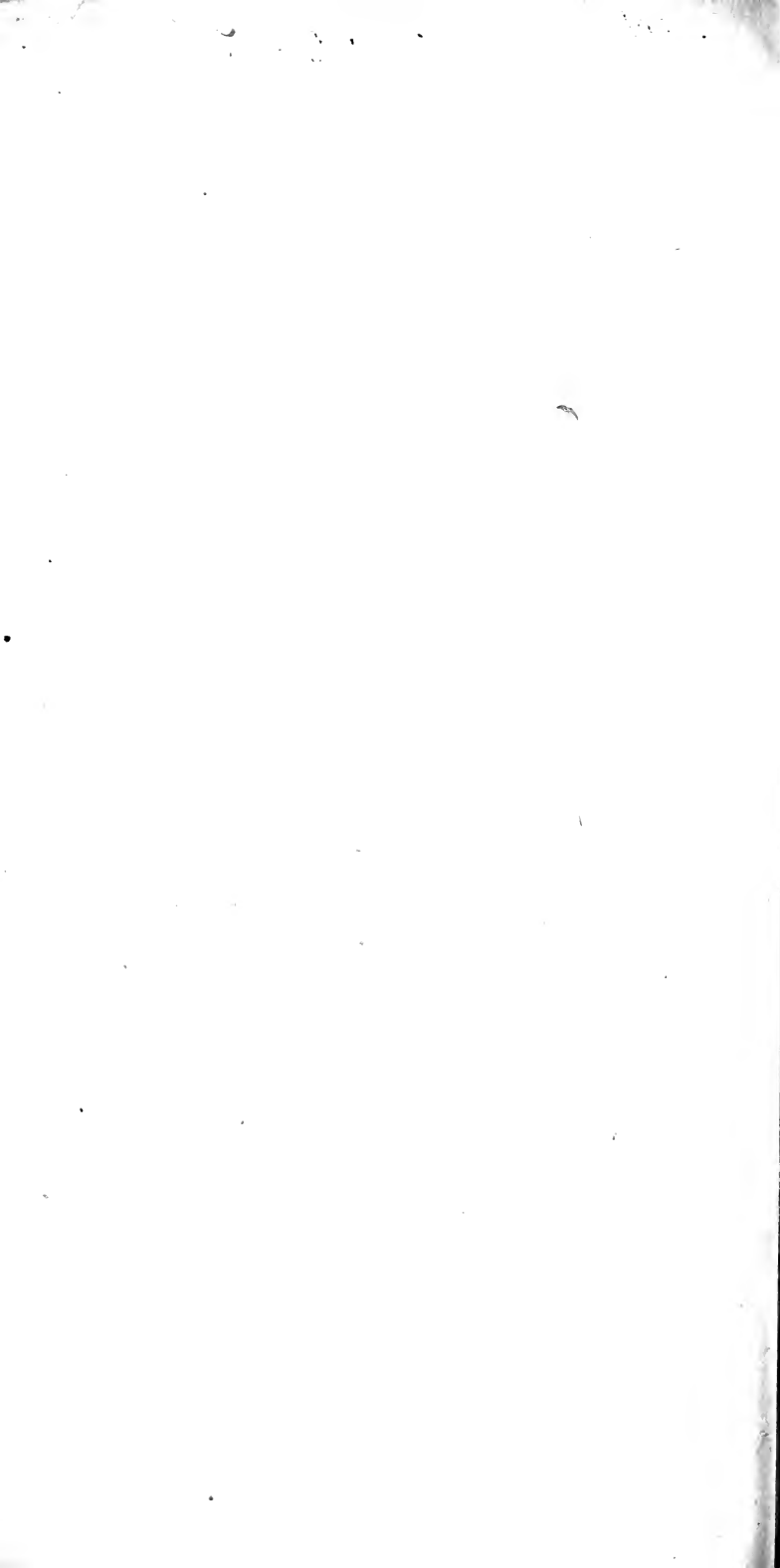


Presented to Theo. Sem.
by Rev. A. J. Stanbury

Oct 1870





Arthur J. Hansbury. J. M. Mason

OBSERVATIONS
ON DIVERS

Passages of Scripture.

- Placing many of them in a Light *altogether new* ;
Ascertaining the Meaning of several *not determinable* by the Methods commonly made use of by the Learned ;
Proposing to Consideration *probable Conjectures* on others, different from what have been hitherto recommended to the Attention of the Curious ;
And more *amply illustrating* the Rest than has been yet done, by Means of Circumstances incidentally mentioned

IN BOOKS OF
VOYAGES AND TRAVELS
INTO THE EAST :
IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II, RELATING TO

- VI. The Eastern Methods of doing Persons *Honour*.
VII. Their *Books*.
VIII. The *Natural, Civil, and Military* State of JUDÆA.
IX. ÆGYPT.
X. *Miscellaneous* Matters.

THE SECOND EDITION,

Corrected with Care, and enlarged with many *new* Observations :
Numbers of them taken from some MS. Papers of the celebrated
SIR JOHN CHARDIN.

Impellimur autem Naturâ, ut prodesse velimus quamplurimis imprimisque docendo,
. Itaque non facile est invenire, qui quod sciat ipse, non tradat alteri.
Cic. de fin. lib. iii.

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M DCC LXXVI.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Eastern Methods of doing Persons Honour.

OBSERVATION I.

OF these the *presenting gifts* is one of the most universal; and the use of them was, as well as is, much more extensive in the East than with us.

Such as are prejudiced against the Sacred History, and *unacquainted with Eastern customs*, may be ready, from the donations to the Prophets, to imagine they were a *mercenary* set of people, and rudely to rank them with *cunning-men* and *fortune-tellers*, who will not from principles of benevolence reveal those secrets, or foretell those future events, of the perfect knowledge of which they are supposed to be possessed, but demand of the anxious enquirer a large reward. This, however, will make impressions on none but those who know not the oriental usages, which Maundrell long since applied, with such clearness and force, to one of the most exceptionable passages of the Old Testament, that he has sufficiently satisfied the mind

Of the Methods of doing Persons Honour

upon this point. As he has expressly applied it to a passage of Scripture, it would not have been agreeable to my design to have mentioned this circumstance, had I not had some additional remarks to make upon this head, which possibly may not be ungrateful to the *curious* reader, and which therefore I shall here set down. I suppose my reader acquainted with Maundrell; but it will be proper, for the sake of perspicuity, first to recite at full length that passage in him I refer to.

“ *Thursday, March 11.* This day we all
 “ dined at Consul Hastings’s house; and af-
 “ ter dinner went to wait upon *Ostan* the
 “ *Bassa* of Tripoli, having first sent our
 “ present, as the manner is among the
 “ Turks, to procure a propitious recep-
 “ tion.

“ *It is counted uncivil to visit in this country*
 “ *without an offering in hand. All great men*
 “ expect it as a kind of tribute due to their
 “ character and authority; and look upon
 “ themselves as *affronted*, and indeed *de-*
 “ *frauded*, when this compliment is omitted.
 “ Even in familiar visits amongst inferior
 “ people, you shall seldom have them come
 “ without bringing a flower, or an orange,
 “ or some other such token of their respect
 “ to the person visited: the Turks in this
 “ point keeping up the ancient oriental cus-
 “ tom hinted 1 *Sam.* ix. 7. *If we go* (says
 “ *Saul*) *what shall we bring the man of God?*
 “ *there*

“ *there is not a present, &c,* which words
“ are questionless to be understood in con-
“ formity to this eastern custom, as relating
“ to a token of respect, and not a price of
“ divination ¹.”

Maundrell doth not tell us what the present was which they made Ostan. It will be more entirely satisfying then to the mind to observe, that in the East they not only universally send before them a present, or carry one with them, especially when they visit superiors, either civil or ecclesiastical; but that this present is frequently a *piece of money*, and that of *no very great value*. So Dr. Pococke tells us, that he presented an Arab Sheik of an *illustrious descent* on whom he waited, and who attended him to the ancient Hierapolis, with a *piece of money* which he was told *he expected* ²; and that in Ægypt an Aga being dissatisfied with the present he made him, he sent for the Doctor's servant, and told him, that he ought to have given him a piece of cloth, and, if he had none, *two sequins*, worth about a guinea, must be brought to him, otherwise he should see no more, with which demand he complied ³. In one case a piece of money was *expected*, in the other two sequins *demand*ed. A trifling present of money to a person of distinction amongst us would be an affront; it is not so however, it seems, in the East. Agree-

¹ P. 26, 27. ² Vol. 2. p. 167. ³ Vol. 1. p. 119.

bly to these accounts of Pococke, we are told in the travels of Egmont and Heyman, that the well of Joseph in the castle of Cairo is not to be seen without leave from the Commandant; which having obtained, they in return *presented* him with a *sequin*⁴. These instances are curious exemplifications of Mr. Maundrell's account of the *nature* of some of the Eastern presents, and ought by no means to be omitted in collections of the kind I am now making.

How much happier was the cultivation of Mr. Maundrell's genius than of St. Jerome's! Though this father lived so many years in the East, and might have advantageously applied the remains of their ancient customs to the elucidation of Scripture, to which if he was a stranger, he must have been an egregiously negligent observer; yet we find him, in his comment on Micah iii. 11, roundly declaring, that by a Prophet's receiving money, his *prophesying became divination*. And when he afterwards mentions this case of Saul's application to Samuel, as what he foresaw might be objected to him, he endeavours to avoid the difficulty, by saying, We do not find that Samuel accepted it, or that they even ventured to offer it; or if it *must* be supposed that he received it, that it was rather to be considered as *money presented to the tabernacle*, than the *rewards*

⁴ Vol. 2. p. 76.

of prophesying⁵. How embarrassed was the Saint by a circumstance capable of the most clear explanation! Fond of allegorizing, he neglected the surest methods of interpretation, for which he had peculiar advantages: how different are the rewards of divination, which were to be *earned*, from the *unconditional presents* that were made to persons of figure upon being introduced into their presence!

Before I quit this Observation, I cannot forbear remarking, that there are other things presented in the East, besides money, which appear to us extremely low and mean, unworthy the quality of those that offer them, or of those to whom they are presented; and consequently that we must be extremely unqualified to judge of these oriental compliments. In what light might an European wit place the present of a *Governor* of an *Ægyptian* village, who sent to a *British Consul* fifty eggs as a mark of respect⁶, and that in a country where they are so cheap as to be sold at the rate of ten for a penny⁷?

⁵ Prophetæ Hierusalem in pecunia divinabant, nescientes aliud esse prophetiam, aliud divinationem: —Videbantur sibi quidem esse Prophetæ: sed quia pecuniam accipiebant, prophetia ipsorum facta est divinatio.—Nec quenquam moveat illud quod in primo Regum libro legimus: Saul volentem ire ad Samuelem dixisse puero suo, &c: non enim scriptum est, quod Samuel acceperit: aut quod illi obtulerint.—Sed fac eum accepisse, stipes magis æstimandæ sunt tabernaculi, quam munera prophetiæ. ⁶ Pococke's Trav. Vol. I. p. 17. ⁷ Seven or eight for a medine, or three farthings. Pococke, Vol. I. p. 260.

OBSERVATION II.

What the presents were that were made the ancient Prophets, we are not always told; but all the particulars of that made by Jeroboam's Queen to the Prophet Ahijah are given us, 1 Kings xiv. 3. I very much question, however, whether that was any part of the disguise she assumed, as an eminent Prelate supposes¹, who imagines she presented him with such things as might make the Prophet think her to be a *country-woman*, rather than a *courtier*.

It undoubtedly was not a present that *proclaimed* royalty, that would have been contrary to Jeroboam's intention that she should be concealed; but it doth not appear to have been, in the estimation of the East, a *present only fit for a country-woman* to have made: for d'Arvieux tells us, that when he waited on an Arab Emir, his mother and sister, to gratify whose *curiosity* that visit was made, sent him, early in the morning after his arrival in their camp, a present of pastry, honey, fresh butter, with a basin of sweetmeats of Damascus²: now this present differs but little from that of Jeroboam's wife, who carried loaves, cracknells, (or rather cakes enriched with seeds,) and a cruse of honey, and was made by princesses that

¹ See Patrick on 1 Kings xiv. 3. ² Voy. dans la Pal. par la Roque, p. 50.

avowed their quality. The present then of Jeroboam's wife did not discover her quality, but it was not so mean a present as the Bishop seems to suppose.

Sir John Chardin tells us, somewhere in his travels, of an officer whose business it was to register the presents that were made to his master, or mistress; and I have since found the same practice obtains at the Ottoman court: for Egmont and Heyman, speaking³ of the presents made there on the account of the circumcision of the Grand Signior's children, tell us that *all* these donations, with the time when, and on what occasion given, were carefully registered in a book for that purpose. If a collection of papers of this sort, belonging to the Bashaw of Gaza, the Mofolem of Jerusalem, or the Arab Emirs of the Holy-Land, were put into our hands; or if our countrymen, that reside in the Levant, were to furnish us with minute accounts of the presents made there which come to their knowledge, it would be not only an amusing curiosity, but would enable us, I make no question, to produce instances of modern gifts parallel to those that are mentioned in the Scripture history, in almost all cases, and if not absolutely in all, I dare say similar to those that appear most odd to us, at the same time, that it would enable us to enter into the rationale of them much better than we do now.

³ Vol. I. p. 214.

Thus the making presents of eatables, not only to those that were upon a journey, which, in a country where they carried their own provisions with them, was perfectly natural; but to those whom they visited in their own houses, as the wife of Jeroboam did to Ahijah, and some of them persons of great distinction, as Saul would have done to Samuel, the Judge of Israel as well as a Prophet, had not all his provisions been expended, in a journey which proved more tedious than he expected, appears to have been a custom perfectly conformable to what is at present practised in the East, and had a ground for it in nature, which modern travellers have explained to us.

“ This custom ” (of making presents,) says Maillet⁴, “ is *principally* observed in the *frequent visits* which they make one another through the course of the year, which are *always preceded* by presents of fowls, sheep, rice, coffee, and other provisions of different kinds. These visits, which relations and friends make regularly to each other, were in use among the ancient Ægyptians, and though they are often made without going out of the same city, yet they never fail of lasting three or four days, and sometimes eight. They carry all their family with them, if they have any; and the custom is, as I have just observed, to send presents before-hand,

⁴ Let. II. p. 137.

“ proportionate to their rank, and the number of their attendants.”

When they consulted a Prophet then, the Eastern modes required a present; and they might think it was right rather to present him with eatables than other things, because it frequently happened that they were detained there some time, waiting the answer of God, during which time hospitality would require the Prophet to ask them to take some repast with him. And as the Prophet would naturally treat them with some regard to their quality, they doubtless did then, as the Ægyptians do now, proportion their presents to their avowed rank and number of attendants. The present of Jeroboam's wife was that of a woman in affluent circumstances, though it by no means determined her to be a princess. That made to the Prophet Samuel, was the present of a person that expected to be treated like a *man in low life*; how great then must be his surprize, first to be treated with distinguished honour in a large company, and then to be anointed king over Israel!

But though this seems to have been the original ground, of presenting common eatables to persons who were visited at their own houses, I would by no means be understood to affirm they have always kept to this, and presented *eatables* when they expected to stay with them and take some repast, and *other things* when they did not. Accuracy is not
to

to be expected in such matters: the observation however naturally accounts for the rise of this sort of presents.

In other cases, the presents that anciently were, and of late have been wont to be made to eminent personages for study and piety, were large sums of money⁵, or vestments: so the present that a Syrian Nobleman would have made to an Israelitish Prophet, with whom he did not expect to *stay* any time, or indeed to *enter his house*, “Behold, I thought he
“ will surely *come out to me*, and stand, and
“ call on the name of the Lord his God,
“ and strike his hand over the place, and re-
“ cover the leper⁶,” consisted of ten talents of *silver*, and six thousand pieces of *gold*, and ten *changes of raiment*. It is needless to mention the pecuniary gratifications that have been given to men of learning in the East in later times; but as to *vestments*, d’Herbelot⁷ tells us, that Bokhteri, an illustrious poet of Cufah in the ninth century, had so many presents made him in the course of his life, that at his death he was found possessed

[⁵ Sums of money are presented also to *others*, by Princes and Great Personages. So Sir J. Chardin observes, in his MS, on occasion of Joseph’s being said to have given Benjamin three hundred pieces of silver, Gen. 45, 22, that the Kings of Asia almost always make presents of this kind to Ambassadors, and to other strangers of consideration who have brought them presents. So the Khalife Mahadi, according to d’Herbelot, gave an Arab that had entertained him in the desert, a vest, and a purse of silver.]

⁶ 2 Kings 5. 11.

⁷ P. 208, 209.

of an hundred complete suits of clothes, two hundred shirts, and five hundred turbants. An indisputable proof of the frequency with which presents of this kind are made in the Levant to men of study: and at the same time a fine illustration of Job's description of the treasures of the East in his days, consisting of *raiment* as well as *silver*, Job xxvii. 16, 17^s.

OBSERVATION III.

[They not only make presents of *provisions*, but of other things which they imagine may be acceptable, and in particular of *conveniences for the making their eating and drinking more agreeable*.

So when Dr. Perry travelled in Ægypt, and visited the temple at Luxor, he says,

[^s So Sir J. Chardin tells us in his note here, that *it is customary through all the East to gather together an immense collection of furniture and clothes, for their fashions never alter. They heap them up in wardrobes, as they heap up mud for mortar in building. This is the ground of this metaphor.*

I have some doubt however, I must confess, of the justness of this account of the ground of this image. If it means any thing more than what is mentioned Zech. 9. 3, which I much question, I should say that possibly, as the word translated *dust* signifies *plastering*, and that rendered *clay, mortar*, the heaping up silver like plastering may point out the piling up silver, against the walls of their apartments, as if they had been plastered with silver; and the preparing raiment as mortar, may possibly refer to the walls covered with bitumen, or mortar of a dark colour, vestments being heaped up from the bottom to the top of these repositories of theirs. But the more simple interpretation, I first pointed out, seems much preferable.]

“ We

“ We were entertained by the Cashif here
 “ with great marks of civility and favour :
 “ he sent us, in return of our presents, several
 “ sheep, a good quantity of bread, eggs,
 “ *bardacks*, &c¹.” These *bardacks* he had
 described a little before², in speaking of a
 town called *Kenne*: “ Its chief manufac-
 “ tory,” he there tells us, “ is in *bardacks*,
 “ to cool and refresh their water in, by means
 “ of which it drinks very cool and pleasant
 “ in the hottest seasons of the year. They
 “ make an inconceivable quantity of these,
 “ which they distribute to *Cairo*, and all
 “ other parts of *Ægypt*. They send them
 “ down in great floats, consisting of many
 “ thousands, lashed together in such a man-
 “ ner as to bear the weight of several people
 “ upon them. We purchased a good many
 “ of them for the fancy, at so inconsiderable
 “ a price as twenty pence an hundred ; and
 “ are really surpris’d how they could make
 “ them for it.”

Here we see *earthen vessels* presented to the
 Doctor, and those of a very cheap kind, along
 with provisions, and this apparently because
 they are of great use in that country for cool-
 ing their water. Perhaps we shall be less
 surpris’d after reading this, at the basins and
earthen vessels presented to David at Maha-
 naim, by some of the great men of that part
 of the country, along with sheep, flour,
 honey, &c. 2 Sam. xvii. 28, 29.]

¹ P. 346, 347.

² P. 339, 340.

OBSERVATION IV.

III.

But though nothing is more customary in the Levant than the giving and receiving of presents, and persons of the most exalted characters for dignity, virtue, or piety, make *in common* no difficulty of receiving them, there are some instances however of those that have refused them.

So Mons. Maillet tells us, that at the circumcision of their children they are commonly wont to receive presents¹; nevertheless he tells us that Ishmael, who was Bashaw of Ægypt while he resided there, and whose only son was circumcised while he was in that high office, refused to accept any presents on that occasion, (though every one, according to his respective rank and quality, was prepared to make him a present, according to the Turkish custom, and though Ishmael's expences were extremely great,) the French Consul's excepted, which he had the politeness to receive, telling the interpreters that *he had determined not to accept of any presents*, but that he could not refuse this mark of friendship from the Consul of France, for whom his was the most sincere².

This was very extraordinary, Maillet says, indeed the most extraordinary thing in that solemnity, which he represents as one of the most pompous spectacles in the world. What

¹ Let. II. p. 136.² Let. IC. p. 79.

the occasion of Ishmael's departure from established usages was, we are not told: he had doubtless his reasons. Elisha also had *his* for not receiving the present brought him by Naaman, 2 Kings v. 16; who yet accepted that brought by Hazael, Ch. viii. 9. What those reasons were, we are not informed; but I dare say, that assigned by Bishop Patrick, or rather Abarbinel, was not among them—that the one presented him with silver, and gold, and raiment, and such like things of value, whereas the other made him a present of food, bread and wine, fruit and fowl, which was a *fit present* for the Prophet, who might be presumed to be weary with his journey. According to oriental notions, there was no greater impropriety in accepting a present of silver and gold, than of provisions; it is sufficient to observe that on some occasions *they think proper to decline presents*, without having any objection to the *nature* of them. Secular men, in some cases, have refused them as well as the Old Prophets, but in common they are presented to all people of distinction.

IV.

OBSERVATION V.

When d'Arvieux attended that Arab Emir whom I mentioned under the second Observation, a vessel happened to be shipwrecked on that coast. The Emir perceived it from the top of the mountains, and immediately repaired

repaired to the shore to profit by the misfortune. Staying some time, it grew so late that he determined to spend the night there, under his tents, and ordered supper to be got ready. "Nothing," says d'Arvieux, "was more easy; for every body at Tartoura," (in the neighbourhood of which town the Emir then was,) "vied with each other as to the presents they brought of meat, fowl, game, fruit, coffee, &c." Were they not presents of *this kind* that the children of Belial neglected to bring, 1 Sam. x. 27?

A band of men, we are told, whose hearts God had touched, went with Saul, when he returned home from Gibeah: what for? Doubtless to attend him in expeditions against the enemies of their country: in those expeditions the places through or near which he passed, seem to have furnished him and his men with provisions, as the Arabs of Tartoura did this Emir; but some sons of Belial, some perverse towns, or some unhappily-disposed particular persons of wealth and figure, refused to pay him this compliment, despising these efforts of his against the enemies of their country, till the affair with the Ammonites perfectly settled his authority. Whether the refractoriness of these people was the cause or not, I am not able to say, but it seems sufficiently plain that he had dismissed this band of men, before that exploit of his against the Ammonites, and for
some

some time before had led a less public and martial life, 1 Sam. xi. 5.

In like manner Gideon, one of the judges of Israel, expected this sort of compliment, and met with the like insult, which he severely punished, Judg. viii. 5, 8, 16, 17.

We are told indeed by some commentators, and the learned Drufius is of that number, according to Pool¹, that it was the custom to make presents to a king when he was inaugurated; but I do not know on what authority. The remark of Vatablus however, in the same collection, is without doubt very inaccurate, who, upon the Chaldee paraphrast's giving this sense of this clause, *they came not to salute him*, says, this ought to be understood of the *first* salutation, which was not to be *unattended with presents*. Things must have been very different in the East anciently, from what they are now, if *every visit* did not require an acknowledgment of this kind.

As to the ground of the complaint then that they brought him no present, I submit it to the reader to determine which is the most natural supposition, whether that of those who imagine, the complaint relates to some persons omitting to make him a visit of congratulation, as the Chaldee paraphrast seems to think; or of those who apprehend, it refers to the neglect of accommodating

¹ Vide Poli Syn in Loc.

him,

him, in his marches from place to place, with provisions for himself and attendants.

Barzillai's and other people's supplying David at Mahanaim with honey, butter, sheep, wheat, &c, on these grounds, appears to have been not a mere act of benevolence and pity, but the paying him the wonted respect with which their princes were treated; and consequently acknowledging him, in the best manner, their sovereign, while the greatest part of the Israelites were in rebellion against him.

OBSERVATION VI.

V.

There is *often* in these countries a great deal of pomp and parade in presenting their gifts; and that not only when they are presented to princes or governors of provinces, but where they are of a more private nature.

Thus Dr. Ruffell tells us¹, that the money that the bridegrooms of Aleppo pay for their brides, is laid out in furniture for a chamber, in cloaths, jewels, or ornaments of gold, for the bride, whose father makes some addition, according to his circumstances; which things are sent *with great pomp* to the bridegroom's house three days before the wedding. The like management obtains in Ægypt, and is very lively described by

¹ P. 112.

Maillet, in his account of that country², where these gifts are carried with great pomp too to the bridegroom's house, but on the marriage-day itself, and immediately before the bride: carpets, cushions, mattresses, coverlets, pignates³, dishes, basons, jewels, trinkets of gold, pearls, girdles, plate, every thing down to the wooden sandals wrought with mother-of-pearl, which they call cobcal. And *through ostentation*, says this writer, they never fail to load upon four or five horses what might easily be carried by one; in like manner as to the jewels, trinkets, and other things of value, they place in fifteen dishes what a single plate would very well hold.

Something of this pomp seems to be referred to in Judges iii. 18, where we read of *making an end of offering the present*, and of a number of people that bare it, all which apparently points out the introducing with great distinctness, as well as ceremony, every part of the present sent to this ancient prince, and the making use of as many hands in it as might be, conformably to the modern *ritual* of the Eastern courts. But what I chiefly take notice of it for, is to illustrate the account that is given us of Benhadad's present to the Prophet Elisha, which consisted of forty camels burthen of the good things of Damascus⁴. This Syrian prince

² Let. 10. p. 86. ³ What he means by this word, I do not know. ⁴ 2 Kings 8. 9.

without doubt sent Elisha a present answerable to his magnificence ; but can it be imagined that it was the *full* loading of forty camels, and at the same time wholly consisting of *provisions*, such as bread and wine, fruit and fowl, as a Jewish Rabbi supposed, if I understand Bishop Patrick right ⁵?

A gentleman, I remember, once shewed me a prodigious tooth in his possession, which apparently had belonged to one of the monsters of the deep, but was found by one of his ancestors among the treasures of a Roman Catholic who was fond of relics, wrapped up in silk, besides two or three outer covers of paper, on one of which was written, *A tooth of the holy Saint Paul*. “ Don’t you think,” said the humourous possessor, turning himself to the company with this curiosity, “ that Saint Paul had a fine set of grinders ?” One would imagine these commentators must have supposed the Prophet Elisha’s were full as large, to be able to make use of forty camel-loads of provisions, equivalent to twenty thousand pound weight ⁶ at least, during his stay at Damascus.

⁵ In his Com. on the place. ⁶ See Russell, p. 56, who tells us there, that the *Arab camel* carries one hundred Rotoloes, or five hundred pounds weight, according to which forty camel-loads is equal to twenty thousand pounds; but the Turkman camel’s *common load* is one hundred and sixty Rotoloes, or eight hundred pounds weight: if we suppose these camels of Damascus were only of the Arab breed, twenty thousand pounds weight was their proper loading.

The true light in which we are doubtless to consider this passage is, that the various things that were sent to Elifha for a present, were carried *for state* on a number of camels, and that no fewer than forty were employed in the cavalcade; not that they carried each a full loading. And we may very well believe that besides eatables, and wine of Helbon, some of their valuable manufactures of white wool⁷ were contained in the present: they were as properly the good things of Damascus, as the produce of their enchanting gardens.

OBSERVATION VII.

[That present that the children of Israel sent to Eglon king of Moab, which I was mentioning under the last Observation, was a *kind of tribute*, or an acknowledgment of *inferiority and subjection*; and the presents that are sent to powerful princes, by other kings, are frequently looked upon in this light by those that receive them.

Sir J. Chardin has remarked, *that presents are viewed in this light*, in such cases, *not only in Turkey, but almost through all the Levant*; and he very justly applies the thought to Pf. lxxii. 10. Those presents were evidently of that kind, the following verse puts it out of all doubt; but the haughty

⁷ Ezek. 27. 18.

Asiatic princes oftentimes put that construction on presents that were not sent with any such intention. As they do so now, they probably did so anciently: to which some less powerful or distressed princes might the more willingly submit, as there was an *equivocalness* in these marks of attention paid to potent princes.]

OBSERVATION VIII.

VI.

Maillet, in that passage I quoted in the last article but one, speaks *diminutively* of the the cobcal, or wooden sandals of the ladies, which are carried in their nuptial processions with the rest; though, according to his own account, they are not wholly without ornaments. Shoes perhaps of this kind are referred to by the Prophet Amos, chap. ii. 6, where shoes have been commonly, and it appears from hence with *justness*, understood to mean something of a trifling value.

The Turkish officers, and “ also their
 “ *wives,*” says Rauwolff, speaking of Tripoli on the coast of Syria¹, “ go very richly
 “ cloathed with rich flowered silks, arti-
 “ ficially made and mixed of several co-
 “ lours. But these cloaths are *commonly*
 “ *given them* by those that have causes de-
 “ pending before them, (for they do not love
 “ to part with their own money,) to pro-

¹ P. 38.

“ mote their cause, and to be favourable to
“ them.”

I see here, methinks, a picture of the corruption of the Jewish Judges that Amos complains of: *silver* made them pervert the judgment of the righteous; nay, *so mean a piece of finery as a pair of wooden sandals for their wives* would make them condemn the innocent poor, who could not afford to make them a present of equal value.

Amos viii. 6. is, I suppose, to be understood in the same light: the rich defrauding the poor, knowing that if those poor complained, they could carry their point against them for a *little silver*, if not for a pair of *cobcal*.

VII.

OBSERVATION IX.

But mean as the present of a pair of *cobcal* may seem, presents of *still less value* are frequently made in these countries. “ In
“ familiar visits, amongst inferior people,
“ you shall seldom have them come without
“ bringing a *flower*, or an *orange*, or some
“ other such token of their respect to the
“ person visited,” says Maundrell¹. Bishop Pococke confirms this, when speaking of his drawing near an encampment of the Arabs that attended him, in their way to Mount Sinai, he says, “ Here one of them, who
“ had a difference with one of the company,

¹ See Obs. I.

“ as he was in his own country, came and
“ brought him a *flower*, as a present, which
“ being accepted of, was a sign that all was
“ made up².”

These trifling presents however are not confined to the meanest of the people, for Egmont or Heyman tells us³, that on their leaving Scala Nuova, some Greeks brought them *flowers* and *odoriferous herbs* as tokens of their friendship. In what a strong point of light, as to their veneration for our Lord, doth this place the present the Eastern Magi made him: in the circumstances in which they found him, a flower, an orange, (or a citron,) or any such trifle, had been sufficient to introduce them to the young child; but mean as his appearance was, they treated him as a royal child, and even after they found the poverty of his parents, presented him with presents of the *richest kind*, gold, frankincense, and myrrh, such as the Queen of Sheba presented to Solomon in his glory. But here doubtless we are to rest, and content ourselves with this simple explanation: to go on, and suppose the frankincense was designed *by them*, or intended by *providence itself*, to intimate his deity; the myrrh his being a mortal; and the gold his being a king; is a refinement that is certainly unnatural, and absolutely in the monkish taste.

² Vol. I. p. 140.

³ Vol. I. p. 125.

OBSERVATION X.

[But though things of very little value are sometimes offered as presents, those to whom presents are made do not think themselves always obliged *graciously* to accept every thing that is brought, or even to dissemble their dislike; they frequently reject the present, and refuse the favour sought.

The behaviour of an Aga in Ægypt to Dr. Pococke, mentioned in the first Observation of this chapter, demonstrates this; as does also this passage of Capt. Norden, “ The
 “ Cacheff of Efna was encamped in this
 “ place. He made us come ashore. I waited
 “ immediately upon him, with some *small*
 “ *presents*. He received me very civilly, and
 “ ordered coffee to be served me. But he
 “ *refused absolutely what I offered him as a*
 “ *present*, and let me know by the inter-
 “ preter, that, in the places from whence
 “ we were come, we had given things of
 “ *greater value*, and that we ought not to
 “ *shew less respect* to him¹. Something of the like nature appears in many other passages in travels.

If a present was not somewhat proportionate to the quality of the person applied to, the circumstances of him that offered it, and the value of the favour asked, it was rejected.

¹ Vol. 2. p. 183.

Lambs and *sheep* were often given as presents. So the Cacheff I have been speaking of, made Norden and his company a present the next day of two *very fat sheep*, together with a great basket of bread². The reys, or boat-man, that had carried them up the Nile, we are told in like manner, came to see them three days before, and made them a present of an *excellent sheep*, together with a basket of Easter bread³.

Perhaps we may be ready to imagine, presents of this kind were only made to travellers, that wanted *provisions*; but this would be a mistake. Sir John Chardin, in his MS, expressly tells us, *it is the custom of the East for poor people, and especially those that live in the country, to make presents to their Lords of lambs and sheep, as an offering, tribute, or succession. Presents to men, like offerings to God, expiate offences*⁴.

So D'Arvieux mentions *lambs*, among the things offered to him as presents, when he officiated as Secretary to the Great Emir of the Arabs. (Voy. dans la Pal. p. 62.)

² P. 184.

³ P. 182.

⁴ Coutume d'Orient que les pauvres gens, sur tout des Champs, donnent a leur Seigneurs des agneaux & moutons en presens, en signe d'offrande, tribut, succession. Presents aux hommes, comme les offrandes a Dieu expient les Pechez.—By the term succession I presume is meant a present made to a great man to obtain his favour, in case of dispute, about succeeding to an inheritance, or part of it.

The Jewish people were in a low state in the time of Malachi, and almost entirely engaged in country business.

How energetic, if we assemble these circumstances together, is the exhortation of the Prophet! “If ye offer the blind for sacrifice, is it not evil? And if ye offer the lame and the sick, is it not evil? Offer it now unto thy Governor, will he be pleased with thee, or accept thy person?” Mal. i. 8.

When they made presents of lambs or sheep, they brought those that were *very fat*: would a Jewish Governor have accepted one that was *blind*, and consequently half-starved? or pining with *lameness* or sickness?

OBSERVATION XI.

The common present that is now made to the Great in these countries is an *horse*; there is reason to think an *ass* might formerly answer the same purpose.

“If it is a visit of ceremony from a *Bashaw*,” says Dr. Russell, “or other person in power, a *fine horse*, sometimes with furniture, or some such valuable present, is made to him at his departure.”¹ Dr. Perry has given us many instances of horses being presented: among others, he tells us when a person has the dignity of a Bey conferred on him, the new-made Bey presents

¹ P. 81.

that

that officer from whom he receives the ensign, that is sent him on the part of the Sultan, with *a horse*, a fur of marte zebeline, and twenty thousand aspers². In another place he tells us the new Bashaw of Ægypt, soon after his arrival, had three *exceeding fine horses* sent him as a present from some one of the Beys; and the next day a string of twenty-four was presented to him on the part of all the Beys that were present³.

As *asses* were used in the more remote ages of antiquity, and were esteemed no dishonourable beasts for the saddle, Sir J. Chardin, in his MS, supposes that when Samuel disclaimed having taken the *ass* of any one, when he denied his having defrauded any, oppressed any, or taken any bribe, 1 Sam. xii. 3, he is to be understood of not having taken any *ass for his riding*. In the same light he considers the similar declaration of Moses, Numb. xvi. 15. His account is, *Asses being then esteemed very honourable creatures for riding on*⁴, as they are at this very time in Persia, being rode with saddles, though not like those for horses, yet such as are commodious, the Lawyers make great use of them. Consult Numb. xvi. 15, for Moses is there to be understood as saying, that no beast for the saddle, such as were wont to be presented to Grandees and Emperors, had been accepted by

² P. 50. ³ P. 208. ⁴ See Numb. 22, 21,
30. Judges 5, 10. 2 Sam. 16. 2.

him. *The words of Samuel are to be considered after the same manner.*

And this, I make no doubt, is *one* thought involved in this exculpation of themselves, though perhaps it doth not contain the whole of what they meant⁵.

OBSERVATION XII.

People that go into the presence of the Great carry with them some gift to make way for them, or send it before them; on the contrary, when a superior visits an inferior, it is expected that the inferior should make the visiter a present at his departure.

This is intimated in the first quotation under the last Observation, but is directly affirmed by Sir J. Chardin, in one of the notes of his MS. *It is the custom of the East, he says, when one invites a Superior, to make him a present after the repast, as it were in acknowledgment of his trouble; frequently it is done before it — it being no augmentation of honour to come to the house of one that is an inferior. But they make no presents to equals, or those that are below themselves*⁶.

Sir John applies this custom in the East, to Jeroboam's proposing to the Prophet, that prophesied against the altar at Bethel, to give him a *reward* if he would go with him, and refresh himself, 1 Kings xiii. 7. And he

⁵ More seems to be meant 1 Sam. 8. 16. *such* like occasions, I suppose, he means.

⁶ Upon
thinks

thinks this would have been understood by the king, as treating the prophet as a superior: “ Jcy donc le roy vouloit traiter le
“ prophete comme son superieur.”

I am much obliged to this writer, for the very clear account he has given of this eastern custom; but I am somewhat apprehensive it is improperly applied to this passage of Scripture. I cannot easily suppose it was Jeroboam's intention to acknowledge the prophet his superior. I should imagine nothing more was intended, by what he proposed to do, than what was done to Jeremiah by Nebuzar-adan the captain of Nebuchadnezzar's guard, when he gave that prophet *victuals and a reward, and let him go*, Jer. xl. 5: and, I apprehend, no one imagines that commander designed to acknowledge the Jewish prophet to be his superior.

If it is applicable to any sacred story, it seems to me to be that of Esau's coming to visit his brother, on which occasion Jacob presented him with a considerable number of cattle, telling him he *saw his face, as though he had seen the face of God*, Gen. xxxiii. 8, 10. There may be other passages which this custom may *more exactly* illustrate; but if there be, I do not now recollect them.]

OBSERVATION XIII.

VIII.

I will not push my remarks on the presents of the East any farther here, except-
4 ing

ing the making this single observation more, that the sending presents to princes to induce them to help the distressed, has been practised in these countries in late times, as well as in the days of Aſa, of whom we read, that he “ took all the silver and the gold
 “ that were left in the treasures of the house
 “ of the Lord, and the treasures of the
 “ king’s house, and delivered them into the
 “ hand of his servants: and king Aſa sent
 “ them to Ben-hadad the son of Tabrimon,
 “ the son of Hezion king of Syria, that
 “ dwelt at Damascus, saying, There is a
 “ league between me and thee, and between
 “ my father and thy father: *behold, I have*
 “ *sent unto thee a present of silver and gold;*
 “ come and break thy league with Baasha
 “ king of Israel, that he may depart from
 “ me¹.

To us it appears strange, that a *present* should be *thought* capable of inducing one prince to break with another, and engage himself in war; but as it was anciently thought sufficient, so we find in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*², that an Eastern nobleman, that had the custody of a castle called Hagarth, quarrelling with his master the prince of Aleppo, and finding himself obliged to seek for foreign aid, *sent presents* to Godfrey of Bouillon, to induce him to assist him. What they were we are not told;

¹ 1 Kings 15. 18, 19.

² Tome 1. p. 730.

but

but gold and silver, the things Afa sent Benhadad, were frequently sent in those times to the Croisade princes², and might probably be sent on this occasion to Godfrey.

But to proceed. Presents were frequently sent to the great, before those that sent them made their appearance: I have therefore considered them first; the forms of Eastern salutation follow.

OBSERVATION XIV.

IX.

The Eastern salutations differ considerably, according to the difference of rank of the persons they salute.

The *common* salutation, Sandys says¹, is laying the right-hand on the bosom, and a little declining their bodies; but when they salute a person of *great rank*, they bow almost to the ground, and kiss the hem of his garment. Egmont and Heyman, agreeably to this, tell us², that two Greek noblemen that introduced them to the exiled Chan of Tartary, who resided at Scio, *kissed his robe* at their entrance, and that they took their leave of him with the same ceremonies; and Dr. Pococke³, that when he attended the English Consul on a visit of ceremony which he made the Pasha of Tripoli, upon his return from meeting the Mecca caravan,

¹ Vide *Gesta Dei*, &c. p. 736. ² P. 50. ³ Vol 1. p. 258. ⁴ Vol. 2. p. 237.

the two Dragomen (or interpreters of the Consul) *kissed the Pasha's garment*, and put it to their foreheads, as soon as he was seated, when he granted a request that was made, and when they went away⁴. Pitts, le Bruyn, and Thevenot⁵, agree with Sandys also in the accounts they give of the *common* salutation. Which compliment the last-mentioned author tells us, he saw the Grand Signior himself pay the people, when he rode through the streets of Constantinople in great state, “ He saluted all the people, having his
 “ right-hand constantly on his breast, bow-
 “ ing first to one side, and then to the
 “ other; and the people with a *low and re-*
 “ *spectful* voice wished him all happiness and
 “ prosperity⁶.” This form of salutation then between equals is what superiors also sometimes use to those that are much below them.

[⁴ When then some Commentators tell us *the ten mens taking hold of the skirt of him that was a Jew*, Zech. 8. 23, is to be considered as a gesture of intreating *friendly* assistance, they seem to be under a mistake: it is rather to be understood as an application of a *most submissive* kind, to be taken under his protection, or received among his dependants. Such an explanation of this gesture perfectly suits the interpretation of those, that suppose these words point out those accessions to the Jewish Church and Nation, under the Aimonæan Princes, when several tribes of the Gentile world submitted to be circumcised, and were incorporated with the Jews. Of these the Idumæans were the most celebrated; but there were others that thus united themselves with the Jewish nation. If. 3. 6. and 4. 1. are to be explained after the same manner.]

⁵ Pitts, p. 66. Le Bruyn, Tom. I. p. 422. Thevenot, p. 30. ⁶ Part I. p. 87.

Shaw's

Shaw's account of the Arab compliment, *Peace be unto you*, or common salutation, agrees with what has been mentioned; but he farther tells us, that inferiors, out of deference and respect, *kiss the feet, the knees, or the garments* of their superiors⁷; he might have added, or the *hands*; for d'Arvieux tells us, that though the Arab Emir he visited withdrew his hand when *he* offered to kiss it, he frequently offered it to people to kiss when he had a mind to oblige them to do him that homage⁸. They are not, however, expressions of equal submission: the kissing the *hand* is not only *apparently* less lowly than that of the *feet*; but d'Arvieux expressly tells us so in another passage⁹, where he says, the women that wait on the Arab princesses kiss their hands, when they do them *the favour* not to suffer them to kiss their *feet*, or the *border of their robe*.

Dr. Shaw observes, that in these respects the Arabs were just the same two or three thousand years ago as they are now: and ceremonies of the like kind, we may believe, were used anciently *among the neighbouring people* too, as they are at this time. So our Lord represents a servant as falling down at his master's *feet* when he had a favour to beg; and an inferior servant as paying the same compliment to the first, who was, it seems, a servant of an higher class, Matt. xviii. 26, 29. In like man-

⁷ P. 237. ⁸ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 8. ⁹ P. 252.

ner the Evangelist Luke tells us, that Jai-
rus fell down at our Lord's *feet*, when he
begged he would go and heal his daughter,
chap. viii. 41; that St. Peter fell at the
knees of Jesus, after the present Arab mode,
I presume, chap. v. 8; and he represents
the woman, troubled with the issue of blood,
as touching the *hem of his garment*, which,
I suppose, means kissing it, Luke viii. 44.
The *other* inhabitants of that country, we
find, used the same ceremonies: so the Syro-
Phenician woman fell at our Lord's *feet*,
Mark vii. 25, 26; not to mention the in-
stances of remoter antiquity in the Old Tes-
tament.

It is agreed, that there is something very
graceful and noble in the forms of East-
ern salutation¹⁰; some of them however have
appeared too low, and expressive of too much
disproportion. The *natives of the West* there-
fore, even when they have been in these
Eastern countries, have not been wont to
adopt these profound expressions of respect.
So Conon the Athenian, on account of that
kind of adoration the kings of Persia exact-
ed of every one that came into their pre-
sence, which the next citation will explain,
declined personal converse with that prince,
and chose to transact his business with him
by writing; not, he said, that *he* was *him-
self* unwilling to pay *any kind of honour* to
the king, but because he thought it might

¹⁰ See Rauwolff, p. 42. Pococke, vol. 1. p. 182.

be a disgrace to the state to which he belonged, if he should rather observe, on this occasion, the usage of those *they* called barbarians, than the forms of his countrymen. ¹¹ They however sometimes seem to have thought these expressions of reverence too great for mortals, at least they sometimes spoke of them in that strain: so Curtius tells us, ¹² that Alexander thought the habit and manners of the Macedonian kings unequal to *his greatness*, after the conquest of Asia, and was for being treated according to the modes of Persia, where kings were revered *after the manner of the Gods*: he therefore suffered people, in token of their respect, *to lay upon the ground* before him, &c.

This was enough to lead St. Peter to say to Cornelius, a Roman, who received him with a reverence esteemed the lowest and most submissive even in the ceremonious East, and which the *Romans* were wont to speak of as too solemn to be paid to mere men, "Stand up, I myself also am a *man*," Acts x. 26; though Cornelius intended nothing idolatrous, nor did St. Peter suppose he did. In truth, there was something extraordinary in this prostration of Cornelius, but without any thing of idolatry. He was a person of *rank*, St. Peter made *no figure* in civil life, yet Cornelius received him not only with respect, but as his superior; not only as his superior, but with the greatest

¹¹ Corn. Nep. in Vitâ Con. ¹² Lib. 6. c. 6

degree of reverence ; not only with the greatest degree of reverence, according to the usages of his own nation, but with an expression of veneration, which, though common in the country where Cornelius then resided, his countrymen were ready to say ought to be appropriated to those that were more than men : but it seems he felt the greatest degree of reverence and awe at the sight of the Apostle, and those emotions threw him into the attitude he had frequently seen the inhabitants of Syria put themselves in, when they would express the greatest respect, the rather as the Apostle was a native of that country.

The case of St. John's throwing himself at the feet of the Angel ¹³, is to be viewed in a somewhat different light. St. John did nothing at all but what was *conformable to the usages of his own country*, when the people of it designed *innocently* to express great reverence and gratitude. It is astonishing then that so many learned men should have looked upon it as an idolatrous prostration. Nothing however is more certain than this fact : and it has been thus understood, not only by controversial writers, when disputing with heat against their antagonists ; but by the more cool and dispassionate commentators. That they should not at all consider the Eastern usages, is no wonder, they have been in common most unhappily ne-

¹³ Rev. 19. 10, and c. 22. 8.

glected ;

glected; but the attempt of the Apostle to repeat the prostration, (for he would have done it a second time,) sufficiently shewed, one would imagine, that the Apostle did not think the Angel rejected it as an *idolatrous piece of respect*. What a strange interpretation must that be, which supposes St. John, a Jew by descent, a mortal enemy in consequence by birth to all idolatry; a zealous preacher against it, through a very long life; who finished one of his epistles with these very words, “Little children, keep yourselves from *idols*,” as desirous to have this perpetually fixed on their memories, whatever else they forgot; should, *when suffering* in Patmos for the Lord Jesus; and *when blessed with the influences of the prophetic spirit*; attempt to do an idolatrous action, and to *repeat* that attempt in opposition to the checks of his *celestial teacher*! Nothing sure can be more inconceivable. At the same time nothing is easier than the true interpretation—Smit with veneration for his angelic instructor, and full of gratitude towards him for what he had shewn him, he fell, *according to the custom of his nation*, at his feet to do him reverence: “See thou do it not,” said the Angel, *it is not to me these thanks are due, I have in this been only fulfilling the orders of him who is my Lord as well as yours*; “worship God” therefore, to whom in justice you ought to ascribe these illuminations. Beauteous was this turning away of the An-

gel from him in the Apostle's eyes, and from the additional force of this graceful action, as well as from a lively sense, that, though honours are ultimately due to God, as the original author of every good gift, and in particular of intellectual lights¹⁴, yet that it was fit to express a reverence *too* to them that are the instruments of conveying them to us, St. John, upon some farther revelation of the Angel, would have again thrown himself at his feet, but found the Angel persevering in that most amiable and devout modesty—"Worship God."

X.

OBSERVATION XV.

Thevenot remarked, in the passage I cited under the last Observation, that the people of Constantinople wished the Grand Signior, when he saluted them as he rode through their streets, all happiness and prosperity, with a *low* and respectful voice. I do not however apprehend, that this is any proof that the customs of the East, with respect to the manner of doing persons honour there, are changed, though we read, that when our Lord entered with something of state into Jerusalem, they *cried*, "Hosanna to the son of David: blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in the highest," Matt. xxi. 9; and that when Solomon was brought up

¹⁴ James 1. 17.

from Gihon, after having received the regal unct̄ion, “ The people rejoiced with great joy, so that the *earth rent with the sound of them,*” 1 Kings i. 40 ; since these were not the *sounds of salutation*, but the cries of people at some distance from Solomon, and from our Lord, dispersedly expressing their triumph.

So we find in Maillet, that when there is any rain at Cairo, it is so extraordinary, and at the same time so exquisitely grateful, that the children run about the streets with *cries of joy*⁵ ; and that when the only son of that magnificent person, who was Bashaw of Ægypt in 1696, was passing along in a grand procession, in order to be circumcised, the way was all strewn with flowers, and the air rung with acclamations and cries of joy². This was among a people that would doubtless have *saluted* a prince as he passed along, in the same manner in which the people of Constantinople saluted their Sultan, with a *low and respectful voice*. This difference is to be attended to, as it serves to determine that what was said when our Lord entered Jerusalem, was the expression of gratulation and triumph, not a *salutation*, or speaking *to* him.

OBSERVATION XVI.

[The nobleness of Eastern salutations consists not merely in the attitudes into which

¹ Let. i. p. 17.

² Let. 10. p. 78.

they put themselves, but in the expressions they make use of, which have frequently something very devout, very sublime in them.

“ God be gracious unto thee, my son,” were the words with which Joseph received Benjamin, Gen. xliii. 29. *This would have been called through all Europe, and in the living languages of this part of the world, the giving a person one’s benediction, says Sir J. Chardin in his MS; but it is a simple salutation in Asia, and is there used instead of those offers and assurances of service which it is the custom to make use of in the West, in first addressing or taking leave of an acquaintance. It cannot easily be believed how eloquent the people of the East of all religions are in wishing good, and the mercies of God to one another, upon all occasions, and even those that scarce know them to whom they speak; yet at the same time they are some of the worst and most double-tongued people in the world. It appears from Scripture this has always been their character. One may say of them in all ages that which David did, “ They bless with their mouth, but they curse inwardly.”*

How noble the expressions as well the postures of Eastern salutation! but how unhappy that the tongue and the heart are at such variance! This account, however, explains the ground of the Scripture’s so often calling the salutations and farewells of the East by the term *blessing*.

OBSERVATION XVII.

Full of reverence as the Eastern addresses are, and especially of those to the Great, in some points they are not so scrupulous as we are in the West. An inferior's mentioning himself *before he names his superior* is an instance of this kind.

Every body knows in how odious a light Cardinal Wolfey's naming himself before his King appeared in England, in the sixteenth century¹. It was thought the most consummate arrogance; nevertheless Sir J. Chardin assures us it is customary, among the Persians, for the speaker to name himself first.

He mentions this in one of his MSS, as illustrating 1 Sam. xxiv. 12, "The Lord judge between *me* and *thee*." David spoke after this manner to Saul, and that when he treated that prince with great reverence: "David stooped with his face to the earth, and bowed himself," says the eighth verse. Gen. xxiii. 15, compared with verse 6, is another instance of it. David's mentioning himself first then, when speaking to Saul, marks out no insolence in him; it was on the contrary perfectly agreeable to the modern ceremonial of Eastern courts, at least of that of Persia.]

¹ Ego & Rex meus.

XI.

OBSERVATION XVIII.

I have been supposing that the falling down at a person's *feet* signifies *kissing his feet*, which, according to Dr. Shaw, is a way of expressing respect among the present Arabs; but I am not sure that this is perfectly exact: there is an Eastern way of complimenting, not precisely the same though very near a kin to it, which very possibly may be referred to in some of those passages I mentioned. But if it should, it makes no alteration of *importance* in Observation XIV; accuracy however requires me to take notice of it. What is more, it is *necessary to the explaining some other passages*.

Pabous, according to d'Herbelot¹, is a Persian word which signifies *kissing the feet*, a ceremony very ancient in Persia, for it was instituted by its first king, as a mark, not only of the reverence to be paid kings by their subjects, but of the taking the oath of fidelity and homage by vassal or feudatory princes to their sovereigns. This ceremony was afterwards *changed* as to *subjects of lower rank*, into *kissing the ground* in the presence of their princes: this the Persians in their language call, Rouizemin, which signifies the face to the earth; and that of *kissing the feet* was reserved for strangers, and subjects of the highest quality.

¹ P. 699.

It should seem however that this limited use of kissing the ground, which d'Herbelot speaks of, did not always continue, since he tells us ², that Mohammed Kothbeddin the Khouarezmian, who succeeded his father in the year of our Lord 1199, was installed in the throne of his ancestors by his great lords, who took the oath of fidelity to him, and paid him *due* homage. This ceremony was called in the Persian language, which the Khouarezmians made use of, *bossi zemin*, & *roui zemin*, that is, kissing the earth, and the face to the earth, because, according to the *ancient Persian custom*, which continues to this day, homage was paid their sovereign by kissing the earth, or touching it with their foreheads in their presence.

I will not attempt to cite every passage of d'Herbelot which makes mention of this ceremony; but I must by no means omit a very remarkable account relating to it, ³ in which he describes the behaviour of an Eastern prince towards his conqueror. This prince, he says, threw himself one day on the ground, and kissed the prints that his victorious enemy's horse had made there, reciting some verses in Persian which he had composed, to this effect,

“ The mark that the foot of your horse
“ has left upon the dust, serves me
“ now for a crown.

² P. 609.

³ P. 436.

“ The

- “ The ring which I wear as the badge of
 “ my slavery, is become my richest or-
 “ nament.
 “ While I shall have the happiness to
 “ kiss the dust of your feet, I shall
 “ think that fortune favours me with
 “ its tenderest caresses, and its sweetest
 “ kisses.”

This flattery, it seems, was so well received by the conqueror, who was a very vain-glorious prince, and fond of adulation, that from that time forward he would always have the unfortunate prince near him; and he so well improved that favourable circumstance as at length to obtain his liberty, and a little after his entire re-establishment.

We may see, I think, in these fragments of oriental history, that *kissing the feet*, and laying *prostrate in the dust before a person*, are not merely expressions of reverence, but also, which is not so well known, of *vassalage*; and kissing the earth of the *most abject vassalage*, sometimes arising from the *low rank* of those that paid the homage, and sometimes arising from *dejectedness and adulation*.

When then the Psalmist says, Ps. lxxii. 8, 9, “ He shall have dominion from sea to
 “ sea, and from the river to the ends of the
 “ earth;” he marks out extent of empire; when he adds, “ they that dwell in the wil-
 “ derness shall bow before him,” it would be extremely wrong to suppose, he is only
 specify-

specifying one particular part of that extensive authority he had before expressed in general terms, for he greatly enlarges the thought, it is equivalent to saying, *the wild Arabs, that the greatest conquerors could never tame, shall bow before him, or become his vassals; nay his enemies, and consequently these Arabs, among the rest, "shall lick the dust," or court him with the most abject submissions.*

Conquered princes themselves, we see in d'Herbelot, have actually prostrated themselves in the dust before their victors: and therefore the expressions of Isaiah, ch. xlix. 23, "*Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their Queens thy nursing mothers: they shall bow down to thee with their face to the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet,*" are not such an extravagance of Eastern rhetoric, as we may possibly have been ready to suspect; supposing that this licking the dust refers to kings and queens.

That great commentator Grotius⁴ seems to suppose that this kissing the earth by conquered kings is scarcely imaginable. Vitringa reproaches him for it; but Vitringa⁵ gives no instance of this sort, which certainly it would have been right for him to have done, in animadverting on an author of such fame. The citations from d'Herbelot may supply that defect: to which may be added, that it

⁴ In loc.

⁵ In loc.

is common in the East to treat conquered princes with an insolence we can scarce think credible; and their submissions on the other hand are astonishing. So when Ægypt was subdued by the Turks, so lately as the year 1517, the sovereign of that country was hanged over one of the gates of Cairo; and that *brutalities* of much the same kind obtained in the remotest times of antiquity, may be learnt from Judges i. 7.

Hence some things required by the Prophets might be no more than *just* severities, and agreeable to the rules of those times, which to us appear somewhat astonishing, such as the death of Agag and of Ben-hadad. The *difference* between their and our laws of war ought ever to be remembered, in explaining the Old Testament Scriptures.

XII.

OBSERVATION XIX.

All the compliments that inferiors make to superiors in the East are not, however, equally abject with those I have been mentioning. “ If,” says Pitts, “ an inferior comes to pay his respects to a superior, “ he takes his superior’s hand, and kisses it, “ afterwards putting it to his forehead. “ But if the superior be of a condescending “ temper, he will snatch away his hand as “ soon as the other has touched it; then “ the inferior puts his own fingers to his “ lips, and afterwards to his forehead; and “ some-

“ sometimes the superior will also in return
“ put his hands to his lips’.”

This explains what I cited from d’Arvieux, under Observation XIV, relating to the Emir’s withdrawing his hand when he approached to kiss it; but what is of more importance than this, it gives a clear account of the ground of some ancient and modern religious ceremonies. Thus Pitts has also told us, that the Mohammedans begin their worship with bringing their two thumbs together, and kissing them three times, and at every kiss touching their foreheads with their thumbs. When they cannot kiss the hand of a superior, they kiss their own, and put it, it seems, to their foreheads; they venerate an unseen Being, whom they cannot touch, in much the same way.

After a like manner the ancient idolaters worshipped Beings they could not touch: “ If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the
“ moon walking in brightness: and my
“ heart hath been secretly enticed, and my
“ mouth hath kissed my hand,” said Job, ch. xxxi. 26, 27. That this would have been an idolatrous action, has been *often* remarked; but I do not remember it has been any where observed, to have been exactly agreeable to the *civil* expressions of respect that obtain in the East.

¹ P. 66.

XIII.

OBSERVATION XX.

They kiss too *what comes from the hand of a superior*. So Dr. Pococke¹, when he describes the Ægyptian compliments, tells us, that upon their *taking* any thing *from the hand* of a superior, or that is *sent* from such an one, they *kiss* it, and as the highest respect put it to their foreheads.

This is not peculiar to those of that country; for the editor of the Ruins of Balbec observed, that the Arab Governor of that city respectfully applied the Firman of the Grand Seignior to his *forehead*, which was presented to him when he and his fellow-travellers first waited on him, and then *kissed* it, declaring himself the Sultan's slave's slave².

Is not this what Pharaoh refers to in Gen. xli. 40? *Thou shalt be over my house, and according unto thy word, or on account of thy word, shall all my people KISS, (for so it is in the original,) only in the throne will I be greater than thou:* that is, I imagine, the orders of Joseph were to be received with the greatest respect by all, and *kissed* by the most illustrious of the princes of Ægypt.

Drufius might well deny the sense that Kimchi and Grotius put on these words, *the appointing that all the people should kiss his mouth*. That would certainly be reckoned in the West; in every part of the earth; as

¹ Travels, vol. I. p. 182. See also p. 113.

² P. 4.

well as in the ceremonious East, so remarkable for keeping up dignity and state; a most strange way of commanding the *second man* in a kingdom to be honoured. It is very strange then that these commentators should propose such a thought; and the more so, as the Hebrew word is well known to signify word, or commandment, as well as mouth. As this is apparent from Gen. xlv. 21; so also that the preposition *gnal* often signifies according to, or on the account of, is put out of question by that passage, as well as by 1 Sam. iv. 13, Ezra x. 9, &c.² These are determinations that establish the exposition I have been giving. *Upon thy commandment*, or when thou sendest out orders, *my people from the highest to the lowest shall kiss*, receiving them with the profoundest respect and obedience.

The Ægyptian translators of the Septuagint seem to have understood Prov. xxiv. 26. in much the same sense, *Lips shall kiss those things that answer right words*, shall kiss those writings by which a judge giveth just decisions: and this seems to be a much better explanation of the passage, than any of the four which Pool has given us from the critics, in his Synopsis. The second, with which our version coincides, doth not appear by any means to be just. The prefix Lamed should in that case have been joined to the word Lips; not to repeat what I ob-

² Vide Noldii Conc. in part. *gnal*, 24.

served in the beginning of this article, that nothing can be more dissonant, not only from Eastern customs, but from *decencies universally maintained*, to suppose that it should be promised to a judge, as an honourable reward for the equity of his decisions, that every party that gained a cause should kiss his lips: no! it should rather be, he shall kiss—the *hem* of his garment, or even the *earth at his feet*. The word *cupit*, (every man *desires* to kiss,) is indeed made use of in the Synopsis, perhaps to *soften* this impropriety; but if so, it is used in vain, for an inhabitant of the East would feel no inclination to kiss the lips of a righteous judge. St. John, who found emotions of veneration, which were something like those these people are here supposed to feel, was not prompted in the least *to kiss the angel's lips*, the effect they produced in him was *prostration at the angel's feet*. The fourth interpretation in the Synopsis, which is that of a Jewish Rabbi, is one of the most childish conceits that can be easily imagined, namely, that the words of truth tally with each other as lip with lip. The third, that a Judge who pronounces a right decision doth a thing as grateful as if every word were a kiss, is apparently strained. And as to the first, it is by no means agreeable to the dignified station of a judge, and of such an one Solomon appears to be speaking, that he that pronounces a just sentence shall

shall be admitted, not merely to kiss the hand, but even the lips, that is, shall be admitted into the strictest friendship; unless it be understood *of the king* for whom he judges, which as it would be degrading to the prince as the other to the judge, so neither is it by any means conformable to the preceding words, which express the effects that just or unjust judgments should have *on the people*. Ver. 23. "These things also belong to the wife. It is not good to have
" respect to persons in judgment. ver. 24.
" He that saith unto the wicked thou art
" righteous," (that is, he that absolveth the guilty,) "him shall the *people* curse, *nations*
" shall abhor him. ver. 25. But to them
" that rebuke him," (that severely reprimand him,) shall be delight, and a good
" blessing shall come upon him." *He that giveth a right answer* then in the next verse (the 26th) is apparently the description of a judge, that pronounces right judgments on those causes that are brought before him to try, and this kissing, agreeably to all that precedes, must refer to the *people*, the *nation*, not to the *king* for whom he judges. The Septuagint interpretation is much more agreeable therefore than any of the four I have recited—*Men shall kiss the righteous decrees of a just judge*, according to the Eastern forms of expressing reverence.

I do not however know whether a more unexceptionable interpretation still may not

be proposed. The rescripts of authority are wont to be kissed whether they are believed to be just or not, except in cases where persons assume something of independence; nay, the letters of people of figure are treated after this manner by persons over whom they have no authority, and who know not the contents of them, merely because they are letters of people of figure⁴; it is possible therefore these words may rather refer to another Eastern custom, which d'Arvieux gives an account of in his description of the Arabs of Mount Carmel, who, when they present any petition to their Emir for a favour, offer their billets to him with their right-hands, *after having first kissed the papers*⁵. The Hebrew manner of expression is short, and Proverbs have a peculiar shortness: *Every lip shall kiss, one maketh to return a right answer*, that is, every one shall be ready to present the state of his case, *kissing it as he delivers it*, when there is a judge whose decisions are celebrated for their being equitable. So another of these apophthegms of Solomon is delivered with

⁴ So la Roque, in his Syrian travels, tells us, that as he and his companions drew near Balbec, two Arab horsemen accosted them very roughly; but on being told they had a letter for the Scheik of Balbec, which had been given them, it seems, by a Maronite Scheik, with both of which Scheiks these Arabs had a good understanding, they, after having looked at the letter, lifted it to their heads, and kissing it, civilly dismissed them. Tom. 1. p. 94, 95.

⁵ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 155.

something of the like turn of expression, *A crown of glory the hoary head, in the way of righteousness it shall be found*: that is, the hoary head is a crown of glory, *when* it is found in the way of righteousness.

OBSERVATION XXI.

XIV.

They that are more *intimately* acquainted, or of *equal* age and dignity, *mutually* kiss the hand, the head, or *shoulder* of each other, Dr. Shaw says ⁶.

It is a rule with me not to repeat any of this learned author's *observations on Scripture*, as I suppose my curious readers acquainted with his book; but as he has not applied this observation to any passage in the Bible, it cannot be amiss to remark, that those passages there, which speak of falling on the neck and kissing a person, seem to have a reference to this Eastern way of kissing the shoulder in an embrace ⁷.

OBSERVATION XXII.

XV.

Dr. Shaw takes no notice of their taking hold of the *beard* in order to kiss, but Thevenot doth ¹, saying, that among the Turks it is a great affront to take one by the beard, unless it be to kiss him, in which case they often do it.

⁶ P. 237. ⁷ Gen. 33. 4, ch. 45. 14, 15, Acts 20. 37, Luke 15. 20. ¹ Part I. p. 30.

Whether he means by kissing *him*, kissing *his beard*, or not, I do not know; but Joab's taking Amasa by the beard to kiss him, 2 Sam. xx. 9, seems to be designed to express his taking his beard to kiss it, at least this is agreeable to the customs of those that now live in that country: for d'Arvieux², describing the assembling together of several of the petty Arab princes at an entertainment, telleth us that "All the Emirs came just together a little time after, accompanied by their friends and attendants, and after the usual civilities, careffes, *kissings of the beard*, and of the hand, which every one gave and received according to his rank and dignity, they sat down upon mats."

He elsewhere³ speaks of the women's kissing their husbands⁴ beards, and children those of their fathers, and friends reciprocally saluting one another in this manner; but the doing it by their *Emirs* more *exactly* answers this history of Joab and Amasa, and in this stooping posture he could much better see to direct the blow, than if he had

² Voy. dans la Pal. par la Roque, p. 71. ³ P. 144, 145. [⁴ The wives in that country are held in such submission, that it is reasonable to think, their careffes are mingled with more humiliating marks of respect than kissing the beard: the Psalmist seems to suppose so, when he says, (Ps. xlv. 11,) "So shall the king greatly desire thy beauty: for he is thy Lord, and worship thou him," on which the manuscript I have so often quoted observes, *that this alludes to the great respect and submission of women towards their husbands in these countries.*

only held his beard, and raised himself to kiss his face.

OBSERVATION XXIII.

XVI.

The indignity, on the other hand, offered to David's ambassadors by Hanun, might perhaps be better illustrated by what the same author tells us of the present usages of the inhabitants of this country, than by those examples that Bishop Patrick has brought from *more distant* nations, and in particular from the *Indians*, and the *Germans*.

It is a greater mark of infamy, he assures us, among the Arabs that he visited, to cut off any one's beard, than whipping and branding with the flower-de-luce among the French¹. Many people in *that country*, he tells us, *would prefer death to this kind of punishment*.

And as they would think it a grievous punishment to lose it, so they carry things so far as to beg for the sake of it, "by your beard, by the life of your beard do." In like manner some of their benedictions are, "God preserve your blessed beard, God pour his blessings on your beard." And when they would express their value for a

¹ Mos enim est Orientalibus, tam Græcis quam aliis nationibus, *barbas* totâ curâ & omni sollicitudine nutrire; pro summoque probro & majori quæ unquam irrogari possit ignomia reputare, si vel *unus pilus* quocunque sibi de casu barba cum injuria detrahatur, says William of Tyre, an Eastern archbishop, *Gesta Dei*. p. 802.]

thing, they say, “ It is worth more than his “ beard ².”

I never had so clear an apprehension, I must confess, as after I had read these accounts, of the *intended* energy of that thought of Ezekiel, where the inhabitants of Jerufalem are compared to the hair of the Prophet’s head and beard ³. That passage seems to signify, that though the inhabitants of Jerufalem had been dear to God as the hair of an eastern beard to its owner, yet that they should be taken away and consumed, one part by pestilence and famine, another part by the sword, and the third by the calamities of an exile.

[Niebuhr ⁴ has given us an account of a modern Arab prince’s treating a Persian envoy, in the same manner as Hanun treated the beards of David’s ambassadors, which brought a powerful Persian army upon him, in 1765 ; but it seems, he was a very brutal prince, and bore a most detestable character.]

XVII.

OBSERVATION XXIV.

Our Lord reproaches the Pharisee who invited him to eat bread, Luke vii, that he had given him no kifs, whereas the person he had been censuring in his heart had not ceased *kissing his feet* from her entrance into the house. It is visible, by the *contrast* our

² Ch. 7.³ Ezek. 5.⁴ P. 275.

Lord here supposes, between the woman's kisses and the compliment he had reason to expect from the Pharisee, that he did not look for his kissing his feet, but for some other salutation : but what ? not the *kisses of equality* most certainly, but rather that *kissing the hand*, which marks out reverence¹, the reverence that is customarily paid in the East to those of a sacred character, and which, contrary to the rules of decorum, he had omitted.

So Norden tells us², that a Copti priest, whom they carried in their barque from the neighbourhood of Cairo a considerable way up the Nile, carried it pretty high, insomuch that he dared to tell them, more than once, that he could not take them for Christians, since not one of their company had offered to *kiss his hands* : whereas the Copti ran every day *in crouds* round him, to shew their respect by such marks of submission.

And at Saphet *in Galilee*, where the Jews have a sort of university, Dr. Pococke saw the inferior Rabbies complimenting the chief on the day of Pentecost, who was very decently habited in white fatten, by coming with great reverence and *kissing his hand*³.

[¹ This may be thought not very well to agree with a preceding Observation, in which kissing the hand is supposed to be a compliment that passes between equals : but it is to be remembered, there these kisses were supposed to be *mutually* given, and such an exchange marks out equality ; here the *person revered* is described as receiving a kiss on his hand, but not as returning it. This is a considerable difference.] ² Part 2. p. 35, 36. ³ V. 2. p. 76.

After the ceremonies of reception, it is natural to consider those postures of *longer continuance* by which state or inferiority are expressed, for neither the one nor the other are forgotten through the whole visit, in the East.

Dr. Pococke, in his first volume¹, has given us the *figure* of a person half sitting and half kneeling, that is, kneeling so as to rest the most muscular part of his body on his heels: this he observes² is the manner in which inferior persons sit at this day before great men; and that it is considered as a very humble posture. Agreeably to this he informs us, in his second volume³, that the attendants of the English consul, when he waited on the Caia of the Pasha of Tripoli, sat in this manner, resting behind on their hams. Mr. Drummond gives a similar account⁴.

In this manner, I suppose, it was that David *sat* before the Lord, when he went into the sanctuary to bless him for his promise concerning his family. Abarbanel, and some Christian expositors, seem to be perplexed about the word *sitting* before the Lord⁵; but sitting, *after this manner*, was expressive of the greatest *humiliation*, and

¹ P. 213. ² Vol. 1. p. 213, Vol. 2. p. 102. ³ P. 102. ⁴ P. 199. ⁵ See Patrick on 2 Sam. 7. 18.

therefore no improper posture for one that appeared before the ark of God.

Dr. Delany in his Life of king David has given us this thought ; I therefore only cite these passages of Bishop Pococke farther to illustrate, and to confirm it.

OBSERVATION XXVI.

[Sitting on a *cushion*, is, on the contrary, an expression of honour, and the *preparing a seat* for a person of distinction seems to mean, laying things of this kind, on a place where such an one is to sit.

It is the custom of Asia, Sir J. Chardin informs us in his MS, *for persons in common not to go into the shops of that country, which are mostly small, but there are wooden seats, on the outside, where people sit down, and if it happens to be a man of quality they lay a cushion there.* He also informs us, *that people of quality cause carpets and cushions to be carried every where, that they like, in order to repose themselves upon them more agreeably.*

When Job speaks of his *preparing his seat*, ch. xxix. 7, it is extremely natural to understand him of his sending his servants, to lay a *cushion and a carpet* on one of the public seats there, or something of that sort, as Sir John supposes ; but I do not imagine, a *seat in the street* means a *seat by a shop*. Job is speaking evidently of his sitting there as a ruler among his people.

Eli's

Eli's seat by the way-side¹, was a seat adorned, we may believe, after the same manner. He did not sit in a manner unbecoming *so dignified* a personage.]

XIX.

OBSERVATION XXVII.

Sitting in the corner is, more particularly, a *stately attitude*, and expressive of superiority.

So Dr. Pococke tells us in the last cited place, that at that visit which the English consul made to the Pasha of Tripoli, the Pasha having on the garment of ceremony gave the welcome as he passed, and sat down cross-legged *in the corner* to the right, having a cushion on each side, and one over them, behind him. In like manner he tells us in his first volume, that when he was introduced to the Sheik of Furfhout, he found him sitting *in the corner* of his room by a pan of coals. ¹ He describes there another Arab Sheik as sitting *in a corner* of a large green tent, pitched in the middle of an encampment of Arabs; and the Bey of Girge as placed on a sofa *in the corner*, (to the right as one entered,) of his tent ².

This is enough to satisfy us that the *place of honour* among them is the *corner*, had we not been expressly told so by other travellers ³, and had not Pococke elsewhere told

¹ 1 Sam. 4. 13. ² P. 85. ³ Vol. 1. p. 90, and p. 124. ⁴ Hanway, vol. 3. p. 145, Note; and Russell, if I do not misremember.

us that it is the position in which great men *usually* place themselves ⁴. Other authors have mentioned this circumstance in general; and it has been so universal, that Lord Whitworth assures us, that among the Russians, (who lately had many Eastern customs among them,) they were wont to place the picture of their guardian-saint *in the corner* of their rooms.

May not this circumstance serve to explain a passage which has terribly embarrassed commentators? “As the shepherd taketh out
“ of the mouth of the lion two legs or a
“ piece of an ear; so shall the children of
“ Israel be taken out that dwell in Samaria,
“ in the *corner of a bed*, and in Damascus
“ in a couch ⁵.” The various remarks of critics on this circumstance of dwelling in Samaria in the *corner of a bed*, collected by Pool in his Synopsis, only serve to shew, that none of the authors he consulted could divine what was meant by it; but the observing, that the most honourable place of their divans is the corner, gives this easy comment on this part of the verse, that just as a shepherd is oftentimes able to save, from the jaws of a devouring lion, no more than some small piece of the sheep that beast had carried off, so an adversary round about the land of Israel should spoil its palaces, and scarce any part of it should be recovered, out of that adversary’s hand, more than the

⁴ Vol. I. p. 179.

⁵ Amos 3. 12.

city that fits among the cities of Israel as *in the corner of a bed*, in the most honourable place that is, as Samaria undoubtedly did, being looked upon as the *royal city*.

But to engage the acquiescence of the mind more perfectly in this explanation, it will be requisite to shew, that the Hebrew word *mittab*, which is here translated bed, may be understood of a divan, which is described by Dr. Ruffell, as “ a part of a room
 “ raised above the floor — spread with a
 “ carpet in winter, in summer with fine
 “ mats ; along the sides, he says, are thick
 “ mattresses about three feet wide, covered
 “ commonly with scarlet cloth, and large
 “ bolsters of brocade, hard stuffed with cot-
 “ ton, are set against the walls, (or rails,
 “ when so situated as not to touch the wall,)
 “ for the conveniency of leaning. — As
 “ they use no chairs, it is upon these they
 “ sit, and all their rooms are so furnish-
 “ ed .” This description is perfectly conformable to those of other authors, who agree that on these they take their repasts, that on these they sleep, and that they are very capacious. The word *mittab* sometimes, it is certain, signifies a small floored moveable elevation : it doth so 2 Sam. iii. 31, where we translate it bier ; but nothing makes it necessary to suppose it *always* signifies such a small moveable thing, it may, for any thing that appears to the contrary,

* Ruffell, p. 4, Note.

signify the same sort of conveniency that is called at Aleppo a divan. They are now used with great universality through the East, and we know the people of those countries are very tenacious of old customs, this therefore, probably, is an ancient one. On the mittah they used to sit to eat, as well as to sleep, as we learn from 1 Sam. xxviii. 23, Amos vi. 4, Esth. i. 6, and ch. vii. 8, and the last place shews, that the ancient Eastern mittah was much larger than the beds the old Greeks and Romans used in their repasts, since Haman went up, and prostrated himself before queen Esther, on the mittah where she was sitting, which it cannot be imagined he would have thought of doing, had the old Eastern mittah been like a Greek or Roman bed; he would rather have knelt on the floor, or prostrated himself upon it, and kissed the hem of her robe, which he could not do seated as she was near the corner of a large Eastern mittah, without going up upon it, which accordingly he did, in order to beg for his life. So Dr. Pococke tells us^s, that not only the English consul went up the sofa, when he went to make a visit to the Caia of the Pasha at Tripoli, but that those that attended the consul went up the sofa too, (which is the same thing with what is called a divan at Aleppo,) though they placed themselves there in the

^s Vol. 2. p. 102.

humble posture of kneeling so as to rest on their hams*.

The stately bed on which Aholibah is represented as sitting, Ezek. xxiii. 41, seems to mean the floor of an Idol-temple: for on the floors of such places, it appears by another Prophet^o, they used to lay down on clothes, or carpets; and the going up to them by steps¹¹ made them very much resemble the ancient Eastern *mittahs*.

These observations may be *sufficient* to give us the meaning of the Prophet in general, when he speaks of Israel as dwelling in Samaria, *in the corner of a bed*; and perhaps the explanation of this first clause may serve to lead us into the sense of the other, which our translators have rendered, "in Damascus" "in a couch," in the body of their version, and in the margin, *on the bed's feet*. I cannot suppose the word in the original is to be considered as a proper name, and to be translated Damascus, because Israel did

⁹ La Roque's description of the saloon in which he dined with the Scheik of Balbec, may illustrate this part of the story of Haman. This saloon, he tells us, had a sofa covered with a Persian carpet, and had great cushions of crimson velvet, adorned with gold fringe and lace; and another sofa opposite to it, differently ornamented, on which, says he, we eat, seated on carpets, after the manner of the Eastern people. *Voy. de Syrie, &c.* p. 101. Here were two divans in the same apartment; and in like manner, I presume, there were two where Esther made her banquet of wine, on one of which the queen sat, while Haman was on the other, from whence he arose, and going up the queen's *mittah*, threw himself at her feet.

¹⁰ Amos ii. 8. ¹¹ Shaw, p. 209.

not,

not, that I know of, dwell in any numbers at Damascus, though there was a very good understanding between the two kingdoms of Samaria and Damascus in those times, to which the prophecy refers, as may be seen *Is. vii. 2.* Nor can I by any means admit the marginal translation, the bed's feet, which one would imagine must signify the very reverse of the preceding sentence, and mark out the *lowest place.*

Pagnin supposeth the words are to be translated, "and in the corner of a *couch*," and so it would be a sort of repetition of the preceding thought in other terms; but there may be objections to this interpretation. In the mean while it appears most natural to me, upon a collation of the passages where the word *gnares* occurs, not to understand it as signifying the *diminutive of a mittab—a couch*; but *the furniture of an Eastern divan*: and so where these two words are joined together, they are not to be considered as an oriental *repetition*, but as an agreeable *diversification* of the thought. So *Pf. vi. 6*, "I am weary with my groaning, all the night
" I make my bed to swim (,the divan
" on which I am placed): I water my
" couch (,or the divan furniture,) with my
" tears."

Mattraffes, or something of that kind, must have been used without doubt for sleeping in those times; and it appears from *Amos ii. 8*, that the Israelites used

carpets, or something of that sort, in their feasts, as the Eastern people do now¹².

This

[¹² Both seem to be referred to Acts 9. 34. "Peter said unto him, Eneas, Jesus Christ maketh thee whole: arise, and make thy bed," or rather, "arise, and prepare for thyself," for the reception of company at thy house. The words cannot well be understood to mean "make thy bed:" was the mercy granted Eneas so imperfect, as that he could only arise and make his bed, and immediately take to it again? If he recovered *lasting* health, why was he directed to prepare his bed for laying down again? The Eastern people now do not keep their beds made; the mattraffes, &c, are rolled up, carried away, and placed in cupboards till they are wanted at night. The translation of our text by no means agrees with modern oriental usages, unless we suppose the mercy was only momentary; a thought by no means admissible. On the other hand, the Jews of the apostolic age seem to have prepared their rooms, for the reception of guests, by spreading them with mats, carpets, or something of that kind: the word used by the Evangelists, to express the making ready an upper chamber, for the reception of people to eat the Passover, Mark 14, 15. and Luke 22. 12, is the same with that addressed to Eneas, "a large upper chamber *spread* and prepared." They also that received mercies sometimes entertained the Prophets that had healed them, and their attendants: so a feast was made at Bethany, where Lazarus was, who had been dead, for Jesus and his Disciples, John 12. 1, 2. Sometimes they were invited to eat bread, where some of the family were ill, and the sick being healed, did, in some cases, afterward minister to them: such were the circumstances attending the healing of Peter's wife's mother, Mark 1. 29-31. Something like this was the case, I apprehend, at Lydda: Peter and those with him were invited to eat bread at the house of Eneas. "Arise," said the Apostle to him upon his entering into the house, "spread thy house thyself," for the reception of thy guests; and in that view the words are as noble, as, when people were brought from home in a bed, the saying to them, "Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thine house." In which address the comparative

This furniture, I presume, is to be understood by the term *gnares*, which we translate couch. Perhaps Deut. iii. 11, where a *gnares* is said to be of *iron*, may be thought to overthrow this; but it doth not appear to me to do so by any means, the using furniture for a mittah full of small pieces of iron, like a coat of mail, may surely impress the mind with as strong an idea of the martial roughness of that gigantic prince, as the having a bedstead made of iron instead of wood, of ivory, or of silver.

If this sense of the word *gnares* be admitted, this clause, to answer the preceding, *must* signify in general the richest furniture of a divan, appropriated to persons of the greatest distinction.

Nor will there be any great difficulty in the word that is made use of, if we suppose the word *Damascus* may signify something made at Damascus, and that that city anciently gave its name to some of its works, as it has certainly done in later times, some of our richest silks being from thence called *damasks*. That the word may signify some

lightness and moveableness of Eastern beds are pointed out, which, as Sir J. Chardin tells us in his MS. note on Mat. 9. 6, have only a quilt to lay over them, and another under them. Dr. Russell's account, (p. 90,) differs very little. "Their beds consist of a mattress laid on the floor, and over this a sheet, (in winter a carpet, or some such woollen covering,) the other sheet being sowed to the quilt. A divan cushion often serves for a pillow and bolster."]

costly works made at Damascus, the learned Castalio supposes, and Gen. xv. 2. sufficiently proves, where the steward of Abraham's house is said to be this Damascus Eliezer, this man of Damascus, that is—Eliezer; if it may signify a man of Damascus, it may equally, sure! signify a manufacture of Damascus. It is certain that the Prophet Ezekiel, who lived not very long after the time of Amos, represents Damascus as a place of trade, and in particular as trafficking in wine, and what we translate *white wool*, Ezek. xxvii. 18, but which may equally well be understood to mean woollen fit for the use of nobles. For the word here translated wool appears to be used Ezek. xliv. 17. for wool wrought up, or woollen cloth; and the word which is translated white, is used but once more in the Old Testament, and that is Judges v. 10, “Speak ye that ride on *white asses*, ye that sit in judgment, &c,” where every one sees that *the riding on white asses* is a description of nobles and princes. These asses are not, I presume, called *white* on account of their natural colour, but rather from their *caparisons*, according to the custom which continues among the Arabs to this day¹³, who use
saddles

¹³ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 127. [Dandini, on the contrary, affirms, that the Eastern people ride their horses without bridle, *saddle*, stirrup, or spurs, an halter sufficeth them, with a little clout spread upon the back of the beast, ch. 5. Perhaps the *saddling* beasts for riding, mentioned in many places

saddles of wood in riding, and have always, as a part of their riding furniture, a cloth which they call the *hiran*, about six ells long, which they fold up and put upon the wooden saddle, in order to sit with greater ease; and which they use when they bait, as a sort of a mattress to repose themselves upon.

The result of the whole is, that Amos, it should seem, is to be understood as saying, as a shepherd saves a small portion of a sheep, or a goat, out of the jaws of a lion, so, though the rest of the country shall be miserably destroyed, they shall escape that sit [or dwell] in Samaria, in the corner of the divan, on the damask mattress; the royal and most beautified that is of all the cities of Israel.

There is another passage which may be illustrated by the same custom, Neh. ix. 22, “ Moreover thou gavest them kingdoms and “ nations, and didst divide them into cor- “ ners.” Upon which verse bishop Patrick gives us this note, “ Some translate the last “ words, *thou didst divide them by angles*, that “ is, he parted those kingdoms among them “ as by a line. But others understand it of “ the people dispossessed by the *Jews*, whom “ he drove into corners.” I believe most people will be disposed to think the first thought the Bishop gives us somewhat forced; nor will the second appear very

places in the sacred writers, may sometimes mean nothing more than the placing the *hiran* on their backs.]

natural to those that read the original, where the word is in the singular, thou didst divide them *to the corner*, that is according to the explanation I have been giving of that place in Amos, *thou didst give Sibon and Og into their hands, and the various tribes of the Canaanites; and not only so, but didst give the pre-eminence to Israel, and make them chief among the nations round about them.* It may not perhaps be disagreeable to add, that the word there translated *divide*, is used to express David's appointing the sons of Aaron to their different charges¹⁴, though a different English word is used in our version.

XX.

OBSERVATION XXVIII.

At the *close of a visit* in these countries, it is common to *sprinkle rose-water*, or some other sweet-scented water, on the guests, and to *perfume them with aloes-wood*, which is brought last, and serves as a sign that it is time for a stranger to take his leave.

Great numbers of authors take notice of this part of Eastern complaisance, but some are much more particular and distinct than others. Maundrell, for instance, who gives a most entertaining account¹ of the ceremony of burning odours under the chin, does not mention any thing of the sprinkling sweet-scented waters; however many other writers do, and Dr. Pococke has given us

¹⁴ 1 Chron. 24. 3.¹ P. 30, 31.

the figure of the vessel they make use of upon this occasion, in his first volume². They are both then used in the East, but if one is spoken of more than the other, it is, I think, the perfuming persons with this odoriferous smoke.

The Scriptures in like manner speak of perfumes as used anciently for *civil* purposes, as well as sacred, though they do not mention particulars. "Ointment and perfume rejoice the heart," Prov. xxvii. 9. Perhaps this word perfume comprehends in it's meaning the waters distilled from roses, and odoriferous flowers, whose scents in the East, at least in Ægypt, if Maillet may be admitted to be a judge³, are much higher and more exquisitely grateful, than with us; but if those distillations should be thought not to have been known so early, the burning fragrant things, and the making a sweet smoke with them, we are sure, they were acquainted with⁴, and to that way of perfuming Solomon at least refers⁵. But a passage in Daniel makes it requisite to enter more minutely into this affair, and as at the same time it mentions some other Eastern

² Plate 57 R. ³ Let. IX. p. 14. ⁴ See Exod. 30. 35, 38. [⁵ Sir J. Chardin tells us in one of the notes of his MS, *it is the constant custom of the East, to have censers at their feasts, and perfumes are much more common there than in Europe.* The ashes or embers of perfume, mentioned Tobit 6. 16, and ch. 8. 2, evidently refer to this custom, on which passages Sir John has not made any remark.]

forms of doing honour, which I have already taken notice of, but to all which *in this case* objections have been made, I will make my remarks upon it in a distinct article, which I will place immediately after this, and shew how easily that little collection of oriental compliments may be accounted for, as well as explain more at large this particular affair of burning odours merely as a *civil* expression of respect.

XXI. OBSERVATION XXIX.

The passage in Daniel I referred to, which may be explained by this Eastern custom, is this, “ Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face, and *worshipped* Daniel, and commanded that they should *offer an oblation*, and *sweet odours* unto him.” Chap. ii. 46.

St. Jerome telleth us, that Porphyry objected to this account of Nebuchadnezzar’s prostration before the Prophet: he could not comprehend how it could be true, that an *haughty king* should adore a *captive*; and he reproached Daniel for accepting his oblation and his honours.

This father supposed that the oblation signified a sacrifice, and the sweet odours incense; but I cannot say that he appears to have had his mind embarrassed with this passage, so much as with the proposal made by

¹ In Dan. cap. 2.

the servant of Saul to his master, when he thought of consulting the Prophet Samuel². I wish I could say however he had explained it so as to be less embarrassing to others: it will be thought, I imagine, by most, as difficult a passage, at least, and that notwithstanding *his* comment, in which Jerome supposes, that Nebuchadnezzar's acknowledgment that the God of Daniel was a God of Gods, and a revealer of secrets, was a proof that he offered these sacrifices, and this incense, not *so much* unto Daniel, as unto God in Daniel, after which, calling Porphyry a calumniator, he dismisses the subject, having first though, happily enough, remarked with respect to the prostration, that Alexander the Great did the same to the Jewish high-priest.

Later commentators are not much more satisfying in their comments than this celebrated ancient. The note of Grotius on the latter part of the verse being this, " In the Hebrew it is, he commanded a Mincha to be offered him, (that is, a cake of flour, and odours.) He commanded it, but Daniel did not suffer it to be done: for *universal custom* had set apart *these honours* to God, or to those who were accounted Gods. So Jacchiades, and other Rabbies comment on the place." And according to this interpretation this passage is generally understood.

² See the first Observation of this chapter.

But

But there is no necessity, I apprehend, of supposing this an *idolatrous* command. We do not find Daniel rejecting these honours, as Paul and Barnabas did those of the inhabitants of Lystra. To say that he did, though it is not mentioned, is a very licentious way of explaining Scripture. Mr. Maundrell has not applied his observations on the modern Eastern compliments to this text, as he did to that concerning the servant of Saul; but they are, I imagine, as applicable as to the other: and the whole of what Nebuchadnezzar commanded might very possibly be of a *civil* nature, and no ways improper to be addressed to the Prophet. The making this out is what I would here attempt.

Notwithstanding universal custom had set apart these honours to God, or those that were accounted Gods, according to Grotius, he himself allows the prostration might not be idolatrous; and says, so great a Prophet was not unworthy this honour, citing the example of that captain that Ahaziah sent the third time to take Elijah. And indeed we have already seen, that nothing is more common than this sort of compliment in those countries, and that without any intention of idolatry, or suspicion of such intention. It is true princes in common received from Prophets this token of respect, rather than paid it to them; nevertheless, in some extrarordinary conjunctures, and this

this was such a one, the reverse may well be supposed to have happened. Thus sacred history informs us, Saul stooped down with his face to the ground, and bowed himself when Samuel appeared, 1 Sam. xxviii. 14; and Josephus telleth us, that Alexander of Macedonia (an heathen prince, as Nebuchadnezzar was, and as haughty as he,) adored the Jewish high-priest that came to meet him, not as a God, but as an high-priest of God. Jerome mentions this action of Alexander's, and so far, I think, has sufficiently disembarassed himself from the reproaches of Porphyry.

As to the second particular, though our translators have made use of the term *oblation*, yet the original word signifies not only a cake of flour offered unto God, but often a *present*, and that of very different things, made to mortal men. It is used for the presents in particular made by Jacob to Esau, Gen. xxxii. 13, &c; by his sons to Joseph, Gen. xliii. 11; by Ehud to Eglon, Judg. iii. 15; &c. It is used in like manner to signify the presents made to the Prophets of God, where there never has been, nor can be, the least jealousy in the world of any *idolatrous* design; though made by heathen kings, such as Nebuchadnezzar was; so it expresses the present made by the king of Syria to Elisha, 2 Kings viii. 9. It is by no means necessary therefore to understand the *present* of Nebuchadnezzar of an *idolatrous oblation*,

oblation, or of any thing more than such a gift, as it was becoming a Prophet to receive.

It may, perhaps, be thought an objection to this, that these presents were wont to be made to the Prophets *before* the exercise of their office; so was that to have been which Saul intended for Samuel, 1 Sam. ix. 7, &c; such was Jeroboam's to Ahijah, 1 Kings xiv. 2, 3; and the king of Syria's to Elisha, which I this moment mentioned. But this will be no difficulty, when it is observed, that a difference is to be made between *going to consult* a Prophet, and *his coming* to declare some future event: in this last case presents were made *after* the exercise of the prophetic gift. So when the man of God came out of Judah, to cry against the altar at Bethel, *after* he had denounced the judgments of God, "The king said unto the man of God, "come home with me, and refresh thyself, "and *I will give thee a reward,*" 1 Kings xiii. 7; so *after* Jerusalem was taken, the captain of the guard gave to Jeremiah *viſtuals and a reward,* Jer. xl. 5. Now it is visible the case of Daniel much more resembles these, than the case of those to whom *they applied* to learn future events—"Arioch "brought in Daniel before the king in haste, "and said thus unto him, I have found a "man of the captives of Judah, that will "make known unto the king the interpretation." Dan. ii. 25.

But

But the third thing is apparently the great difficulty—the offering *sweet odours* unto the Prophet. This is supposed to be a thing appropriated to God, or those that were imagined to be Gods. But why is this supposed? It is certain that odours were often made use of in the East merely for civil purposes, and without any idolatrous intention whatsoever. They are so still.

And because something may very probably be learnt from their present customs of this sort, explanatory of this command of Nebuchadnezzar, let us, a little more distinctly than we have hitherto done, consider the various ways in which they make use of perfumes, and also the several views they have in making use of them.

When Maillet was received by some of the chief officers of Ægypt as *consul of France*,³ he was regaled with sweet odours in more ways than one, odoriferous waters being poured out on his hands, and perfumes put upon coals, and the smoke of them presented to him. This is the account he gives of his reception at Alexandria. “ After
“ the usual compliments they brought me
“ black water, and afterwards white, (coffee that is, and sherbet,) to which succeeded sweetmeats. They after that presented me a basin over which I washed
“ my hands with *odoriferous waters*, which
“ were poured upon me by an officer of the

³ Let. 1. p. 6.

“Aga. Lastly they brought the perfume,
 “and covered me with a rich cloth, to
 “make me the better receive it.”

This last circumstance is expressed with so much brevity, that it is really obscure. Dr. Pococke, who attended an *English consul* to Cairo, gives this account of a Turkish visit, in the beginning of his first volume ⁴, which may serve to explain Maillet's. According to him then, *the entertainment at these visits consists of a pipe, sweetmeats, coffee, sherbet; and at going away rose-water* ⁵, which they sprinkle on the hands of the guest, with which he rubs his face, after which incense is brought, which he receives leaning forward, and holding out his garment on each side to take the smoke. The rich cloth then that Maillet speaks of,

⁴ P. 15. [⁵ Haffelquist tells us that the *red roses* of Egypt, which are common in the gardens, at Rosetta and Damietta, are of *no very strong scent*, for which reason the water distilled from them is of no great value at Cairo; but he gives a very different account of that drawn from the *white*, which are cultivated, he says, in considerable quantities in the province of Fajhum. The flowers are, it seems, of a *pale colour*, not quite white, but rather inclining to red; they are double, being frequently of the size of a man's fist; and emit the most fragrant odour of any he had seen. From this sort, he says, an incredible quantity of water is distilled every year at Fajhum, and sold in Ægypt, being exported even to other countries. An Apothecary at Cairo bought yearly 1500 lb. (about 180 gallons), which he caused to be brought to the city in copper vessels lined with wax, selling it to great profit in Cairo. The Eastern people use the water in a luxurious manner, sprinkling it on the head, face, hands, and clothes of the guests they mean to honour, afterwards perfuming them with frankincense, wood of aloes, &c. p. 248, &c.]

was,

was, it should seem, some kind of veil used to prevent the too speedy dissipation of that delicious smoke.

The Ægyptians may be thought to be a people more luxurious than their neighbours: perfumes however are used in other places of the East, as we learn from Dr. Russell, whose account, as being more particular still, shall not be omitted. *Coffee*, he says, *made very strong, and without either sugar or milk, is a refreshment in high esteem with every body; and a dish of it, preceded by a little wet sweetmeat, (commonly conserve of red roses, accidulated with lemon-juice,) and a pipe of tobacco is the usual entertainment at a visit. If they have a mind to use less ceremony, the sweetmeat is omitted; and if they would shew an extraordinary degree of respect, they add sherbet, (some syrup, chiefly that of lemon, mixed with water,) a sprinkling of rose or other sweet-scented water, and perfume with aloes-wood, which is brought last, and serves as a sign that it is time for the stranger to take his leave.*⁶

Even the *Arabs* present a pipe, coffee, sweetmeats, and *perfumes*, when they are visited, according to the curious editor of the Ruins of Balbec,⁷ and d'Arvieux;⁸ who speaks also of their pouring odoriferous waters on the face and hair, and who takes particular notice of the wrapping up the

⁶ P. 81. ⁷ P. 4. ⁸ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 251.

head among them in a veil, on the account of the perfume.

[They make use too of odoriferous oils. So Hasselquist tells us that the Egyptians put the flowers of the *tuberosè* into oil, and by this means give the oil a most excellent smell, scarce inferior to oil of *jessamine*.⁹ In another page¹⁰ he mentions their laying flowers of *jessamine*, *narcissus*, &c, in oil¹¹, and so making an odoriferous ointment, which those who love perfumes apply to the *head*, *nose*, and *beard*. This indeed seems to be the most ancient way of using perfumes in a liquid form. We have no account in the scriptures, at least any clear account, so far as I recollect, of the using odoriferous waters, but fragrant ointments are frequently referred to. Accordingly it is supposed by the curious, that the distillation of these delicious waters is comparatively a modern invention; but the mixing oil and odoriferous substances together, we know, is as ancient as the days of Moses; and we find by Hasselquist

⁹ P. 288. ¹⁰ P. 267. [¹¹ This oil, he tells us, is the oil of Behen, which emits no scent or smell at all, and therefore he supposes it very proper for preparing odoriferous ointments and balsams, and that it is on this account much used by the inhabitants of the East. All this is agreeable enough; but when he adds that this undoubtedly was that with which Aaron was anointed, he appears to be extremely mistaken; the scriptures directing the sacerdotal ointment to be made with oil of olives, Exod. 30. 24: but this is not the only place, where he shews himself to be a much better naturalist than divine.]

continues to be made use of still, notwithstanding the introduction of distilled perfumes.]

Sweet odours then are at this day used in the Levant, in *different countries*, and among *very different sorts of people*, and that both in a *liquid form*, and in that of *smoke*, and this without the least idolatrous design.

Besides what appears in these citations, we find, by *another* passage of Dr. Pococke, that it is a mark of importance when persons are treated with perfumes by the *great*: for describing an English Consul's waiting on the Pasha of Tripoli, on the Pasha's return from a journey to meet the Mecca caravan, he says that sweetmeats, coffee, and sherbet, were brought to all, but the Consul *alone* was perfumed and incensed. Whereas when the same company waited presently after on the Caia, or the chief minister of the Pasha, they were treated after the same manner, except that *all were perfumed and incensed*. So then if the sweet odours that were presented to Daniel, were used with the same intention that these modern odoriferous liquids and smoke are, it was dismissing the Prophet with great respect; and considering the *quality* of the person that ordered it, was an high honour done him, but of the civil kind, and without any thing like idolatry; and perhaps was no more than what the new dignity, to which Nebuchadnezzar had raised him, made proper.

But if the *burning and sprinkling perfumes* be so common in the East as a mere civil compliment, how came this notion of the idolatroufness of Nebuchadnezzar's command to be so universal? How came Maundrell, who so happily explained the proposal of Saul's servant to his master, to take no notice of this remarkable circumstance? The last is only a proof, that the most ingenious travellers have taken little notice of the coincidence between the remaining oriental customs and passages of Scripture, except in very striking cases. And as to the first, writers seem to be *sometimes* strangely disposed to think many innocent usages of antiquity idolatrous. Thus the writers from whence the Notæ Variorum on Curtius are taken, suppose the pomp with which Alexander the Great was received into that very city of Babylon, (where Daniel now was,) a few generations after, was idolatrous, and paid to him as a God, without sufficient reason. The pomp, as described by Curtius ¹⁰, consisted in strewing flowers and garlands in the way, burning frankincense and other odours on each side of the places through which he passed, making him royal presents, and singing, and playing upon instruments before him. Frienshemius, who was one of these writers, supposeth the *singing before him* was idolatrous: though we not only find in Hanway ¹¹ that a considerable number of singers

¹⁰ Lib. 5. cap. 1.

¹¹ Vol. 1. p. 249, 251.

used to precede Kouli-Khan, the late celebrated Persian monarch, where an idolatrous intention cannot be imagined; but that the like solemnity was in use among the Jews, where nothing of this kind is, or can be, suspected, 2 Chron. xx. 21, 28; nay though Curtius expressly saith in this passage, that these singers were those *that were wont* to sing the praises of their kings. And even as to that burning frankincense and other odours, it appears to be no more than doing him *great civil honours*: for as it was customary for the Persians to burn odours before their princes, and in times of triumph and joy¹²; so Brissonius¹³, (who is celebrated¹⁴ for the accuracy of his observations on the customs of the Persians,) affirmed that he did not remember to have any where observed, that *Persians used incense in the worship of their Gods*. Nor have the passages Savaro¹⁵ produces, it is certain, any force in them, to prove the contrary; the one being this very passage of Curtius, and the other a line from a poet who flourished near five hundred years after the birth of our Lord, and therefore no competent witness concerning the idolatrous rites of the ancient Persians.

The pouring out sweet odours on Daniel, which seems to be the import of the words, must, sure! be less exceptionable than the

¹² Vide Not. Var. in Q. Curtium, lib. 5. cap. 1. p. 264.

¹³ Ubi supra.

¹⁴ Vide Not. Var. in Q.

Curt. p. 41.

¹⁵ P. 264.

burning odours before him. But if they were burnt before him, as it would not now in that country have the least idolatrous appearance; as it would not have had that appearance among the ancient Perfians, if it made, as Briffonius supposes, no part of the worship of their Gods; as perfumes seem to have been used sometimes for mere civil purposes, in countries where they entered into the solemnities of religion, for Solomon says, ointment and perfume rejoice the heart, Prov. xxvii. 9, and Moses, when he forbids the Israelites the making a perfume to smell to like that ordered by him to be burnt in the Sanctuary, supposes perfumes might be, or were sometimes, burnt for mere secular uses; why should this command of Nebuchadnezzar be imagined to be *idolatrous*¹⁶?

To finish this article, Nebuchadnezzar appears in all this matter to have considered Daniel merely as a Prophet: his words strongly express this, "*Your God is a God of Gods,*" v. 47; and had it been otherwise, a person so zealous as Daniel, who ran the risque of his life rather than neglect his homage unto his God, and had the courage

¹⁶ An honour of much the same kind seems to have obtained in the West, which Horace speaks of in one of his Satires, and which appears, by that passage, not to have been appropriated to such as the Romans deified, as they did their emperors, but to have been done to obscure magistrates, acknowledged to be mere mortals.

—Infani ridentes præmia scribæ,
Prætextam, & latum clavum, *prunæque batillum.* L. I. S. V.

to pray to him, in that dangerous situation, with his windows open towards Jerufalem, would undoubtedly like Paul and Barnabas have rejected these odours. To fuppofe after all this, that they were idolatrous, will feem to me almost as perverse, as to imagine the burning ſweet odours at the death of King Afa, 2 Chron. xvi. 14, was the *ſolemnity of an Apotheofis*: but vehemently inclined as the Jews were to idolatry, the deifying their deceafed kings doth not appear to have been one of their transgreffions.

OBSERVATION XXX.

XXII.

There was an honour of a *different* kind done to Daniel afterwards, the clothing him with ſcarlet, mentioned Dan. v. 16. 29. We have no cuſtom of this kind; perſons receive favours of various ſorts from princes, but the coming out from their preſence in a different dreſs is not an honour in uſe among us, but it is ſtill practiſed in the Eaſt.

Some doubt however may be made concerning the precise intention of this clothing him, whether it was the inveſting him with the dignity of the third ruler of the kingdom, by putting on him the dreſs belonging to that office; or whether it was a diſtinct honour: the modern cuſtoms of the Eaſt not determining this point, becauſe *caſſetans*, (or *robes*,) are at this day put on people with both views.

So Norden, speaking of one of the Arab princes of Upper-Ægypt, says, that he had received at Girge the *caffetan* of the Bey, which was the only mark of respect they paid there to the Turkish government, force deciding between the competitors who should have the dignity, and he that was sent to Girge being absolutely to be vested with the *caffetan* by the Bey¹. But then we find too that these *caffetans* are given merely as an honour, and not as an ensign of office. La Roque tells us that he himself received it at Sidon, and three other attendants on the French Consul, along with the Consul himself, who upon a particular occasion waited on Ishmael the Bashaw of that place². Agreeably to which Thevenot tells us, he saw an Ambassador from the Great Mogul come out from an audience he had of the Grand Seignior, with a vest of cloth of gold upon his back, a *caffetan* of which sort of stuff thirty of his retinue also had³; and in another place⁴ that he saw one hundred and eight of the retinue of an Ægyptian Bey thus honoured, along with their master, by a *Basha* of that country.

But if it should be indeterminate, whether this scarlet vestment was merely *the dress* belonging to the office with which Daniel was dignified, or a *distinct* honour, it is by no means uncertain whether it was put upon

¹ Part 2. p. 96, 97.
Tom. 1. p. 15, 16.

² Voy. de Syr. & du Mont Liban,
³ Part 1. p. 85. ⁴ P. 236.

him or not, since these caffetans are always in readiness in the East, and are wont *immediately* to be put on, contrary to the sentiment of the learned Mr. Lowth, who supposes, in his commentary on Dan. v. 29, that though the king thought himself bound to perform the promise of the 16th verse, yet that it was *likely it could not take effect*, at that unseasonable time of the night; and therefore the words might have been better translated, “ Then commanded Belshazzar “ that they *should* clothe Daniel with scarlet.” This is certainly an unnecessary refinement.

[I would here take the liberty of annexing a curious passage, from Sir J. Chardin’s 6th MS volume, to the last paragraph, which will abundantly show, how easy it is immediately to put a garment on a person they intend to honour, answerable to that degree of honour they design to do him, let it be what it will. After having observed that in *Persia*, and the *Indies*, they not only give a vestment, but a complete suit of clothes when they would do a person *more honour than common*, contrary to what is practised in *Turkey and China*, he goes on to observe, *that these presents of vestments are only from superiors to inferiors, not from equals to equals, nor from the mean to the great*⁵. *Kings constantly give them to Ambassadors, Residents, and Envoys; and send them to Princes who are their tributaries, and pay them homage. They pay great attention to the*

⁵ See however the next Observation.

quality or merit of those to whom these vestments or habits are given: they are always answerable to their rank. Those that are given to their great men have, in like manner, as much difference as there is between the degrees of honour they possess in the state. The kings of Persia have great wardrobes, where there are always many hundreds of habits ready, designed for presents, and sorted. The Intendant of the wardrobe (which they call Kalaat Kone, that is the house of Kalaats, that being the name given those vestments that are made presents of,) sends one of them to the person the Great Master orders, and of that kind the order directs. More than forty taylorers are always employed in this house. This difference of vestments, as to the stuff they are made of, is not observed in Turkey; there they are pretty much alike in point of richness, but they give more or fewer, according to the dignity of the persons to whom they are presented, or the degree in which they would caress them: there are Ambassadors that have received twenty-five or thirty of them, for themselves and attendants; and several are given to one person, respect being had to the place he holds. In the year 1675, the king of Persia having returned answer to the agents of the grandson of Teimuras-Can, the last king of Iberia, (who solicited his return to court, and was then in Moscow,) that he should be welcome, and this young prince having come to the frontiers, his Majesty sent one of his officers to bring him to him, and to defray his expences, with a very rich present,

in which, among other things, were five complete suits of clothes.]

OBSERVATION XXXI,

XXIII.

Presents of vestments, on the other hand, are frequently made in these countries to the great, and those that are in public stations; and they expect that they should.

Thevenot tells us¹, it was a custom in Ægypt, in his time, for the Consuls of the European nations to send the *Basha* a present of so many *vests*, and so many besides to some officers, both when a new *Basha* came, or a new Consul entered his office, as were rated at above a thousand piastres. Doth not this last account remind us of the presents that were made to Solomon, by the neighbouring princes, *at set times*, part of which, we are expressly told, consisted of *raiment*? 2 Chron. ix. 24.

[This may be thought not very well to agree with a remark of Sir J. Chardin, mentioned under the last Observation, *that vestments are not presented by inferiors to superiors; or even by an equal to an equal*; but there is really no inconsistency: vestments are not the things that are chosen by those that would make a present to the great, in common; but they may be *ordered* to be sent as a sort of a tribute, or a due which the superior claims.]

¹ Part I. p. 253.

The other things mentioned in that passage of Chronicles, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, harness and spices, horses and mules, still continue to be thought fit presents to the great. So Russell tells us, in his account of the Eastern visits², that if it is a visit of ceremony from a Bashaw or a person in power, a *fine horse*, sometimes with *furniture*, or some such valuable thing, is made a present of to him at his departure; and the Baron Fabricius, in his letters concerning Charles XII. of Sweden, tells us, that when he was seized at Bender, the house being set on fire, the rich presents that had been made him, consisting of tents, *fabres, saddles and bridles* adorned with jewels, *rich housings and harnesses*, to the value of 200,000 crowns were consumed. Of the rest, the vessels of silver and the spices may be illustrated by that story of d'Herbelot concerning Akhschid, the commander of an Eastern province, who is said to have purchased peace of Jezid, general of the troops of one of the Khalifes, by sending him a present of *seven hundred thousand drams of silver in ready money; four hundred loads of saffron, which that country produced in abundance; and four hundred slaves, who each of them carried a rich turbant of silk in a silver basin*³.

² P. 81, 82.³ P. 487.

OBSERVATION XXXII.

[Party-coloured vestments are also esteemed a mark of honour. Kings daughters were so arrayed, 2 Sam. xiii. 18, which shows it was a dress of dignity.

Dr. Shaw cites this passage, and supposes an account which he had just before given, of the dress of the present African ladies, exactly answers it. I should not therefore have taken any notice of this circumstance in these papers, had I not apprehended, that the Doctor's account was not perfectly accurate.

“The virgins,” says the Doctor, “are distinguished from the matrons, in having their drawers made of needle-work, striped silk or linen, just as *Tamar's* garment is described, 2 Sam. xiii. 18.”

Two things, I think, are to be remarked here. In the first place, her garment of divers colours I should hardly imagine to be her drawers. Would she have rent *that part* of her dress as expressive of grief? Besides, we know it is a quite different word which expresses drawers, in Exodus xxviii. 42, which paragraph, in a preceding part of it¹, uses the term that denotes that part of the dress of Tamar that was of divers colours, to express a part of the dress of the priests quite different from their drawers, and which our translators render *coat*.

¹ V. 39, 40.

Secondly,

Secondly, these garments were, it should seem, of different colours, not by being made of *striped* materials, or by being embroidered, but by having many *pieces* of different colours sewed together: the original word signifying rather small *pieces* than *colours*, of which our translators have given an intimation, in the margin of Gen. xxxvii. 3, explanatory of Joseph's dress, which appears to have been the same with Tamar's.

This way of *ornamenting* their dress continues still in the East: Dr. Shaw himself mentions it, in the same page in which he speaks of Tamar². There he tells us that they wear *shirts* of linen, or cotton, or gauze, underneath their tunics. That the sleeves of these shirts are wide and open, and that “those, particularly, of the women, are oftentimes of the richest gauze, adorned with *different-coloured* ribbands, *interchangeably* sewed to each other.” A garment of this kind, would of course be a garment of *divers pieces*, and *divers colours* both.

OBSERVATION XXXIII.

Rough as the Eastern warriors are, in their manners, they frequently wear very *pompous* vestments.

Lady Montague describing in her letters the pompous manner, in which she saw the Grand Seignor go to mosque, among other attendants she tells us she saw “the Aga of

² P. 228.

“ the

“ the Janizaries,” which term, it is well-known, signifies the general of the *most honourable* body of Turkish troops, “ in a robe of purple velvet, *lined* with silver tiffue, “ his horse led by two slaves richly dressed ‘ .” In another place² this very agreeable female writer, observing that ancient customs still very much continue in the East, tells us that ladies *pass their time at their looms, embroidering veils and robes, surrounded by their maids.*

These outer garments, which her ladyship calls robes, and Dr. Shaw burnooses, which he tells us answer our cloaks, the Doctor expressly tells us sit very strait about the neck³. All which circumstances put together, furnish out a very agreeable comment on Judges v. 39, as it lies in our translation: “ Have they not sped? Have they not divided the prey?—To *Sifera* a prey of *divers colours*, a prey of divers colours of needle-work (or embroidery of divers colours of needle-work) on both sides, meet for the “ *necks* of them that take the spoil.”]

OBSERVATION XXXIV.

XXIV.

Princes do not only order caffetans to be given to those they would honour, they sometimes have presented people with *their own garments.*

So d’Herbelot, I remember, telleth us¹, that when Sultan Selim, the son of Bajazet,

¹ Vol. 2. p. 20, 21. ² P. 44, 45. ³ P. 225. ⁴ P. 571.

had defeated Cansou Gauri, Sultan of the Mamelukes of Ægypt, he assisted at prayers in a mosque at Aleppo, upon his triumphant return to Constantinople, and that the Imam of the mosque, having added at the close of the prayer these words, "May God preserve Selim Khan, the servant and minister of the two sacred cities of Mecca and Medinah!" the title was *so very agreeable* to the Sultan, that *he gave the robe that he had on* to this Imam, and that from that time forward the Ottoman emperors have always used it in their letters patent, as kings of Ægypt. Maillet tells us the same story², but differs as to the place, which, according to him, was Damascus; a circumstance of no consequence at all as to these remarks.

Just thus Jonathan *stripped himself of the robe that was upon him*, and gave it to David, and his *garments*, even to his sword, and to his bow, and to his girdle, 1 Sam. xviii. 4.

Bishop Patrick, I am afraid, does not represent this story with *due simplicity*, when in his comment he tells us, this was done to express the most entire and perfect union. "*That he might look like another Jonathan,*" are the words of that writer. Without doubt, the celebrated friendship between Jonathan and David now commenced; but this *stripping himself of his robe, and putting it upon David*, was no more than doing an high honour, I apprehend, to an inferior, in the eyes of

² Let. 12. p. 153, 154.

the servants of Saul, according to modern Eastern customs, not intended to make him look *like another Jonathan*. Selim, we are sure, when he gave *his robe* to a Mohammedan ecclesiastic in the year 1519, had no intention to make that ecclesiastic look *like another Selim*, or even to declare him the *most intimate* of his friends.

The Bishop's intrepertation seems to be the more strange, as something of the like nature has been practised by our own princes. I have seen a robe of queen Elizabeth, given by her majesty to one of our cities, and which, I think, its mayors *used formerly to wear* on great solemnities; but no one will suppose any thing more was intended by her, than by sultan Selim when he presented his robe to the Iman, both simply intended to do an honour to those to whom they presented their robes; nor is there any ground to suppose Jonathan intended any thing different from them.

OBSERVATION XXXV.

XXV.

As the dignity of a prince made the being arrayed in his clothes a mighty honour, so it should seem it did not allow of a malefactor's *setting his eyes upon him*. The majesty at least of the kings of Persia did not allow of this, as appears in the case of Haman, whose face was covered, as soon as the courtiers perceived Ahafuerus looked upon him in that light, Est. vii. 8.

Some curious correspondent examples have been produced from antiquity, and may be met with in Pool's Synopsis; but perhaps it may be amusing to find this custom still continues, as well as useful, more clearly to ascertain the meaning of covering his face, which has been differently understood by learned men.

I shall therefore set down from Dr. Pococke's travels, ¹ the account he gives of an artifice by which an Ægyptian Bey ² was taken off, which was this. A man being brought before him like a malefactor just taken, with his hands behind him as if tied, and *a napkin put over his head*, as malefactors commonly have, when he was brought before the Bey suddenly shot him dead.

Harbonah's covering Haman's face then was the placing him before the king, as a malefactor to hear his doom.

[This same circumstance also may be thought to be explanatory of a remarkable clause in the prophecies of Ezekiel, who speaks of false prophetesses, as making "*Kerchiefs* "upon the head of every stature" (or persons of all ages) "to hunt souls." Ezek. xiii. 18.

It is certain these prophetesses did two very different things, *they slew* (in prediction) those that were not to die; and they *saved*

¹ Vol. 1. p. 179. ² The title they give to the greatest men of that country after the Bashaw.

the souls alive that were not to live; v. 19. This making kerchiefs then upon the head may be understood in very *contrary* senses.

A very learned and ingenious writer³ supposes the word translated Kerchiefs signifies *veils*, and the putting them on the head *the keeping people in blindness and ignorance*. But I cannot adopt this explanation: because it seems to me not to express with *sufficient strength*, what these false prophetesses certainly did, who absolutely predicted the *very contrary* to what was to happen, and did not content themselves with *concealing* future events from them; nor, secondly, doth it agree with the nature of Eastern veils, which though *they keep others in ignorance* who the wearers of them are, by no means hinder those that make use of them *from seeing whither they are going*—they themselves can see, though they are unseen.

Shall we on the contrary suppose this clause rather refers to those whom they threatened with death, as they certainly did some, at the same time that they promised others life? They perhaps may be represented as covering the heads of those they by their prophesyings *destined unto death*; as the head of Haman was covered when he was really in those circumstances. No commentator, that I know of, has given us this explanation, but it seems worthy of *some* attention.

³ Gataker, whose sentiment seems to be adopted by Mr. Lowth, in his commentary on Ezek. 13. 18.

I am nevertheless *inclined* to understand the clause in a different sense, and as relating to those whom they flattered into ease by their allurements: since the *veiling of malefactors* seems not well to agree to a *female* character; and since an easy explanation may be given of the image here made use of, understanding it as descriptive of their *fatal prophetic flatteries*.

The Eastern mode of sitting, supported by pillows, which I have had occasion to mention under a preceding Observation, and of which Dr. Russell has given us a print, representing a fine Eastern lady reposing herself on one of these bolsters or pillows, by leaning with one of her arms on one of them, while she is smoking, fully explains one part of this representation of Ezekiel. And when we are told by Dr. Shaw ⁴ and Lady M. W. Montague ⁵, that the Eastern women bind on their other ornaments for the head with an handkerchief, which the last of them calls a rich embroidered handkerchief, we are naturally led to suppose we have the interpretation of that other clause of Ezekiel which we have been considering. If the custom be but as ancient as the time of Ezekiel we have no reason to doubt of it: for these prophetesses did the same thing by their flattering *words*, as would have been best expressed, if they had thought fit to signify the same thing by *actions* only,

⁴ P. 229.

⁵ Vol. 2. p. 30.

(as the prophets sometimes did⁶;) by making bolsters for the arms, and presenting them to the Israelitish women whom they wanted to assure of the continuance of their prosperity; and embroidering handkerchiefs, proper to bind over the ornaments of females in a state of honour, and afterward putting them on their heads. Whereas the true prophets of God gave them to understand, in direct contradiction to all this, that if the Jews would not yield up themselves to the Chaldeans, great numbers of their men should perish, and their women should be brought down from those elevated places in which they sat, supported by *rich bolsters*, (their divans as Russell calls them,) and should be forced to sit on the ground; and instead of a *rich attire* for their heads, should have their hair miserably dishevelled, strongly marking out grief in a despairing neglect of their persons. Such is the description an elder prophet gives of the state of captives, which every one must see is just the reverse of what these false prophetesses are represented as doing: “Come *down* and sit *in the dust*, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground: there is no *throne*, O daughter of the Chaldeans: for thou shalt no more be called *tender and delicate*. Take the mill-stones and grind meal, *uncover thy locks*,” &c, If. xlvii. 1, 2.

⁶ If. 20. 2—4, Ezek. 24. 16, 17, 22, 23, 24, &c.

This explanation agrees perfectly well with our translation, which makes use of the *old English term Kerchief* here, and, according to this account of matters, doth so with very great propriety, it being much better than the word *veils*. It agrees as well with the sentiment of those that suppose the original word signifies whatever serves to bind or fasten a thing on⁷. But neither the one, nor the other, nor Junius⁸, who supposes the word signifies *triumphal caps*, such as the Babylonians and Ægyptians were wont to wear, do, by the several terms they make use of, convey to the mind the thought I have been proposing with clearness and precision, nor perhaps *intended any thing very like it*.

The threatening of God by Isaiah, ch. iii. 17, may perhaps somewhat confirm the explanation I have been giving: “Therefore
“ the Lord will smite with a scab the crown
“ of the head of the daughter of Zion.” It is evident the Prophet is speaking of the painful alterations produced by a being defeated in war, “Thy men shall fall by the
“ sword, and thy mighty in the war,” ver. 25: But what has a *Scab* to do with subjection or captivity? If however we observe the resemblance between the word כִּפָּה, from

⁷ Vide Buxtorfi Epit. Rad. Heb. “Generale nomen, juxta
“ quosdam, earum rerum quibus aliquid constringitur, &
“ conjungitur ut adhærescat; R. Dav. Kimchi, Pepla;
“ alii Tiaræ.”

⁸ Apud Poli Syn.

whence

whence the word translated Kerchief is derived, and שפח, which our version renders “ he will smite with a scab,” on the one hand, being hardly distinguishable from each other by different sounds; and reflect, on the other hand, that many nations have been fond of using the same word, or words very little different from each other in sound, in opposite senses, which they have considered as agreeableness in writing, and dignified by the names of the Antanaclasis and the Paronomasia; we possibly may enter into the reason of the expression—the daughters of Zion have been wont to adorn their heads with a rich embroidered handkerchief, but the Lord, says the Prophet, using a term just the same in sound, shall smite their heads with a scab, their dishevelled uncovered hair shall be *matted together with filth*, or something of that kind.]

OBSERVATION XXXVI.

XXVI.

But besides these methods of doing honour to persons, which have formed a sort of regular series, there are some others which are not to be forgotten, and which I shall give an account of in a more miscellaneous way.

When, for instance, I read Pitt’s account of a cavalcade at Algiers, upon a person’s turning Mohammedan, and which is apparently designed to do him, as well as their

law, honour, I cannot forbear thinking of the manner in which Haman *proposed* to do a person honour, and which Mordecai *actually* received. I will not repeat that passage of the book of Esther¹, as the following extract from Pitts will bring it sufficiently to mind.

“ The apostate is to get on *horseback*, on
 “ a stately *steed*, with a rich saddle and fine
 “ trappings: he is also *richly habited*; and
 “ hath a turbant on his head but
 “ *nothing of this is to be called his own*; only
 “ there is given him about two or three
 “ yards of broad-cloth, which is laid before
 “ him on the saddle. The horse with him
 “ on his back, is led all round the city
 “ which he is several hours in doing
 “ The apostate is attended with drums, and
 “ other music, and twenty or thirty Vekil
 “ Harges, or stewards, who, as I told you,
 “ are under the Otho-Bashees, or sergeants.
 “ These march in order on each side of the
 “ horse with naked swords in their hands
 “ The *cryer* goes before, with a *loud*
 “ *voice* giving thanks to God for the pro-
 “ felyte that is made,” &c.²

Strange as the method may appear *to us* of honouring a person by putting vestments on him *above his degree*, and which it is not designed he *should keep*, together with the carrying him thus equipped *about a large town on horseback*; attended by a *cryer*; yet Africans, we find, concur with Asiatics in

¹ Ch. 6. 7—9.

² P. 198, 199.

it. It is no wonder then to find Haman proposed a thing of this sort, and that Ahasuerus easily assented to it.

OBSERVATION XXXVII.

XXVII.

The riding at all *on an horse* seems to be an honourable thing in the East, since Europeans are not in common permitted to do it; the consuls of France, according to Maillet¹, being the only Frenchmen in Ægypt who are allowed it, the rest being obliged to ride on asses or mules. Dr. Pococke, in like manner, describes the English consul as making his entry into Cairo on horseback, his friends and attendants on asses; no Christian, excepting consuls, being permitted to ride on horseback in the city².

This is not peculiar to Egypt: Maundrell complains of his being obliged, with his company, to submit to this affront at Damascus³. Not that the asses of these countries are not agreeable enough to ride on, for they have nothing of that indolence and heaviness, Maillet says, which are natural to ours, and will hold their briskness through the longest journies, so that ladies ride nothing else, and the men choose them, rather than horses, when their circumstances will permit⁴; but because they are by no means so

¹ Let. 1. p. 7, 8.² Vol. 1. p. 17.³ P. 130.⁴ Let. 9. p. 29.

proper as an horse for times of solemnity and state, or at any time for such persons as would appear with dignity.

Accordingly horses are used to no other motions in the East than that of walking in state, and running in full career⁵. And for this reason, Pococke tells us, the Chous of the Janizaries (at Cairo) always goes on an ass for greater speed, those creatures pacing along very fast; whereas it is *contrary to the Turkish dignity* to go, on an horse, faster than a foot-pace in the streets⁶. Riding on horseback is, in the Levant, accounted an honourable thing, and they ride them accordingly in a very stately manner.

And indeed this has so struck some of our Western travellers, Dr. Russell in particular⁷, that they have frankly confessed, that a great man of the East riding on horseback, and attended by his servants, has appeared much more stately and dignified to them, than one of ours doth in his coach loaded with footmen. And, in truth, the people of these countries must be allowed to be most exquisite connoisseurs, as to every attitude and every circumstance that serves to ennoble the appearance of a person, and render it stately and majestic.

The Prophet Zechariah seems accordingly to have supposed this sort of sensibility, when he describes the coming of the Messiah to

⁵ Shaw, p. 156.
page 89 of his book.

⁶ Vol. I. p. 191.

⁷ See

Zion as *meeek and lowly*, because he was to make his entry on an ass.

For this attaching of stateliness and dignity to the riding on an horse, obtained in Judæa before the times of Zechariah, though it had not been always so in that country, the greatest personages, and on the most solemn occasions too, riding there in more ancient times on asses and mules⁸. It seems to have begun in the reign of Solomon, in whose days we are told many horses were fetched out of Ægypt⁹, and who apparently touches upon the pomp, supposed to be in riding on horses, in his writings. (Eccles. x. 7.) I have already¹⁰ taken some notice of this passage; but Ruffell's account of *persons of condition riding on horseback*, with a number of *servants walking* before them, is a much more perfect illustration of a passage which speaks of those that ride as *riding on horses*. I have seen servants *riding in state*, was the thought of the wise-man, while persons of great birth, in countries where dignity is kept up with the nicest care, he had seen *walking like servants* before those that rode.

To the *splendor* also of this *attendance*, he refers without doubt in part, in those words, "I got me servants," Eccles. ii. 7.

⁸ See Judges 10. 4, 2 Sam. 18. 9, 1 Kings 1. 33.
⁹ 1 Kings 10. 28, before which time there were few or no horses in Judæa.
¹⁰ Ch. v. Obs. 12.

We are told in a book, which gives an account of the sufferings of the crew of an English privateer, shipwrecked on the African coast in 1745-6¹, and which occasionally mentions the education of their children, and their getting the Koran by heart, that
 “ when they have gone through, their re-
 “ lations borrow a fine horse and furniture,
 “ and carry them about the town in procession,
 “ with the book in their hands, the rest of
 “ their companions following, and all sorts of
 “ music of the country going before.”

Dr. Shaw mentions the same custom², adding the *acclamations* of the school-boys, but taking no notice of the *music*. We have no reason, however, to doubt the fact on the account of the Doctor's silence, especially as it relates to another part of Barbary, and as it is given us by those that resided some years in that country.

Shaw makes no use of this circumstance relating to the education of youth in Barbary; but I confess, the account that the privateer's people have given of this procession, seems to me to be a lively comment on that ancient Jewish procession, mentioned 1 Sam. x. 5, 6, “ Thou shalt meet a
 “ company of prophets coming down from the
 “ high-place, with a psaltery, and a tabret,

¹ Barbarian Cruelty, Appendix, p. 52.

² P. 195.

“ and

“ and a *pipe*, and an *harp* before them, and
“ they shall *prophecy*. And the spirit of the
“ Lord will come upon thee, and thou shalt
“ *prophecy* with them, and shalt be turned
“ into another man.” That the word *Pro-*
phets oftentimes signifies *sons* or *scholars* of
the prophets, and *prophefying*, *singing*, have
been often remarked; but no author, that I
know of, has given any account of the *na-*
ture of this procession, and what it was design-
ed for. We are sometimes told, high-places
were used for sacrifices; and in one case,
music, it is certain, went playing before
them when they went up to worship, *If. xxx.*
29; but did they also return from sacrific-
ing with it? We are told that music was made
use of by the prophets to calm and compose
them, and invite the divine influences;
which is indeed very true, but is it to the
purpose? Did they go forth in this manner
from their college, into the *noise and interrup-*
tions of the world, to call down the prophetic
impulse? But if we consider them as a com-
pany of the *sons of the prophets*, going in
procession with *songs of praise*, and *music*
playing before them, and recollect that it is
usual at this day for *young scholars* to go in
procession with *acclamations*, and *music* play-
ing before them, the whole mystery seems to
be unravelled. To which may be added, that
Saul was to meet them, and find himself
turned into another man, into a man, per-
haps, that is instantaneously made as know-

ing in the law of God, as the youth to whom they were doing these honours, or any of his convoy; which acquaintance with the laws of God was very necessary, for one that was to judge among his brethren as their king. For this reason, the Jewish kings were to write out a copy of the law of God, and read in it continually, that they might be *perfect masters* of it, Deut. xvii. 18—20; which accomplishment some youth had gained whom Saul met with, and was honoured with the solemnity the sacred historian speaks of, if the customs of South-Barbary may be supposed to be explanatory of those of Judæa.

OBSERVATION XXXIX.

When the Consul whom Dr. Pococke attended entered Cairo, the Doctor tells us, that, “according to *an ancient custom of state*, a man went before and sprinkled “water on the ground to lay the dust”.

Every one knows the *convenience* of this practice in hot and dry countries; but I do not remember to have met with it mentioned any where else *as an Eastern way of doing honour*: but if the Doctor is right here, if it was not barely a thing thought at that time *convenient*, but an *ancient custom of state*, the same causes might occasion it to be used in other countries; and if it had been used in

¹ Vol. I. p. 17.

Judæa before the time of David, in the days of the Judges and of Saul, it will explain Shimei's behaviour, and give it great energy, who, in direct opposition to it, threw stones, and dusted him with dust in the day of that prince's affliction². He had been wont to be honoured by having people go before him to take care that the ground should be moistened, and no dust raised where he was to pass; Shimei did the reverse.

This honour is not however confined to royalty; an English Consul was thus treated: private persons were also thus dishonoured, for the Jews clamoured against St. Paul in the temple, and threw dust, Acts xxii. 23.

[An observation Sir John Chardin has made, in his MS. note on Job ii. 12, gives a somewhat different turn to our apprehensions of the behaviour of Shimei, and of the Jews in the temple towards St. Paul: he says, *that in almost all the East, those who accuse a criminal, or demand justice against him, throw dust upon him, as much as to say, He deserves to be put under ground; and that it is a common imprecation of the Turks and Persians, Be covered with earth, Earth be upon thy head; as we are ready to say, I wish you four feet under ground.* The Jews certainly thought St. Paul deserved to die; and Shimei might design to declare, by what he did, that David was unworthy to live.

² 2 Sam. 16. 13, marg.

I must leave it to my reader to determine which sentiment is most natural.]

XXX.

OBSERVATION XL.

When d'Arvieux was in the camp of the Great Emir, his princess was visited by other Arab princesses. The last that came, whose visit alone he describes, was mounted, he says, on a camel, covered with a carpet, and decked with flowers: a dozen women marched in a row before her, holding the camel's halter with one hand; they sung the praises of their mistress, and songs which expressed joy, and the happiness of being in the service of such a beautiful and amiable lady. Those which went first, and were more distant from her person, came in their turn to the head of the camel, and took hold of the halter; which place, as being the post of honour, they quitted to others, when the princess had gone a few paces. The Emir's wife sent her women to meet her, to whom the halter was entirely quitted, out of respect, her own women putting themselves behind the camel; in this order they marched to the tent where she alighted. They then all sung together the beauty, birth, and good qualities of this princess¹.

Doth not this account illustrate a passage² of the Prophet Nahum, where he speaks of

¹ Voy. dans la Pa'. p. 249. ² Ch. 2. 7.

the presenting the queen of Nineveh, or Nineveh itself under the figure of a queen, to her conqueror? He describes her as *led by her maids*, with the voice of doves, with the *voice of mourning* that is; their wonted songs of joy with which they used to lead her along, as the Arab women did their princesses, being turned into lamentations.

That the Prophet is speaking of the presenting Huzzab to her conqueror, is visible from the word brought up, "Huzzab shall be led away captive, *she shall be brought up*," which is the same word in the original, as well as in our version, which is used for the conducting Zedekiah to the place where his conqueror *held his court*, 2 Kings xxv. 6, Jer. xxxix. 5.

Nor were *former distinctions* altogether lost in captivity, "Thou shalt not escape out of his hand," said Jeremiah to Zedekiah, "thou shalt surely be taken and delivered into his hand. . . . But thou shalt die in peace, and *with the burnings of thy fathers*, the former kings which were before thee: so shall they burn odours for thee, and they will lament thee, saying, Ah Lord!" Jer. xxxiv. 3, 5. Though Zedekiah was to die a captive, yet some distinctions of royalty were to be paid him in captivity: so Huzzab was to be led by her maids into the presence of her conqueror, as princesses were usually led, but with the
voice

voice of lamentation instead of the voice of joy.

Mr. Lowth, in his Commentary, supposes this passage of Nahum describes Huzzab as a great princess, attended by her maids of honour, bewailing her and their condition; but neither has he, nor any other commentator that I know of, entered into the force of the expression, “her maids shall *lead her*,” any more than of the term *brought up*.

XXXI.

OBSERVATION XLI.

The women of the Arab princess led her camel singing. This is not peculiar to the Eastern *princesses*. Hanway tells us, that Nadir Shah¹, when he removed his camp, was preceded by his running-footmen, and these by his *chanters*, who were nine hundred in number, and frequently chanted *moral sentences*, and encomiums on the Shah, occasionally proclaiming his victories also².

[The like practice, it seems, obtained among the inhabitants of Mount Libanus, in the time of Pope Clement VIII; for Dandini, the Pope's Nuncio to the Maronites, says, “We were always accompanied with the *better sort* of people, who “*walked on foot* before our mules, and out “of the respect they bore to the Pope, and “in honour to us, they would sing certain

¹ Kouli Khan, as we commonly called him. ² Vol. I. P. 249, 251.

“ songs, and spiritual airs, which they usually sung as they marched *before the patriarch, and other persons of quality*.” It was not confined, according to this account, to mean persons; but persons of figure went before him in procession with songs.]

We are willing to suppose, that Elijah's running before Ahab's chariot to the gates of Jezreel⁴ was not *unworthy his prophetic character*; but as the idea of the mob's running before a royal coach will present itself to some minds, when they read this passage, so commentators are not very happy in explaining this piece of the history of Elijah. Bishop Patrick supposes he ran before Ahab *like one of his footmen*, in which he shewed his *readiness to do the king all imaginable honour*, and that he was *far from being his enemy*: would it however have *become* Becket, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to have run before the horse of Henry II, to shew he was not his enemy? or even Friar Peito before Henry VIII, to do him all imaginable honour?

But if Ahab had chanters running before him, like Nadir Shah, it doth not appear at all contrary to the rules of decorum, for one brought up to celebrate the divine praises, to put himself at the head of them, to direct them, in singing praise to him that was then giving them rain, and to intermingle due

³ Ch. 17. p. 68.

⁴ 1 Kings 18. 46.

encomiums on the prince that had permitted the extermination of the Priests of Baal; or if *he* had none such, yet if it had been practised in those times, and was thought graceful and becoming a prince, nothing forbad Elijah's doing it alone: and perhaps what is said concerning the singers of the contemporary king of Judah, 2 Chron. xx. 21, 22, may enable us to guess, whether or no it was a practice totally unknown at that time. The expression of the divine historian, that *the hand of the Lord was upon him*, perfectly agrees to this thought; for it appears, from 2 Kings iii. 15, that it signifies enabling a Prophet to prophecy: and consequently we are rather to understand these words, of God's stirring him up to the composing^s, and singing, of some proper hymns on this occasion, than the mere enabling him to run with greater swiftness than *his age* would otherwise have permitted him to do, in which sense alone, I think, commentators have understood that clause.

OBSERVATION XLII.

[The Eastern *dances*, with which the great in those countries have been sometimes honoured, are *extemporaneous*, if I may be indulged the expression, as well as their songs.

I have elsewhere taken notice of the extemporaneousness of their songs; and I will here set down a passage, from the letters of

^s See Chap. 5. Obs. 7.

Lady Wortley Montague, which shews their dances are equally free. “ Their manner of dancing is certainly the same that *Diana* is sung to have danced on the banks of Eurotas. The great lady still leads the dance, and is followed by a troop of young girls, *who imitate her steps*, and, if she sings, make up the chorus. The tunes are extremely gay and lively, yet with something in them wonderfully soft. The steps are varied *according to the pleasure of her that leads the dance*, but always in exact time, and infinitely more agreeable than any of our dances, at least in my opinion. I sometimes make one in the train, but am not skilful enough to lead. These are the *Grecian* dances, the Turkish being very different¹.”

This gives us a different apprehension of the meaning of the words in Exod. xv. 20, than we should otherwise form: “ Miriam the Prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand, and all the women went out *after her*, with timbrels and dances.” She led the dance; they imitated her steps, which were not conducted by a set well-known form, as with us, but extemporaneous. Probably David did not dance alone before the Lord, when the ark was removed, but led the dance in the same authoritative kind of way².

¹ Vol. 2. p. 45, 46.

² 2 Sam. 6. 14, 15.

Lady Montague was so struck with this Eastern management, that though she cites *Homer*, and tells us these were *Grecian* dances, yet she could not help observing too, that these Eastern manners give great light into passages of Scripture.]

The *alighting* of those that ride is considered in the East as an expression of *deep respect*: so Dr. Pococke tells us, that they are wont to descend from their asses in Ægypt, when they come near some tombs there, and that Christians and Jews are obliged to submit to this¹.

[So Hasselquist tells Linnæus, in one of his letters to him, that Christians were obliged to alight from their asses in Ægypt, when they met with commanders of the soldiers there². This he complains of as a bitter indignity; but they that received the compliment, without doubt, required it as a most pleasing piece of respect.]

Achfah's and Abigail's alighting³ were without doubt then intended as expressions of reverence; but is it to be imagined, that Naaman's alighting from his chariot⁴, when Gehazi ran after him, arose from the same principle? If it did, there was a mighty change in this haughty Syrian after

¹ Vol. 1. p. 35.
1 Sam. 25. 23.

² P. 425.
⁴ 2 Kings 5. 21.

³ Judg. 1. 14.

his cure. That *he* should pay such a reverence to a servant of the Prophet must appear very surprizing, yet we can hardly think the historian would have mentioned this circumstance *so very distinctly* in any other view.

Rebecca's alighting from the camel on which she rode, when Isaac came to meet her, is by no means any proof that the considering this as an expression of reverence is a modern thing in the East; it, on the contrary, strongly reminds one of d'Arvieux's account, of a bride's *throwing herself at the feet of the bridegroom* when solemnly presented to him, which obtains among the Arabs⁵.

OBSERVATION XLIV.

XXXIII.

It is reckoned in the East, according to Dr. Pococke¹, a mark of respect often *to change their garments*, in the time of a visit for a night or two. He expresses himself however with obscurity, and some uncertainty; but it is made certain by the accounts of other travellers, that it is a matter of state and magnificence.

So Thevenot tells us, that when he saw the Grand Seignior go to the new mosque, he was clad in a fatten doliman of a flesh colour, and a vest of almost the same co-

⁵ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 225.

¹ See his account of their diet and visits, vol. I. p. 182, &c.

lour ; but when he had said his prayers there he changed his vest, and put on one of a particular kind of green ². At another time he went to the mosque in a vest of crimson velvet, but returned in one of a fire-red fatten ³.

To this frequent change of vestments among the great possibly the Psalmist alludes, when speaking of the Lord of all, he says, the heavens, unchangeable as they are when compared with the productions of the earth, shall perish, while he shall remain ; yea, they shall be laid aside, in comparison of his immortality, as soon as a garment grows old ; or rather, this change which they shall undergo, shall come on *more speedily*, with respect to his eternity, than the laying aside of a vestment which kings and princes change often in a day. The changing of clothes is a piece of Eastern magnificence : how wonderfully sublime then, in this view, is this representation of the grandeur of God, *Thou shalt change these heavens as a prince changes his vesture !*

OBSERVATION XLV.

[The putting on *new clothes* is also thought, by the people of the East, to be very requisite for the due solemnization of a time of rejoicing, and indeed almost necessary.

² Part I. p. 86.³ P. 87.

The Khalife Mostanser Billah, going up one day to one of the highest parts of his palace, according to d'Herbelot, *saw the greatest parts of the flat-roofs of the houses of Bagdet, his capital, spread with clothes of different kinds, and being told by his Vizir, upon his asking the reason of it, that the inhabitants of Bagdet were drying their clothes, which they had newly washed on the account of the approach of the Beiram, which is a very solemn Mobammedan festival, Mostanser was so concerned, that they were so poor as to be obliged to wash their old clothes, for want of new ones, with which to celebrate this festival, that he ordered a great quantity of gold to be instantly made into bullets, proper to be shot out of cross-bows, which he and his courtiers threw, by this means, upon every terrace of the city where he saw their garments laid a drying*¹. Agreeably to this Hasselquist tells us,² “the “Turks, even the poorest of them, must “*absolutely have new clothes at their Beiram*”³.”

New clothes then were thought very necessary for the solemnization of a stated Eastern festival. It will appear, in the sequel, that those that are occasional were observed in the same manner.

Commentators have taken notice, that the *rending* mentioned by Solomon, Ecclef. iii. 7, refers to the Oriental modes of expressing

¹ P. 632.

² P. 400.

³ A great festival with them, answering our Easter, for it follows their month of fasting.

sorrow; but they seem to think, that the *sewing* signifies nothing more than the *terminating*, perhaps nothing more than the *abating* affliction. Maimonides is quoted on this occasion, as saying, *He that mourns for a father, &c, let him stitch up the rent of his garment at the end of thirty days, but never let him sew it up well.* As the other cases, however, are as *directly opposite* as possible, is it not more probable, that a *season of joy* is here meant, in contrast to a *time of bitter grief*, than merely of some *abatement* of distress? And that by a *time of sewing* is meant a *time of making up new vestments*, rather than a slight tacking together the places of their clothes, which were torn in the paroxysm of their grief?

Thus when Jacob supposed he had lost his son Joseph, he *rent his clothes* for grief, Gen. xxxvii. 34; while the time of preparing for the circumcision of the son of Ishmael, the Bashaw of Ægypt when Maillet lived there, must have been a time of great *sewing*. For the rejoicing on that occasion lasted, it seems, *ten days, and on the first day of the ceremony the whole household of the Bashaw appeared in new clothes*⁴, and were very richly dressed. *Two vests of different coloured satin had been given to every one of his domestics, one of English cloth, with breeches of the same, and a lining of fur of a Moscovite fox. The meanest slave was dressed after this sort with*

⁴ Descript. de l'Égypte, Lett. 10.

a turbant,

a turbant, of which the cap was of velvet, or English cloth, and the other part adorned with gold. The pages had large breeches of green velvet, and short vests of gold brocade. Those of higher rank were more richly dressed; and there was not one of them but changed his dress two or three times during the solemnity. Ibrahim, the young Lord that was to be circumcised, appeared on the morning of the first day, clothed in an half-vest of white cloth, lined with a rich fur, over a doliman of Venetian cloth of gold, and over this half-vest he wore a robe of fire-coloured camblet, lined with a green tabby. This vest, or quiriqni, was embroidered with pearls of a large size, and fastened before with a clasp of large diamonds. Through all the time the solemnity lasted, Ibrahim changed his dress three or four times a day, and never wore the same thing twice, excepting the quiriqni with its pearls, which he put on three or four times.—I need not go on with Maillet's account; it is sufficiently evident, that the time of preparing for this rejoicing was a *time of sewing*. To the Patriarch Jacob it was a *time of rending*, when he apprehended his son was dead; to the Bashaw Ishmael, the circumcision of his son was a *time of sewing*, for that solemnity gives Eastern parents exquisite joy, and the making up great quantities of clothes is one of the methods they make use of to express that joy.

OBSERVATION XLVI.

Brides also in the East frequently change their dress, and upon such a change are presented anew each time to the bridegroom.

This is d'Arvieux's account of the Arabs: *When the evening is come, the women present the bride to her future husband. The women who conduct her make him a compliment, who answers not a word, sitting perfectly still, with a grave and serious air. This ceremony is three times repeated the same evening, and whenever they change the bride's dress, they present her to the bridegroom, who receives her always with the same gravity. It is a sort of magnificence in the East frequently to dress and undress the bride, and to cause her to wear in that same day all the clothes made up for her nuptials. The bridegroom's dress also is frequently changed for the same reason*¹.

When he says it is a sort of magnificence in the East to do this, he seems to affirm that the management is not peculiar to the Arabs, but common in those countries. The Arabian Nights Entertainments confirm this², mentioning *this changing of the bride's dress*, and the presenting her when new-dressed to the bridegroom, if I do not misremember, more than once.

¹ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 225.
102, 103, &c.

² No. 100, 101,

The attending to this circumstance throws an energy over the words of St. John, which I do not remember to have seen any where noticed, “ I John saw the holy city, new
“ Jerufalem, coming down from God out
“ of heaven, *prepared as a bride for her hus-*
“ *band,*” Rev. xxi. 2.

Sir John Chardin, in his manuscript which I have so frequently quoted, fupposes the decorations and attitude the Prophet gives ³ to Aholibah, or Jerufalem, are thofe of a *bride*. It is *precifely after this manner the bride receives her husband in Afia: they carry her to a bath; they afterwards adorn her magnificently, they paint, they perfume her; they carry her to the nuptial chamber; they place her upon a bed; they fet a smoking fome incense-pots, and ferve up sweetmeats upon a table placed before her. The bed is a mattrafs with it's covering, laid upon the carpet, with large cushions placed at her back and her fides, which our authors every where mean by the word bed, when they are fpeaking of the Eaft, and are ufed on all occafions there among the great, at feafts, at vifits, &c.*

OBSERVATION XLVII.

When Bifhop Patrick fupposes the words of the Pfalmift ¹, “ Behold, as the eyes of
“ fervants look unto the hand of their maf-
“ ters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto

³ Ezek. 23. 40, 41.

¹ Pf. 123. 2.

“ the

“ the hand of her mistress : *so* our eyes wait
 “ upon the Lord our God, until that he
 “ have mercy upon us,” as signifying, We
 submit “ ourselves to this severe punish-
 “ ment, as poor slaves do to the *stroke of their*
 “ *offended master or mistress*—resolving to bear
 “ it patiently, till thou, our Lord, *who dost*
 “ *infiict it*, wilt be pleased, &c.” he does not
 seem to have formed conceptions lofty enough
 of the *state* assumed by superiors in the East,
 and especially by princes, when he supposes
 the great King of kings punishing Israel
with his own hands.

On the other hand, Sir J. Chardin’s MS.
 note on the place doth not give us a com-
 plete view of the thought of the Psalmist.
 He tells us, *It is taken from a custom made use of*
amongst all the great in the East, especially in Asia
Minor, I mean the Turks, there every order is
given by a sign of the hands. From hence the
mutes of the Seraglio. The same obtains in the
Persian court. This is the same with the first
 of the four explanations that are given us in
 Pool’s Synopsis : but did the Psalmist mean
 to represent the Israelites as saying, they
 would attentively observe all the orders God
 should give them, and set themselves to obey
 them, till the affliction they groaned under
 should be removed ? Was their attention *then*
 to cease ?

The true explanation, I should apprehend,
 is this : As a slave, ordered by a master or
 mistress to be chastised for a fault, turns his
 or

or her imploring eyes to that superior, till that motion of the hand appears that puts an end to the bitterness that is felt; so our eyes are up to thee, our God, till thy hand shall give the signal for putting an end to our sorrows: for our enemies, O Lord! we are sensible, are only executing thy orders, and chastening us according to thy pleasure.]

OBSERVATION XLVIII.

XXXIV.

Notwithstanding there is *so much distance* kept up between superiors and inferiors in these countries, and such solemnity and awfulness in their behaviour, which my reader must often have remarked, yet we find them, *in some cases*, more *condescending* than the great among us.

The polite editor of the Ruins of Balbec takes notice of the gentleness and humanity with which the great, in the Levant, temper the insolence of power to the stranger under their roof, with a sort of admiration¹; but he is not explicit enough for my purpose, nor are those softening only in the case of strangers. Dr. Pococke is more ample, and speaks of the *admission of the poor to their tables*. So in his account of a great entertainment, made by the governor of an Ægyptian village for the Cashif² with whom he travelled, he says, the custom was for

¹ P. 4.
country.

² The governor of a district in that

every

every one when he had done eating, to get up, wash his hands, and take a draught of water, and so in a continual succession, till the *poor came in*, and eat up all; for that the Arabs never set by any thing that is brought to table, so that when they kill a sheep, they dress it all, call in their neighbours, and the *poor*, and finish every thing³. That author afterwards mentions what is still more surprizing: for in giving an account of the diet of the Eastern people, p. 182, &c, he informs us, that an *Arab prince* will often dine in the street before his door, and call to all that pass, even *beggars*, in the usual expression of Bismillah, that is, in the Name of God; who come and sit down, and when they have done, retire with the usual form of returning thanks.

The picture then which our Lord exhibits, Luke xiv, of a *king's* making a great feast, and, when the guests refused to come, sending for the poor, the maimed, the blind, is not so unlike life, as perhaps we have been ready to imagine⁴.

XXXV. OBSERVATION XLIX.

Though *mean people* in travelling might make use of *trees* for shelter from the heat, we may perhaps think it almost incredible that *kings* should, imagining that either pro-

³ Vol. I. p. 57. [⁺ St. Luke does not mention the quality of him that made the feast; but St. Matthew, in what is supposed to be his account of the same parable, calls him a *King*, ch. 22. 2.]

per houses would be marked out for their reception; or, if that could not be conveniently done in some of their routs, that at least they would have tents carried along with them, as persons of more than ordinary rank and condition are supposed by Dr. Shaw now to do¹. For these reasons we may possibly have been extremely surprized at that passage concerning Saul, 1 Sam. xxii. 6, “ Now Saul abode in Gibeah, *under* “ *a tree* in Ramah,” or, according to the margin, *under a grove in an high place*, “ having his spear in his hand, and all his servants were standing about him.” Yet, strange as this may appear to us, it is natural enough according to the present customs of the East, where we know the solemnity and awfulness of superiority is kept up as high as ever.

Thus when Dr. Pococke was travelling in the company of the governor of Faiume, who was treated with great respect as he passed along, they passed one night, he tells us², in a grove of palm-trees. The governor might, no doubt, had he pleased, have lodged in some village; but he rather chose a place which we think very odd for a person of figure. The position of Saul, which was on an *high place* according to the margin, reminds me of another passage of this author³, where he gives us an account

¹ Pref. p. 8.² Vol. 1. p. 56.³ P. 127.

of the going out of the Caia, or lieutenant of the governor of Meloui, on a sort of Arab expedition, towards a place where there was an ancient temple, attended by many people with kettle-drums and other music: the Doctor visited that temple, and upon his return from it went to the Caia, he says, “ whose carpet and cushions were laid *on* “ *an height*, on which he sat with the *stand-* “ *ard by him*, that is carried before him “ when he goes out in this manner. I sat “ down with him, and coffee was brought; “ the Sardar himself ⁺ came after as incog- “ nito.” Saul seems, by the description of him, as well as by the following part of the history, to have been pursuing after David, and stopping, to have placed himself according to the *present Oriental mode* in the posture of chief. Whether the spear in his hand, or at his hand, (as it might be translated according to Noldius, and as appears by the use of that prefix in Ezek. x. 15,) was the same thing to Saul’s people that the standard was to those of the Caia, I know not: if it was, there is a third thing in this text illustrated by the Doctor’s accounts, the stopping under a *tree* or *grove*; the stopping on an high place; and the sacred historian’s remark that he had his *spear* by him. It is certain, that when a long pike is carried before a company of Arabs, it is a mark that an Arab Schech (or prince) is there, which

⁺ That is, the governor.

pike is carried before him; and when he alights, and the horses are fastened, the *pike is fixed*, as appears by a story in Norden⁵.

OBSERVATION L.

XXXVI.

Norden tells us, that when he and his company were at Effuaen, an express arrived there, dispatched by an Arab prince, who brought a *letter* directed to the Reys, (or master of their barque,) enjoining him not to set out with his barque, or carry them any farther; adding, that in a day's time he should be at Effuaen, and there would give his orders relative to them. "The letter however, *according to the usage* of the "Turks," says this author, "was open; and as the Reys was not on board, the pilot carried it to one of our Fathers to read it¹."

Sanballat's sending his servant then with an *open* letter, which is mentioned Neh. vi. 5, doth not appear an odd thing, it should seem; but if it was according to their usages, why is this circumstance complained of, as it visibly is? Why indeed is it mentioned at all? Why! Because, however the sending letters *open to common people* may be customary in these countries, it is not according to their usages to send them so to *people of distinction*. So Dr. Pococke, in his account

⁵ Vol. 2. p. 181. See also p. 71.¹ P. 109.

of that very country where Norden was when this letter was brought, gives us, among other things, in the 57th plate, the figure of a Turkish letter put into a satin bag, *to be sent to a great man*, with a paper tied to it directed and *sealed*, and an ivory button tied on the wax. So Lady Montague says the Bassa of Belgrade's answer to the English ambassador, going to Constantinople, was brought to him *in a purse of scarlet satin* ².

The great Emir indeed of the Arabs, according to d'Arvieux, was not wont to inclose his letters in these bags, any more than to have them adorned with flourishes; but that is supposed to have been owing to the unpoliteness of the Arabs; and he tells us, that when he acted as secretary to the Emir, he supplied these defects, and that his doing so was highly acceptable to the Emir ³. Had this open letter then come from Geshem, who was an Arab ⁴, it might have passed unnoticed; but as it was from Sanballat, the inclosing it in an handsome bag was a ceremony Nehemiah had reason to expect from him, since he was a person of distinction in the Persian court, and then governor of Judæa; and the not doing it was the greatest insult, insinuating, that though Nehemiah was, according to him, preparing to assume the royal dignity, he should be so far

² Letters, vol. 1. p. 136.
p. 58, 59.

⁴ Neh. 6. 1.

³ Voy dans la Pal

from acknowledging him in that character, that he would not even pay him the compliment due to *every person of distinction*'.

If this is the true representation of the affair, commentators have given but a poor account of it. Sanballat sent him a message, says one of them, "pretending, it is like-ly, *special respect* and kindness unto him, "in informing him what was laid to his "charge."

OBSERVATION LI.

XXXVII.

We were speaking lately of Saul, and some marks of dignity by which he was distinguished in his pursuit after David, if we may put that construction upon them which modern Eastern customs lead us to, and that engages me to take notice of another circumstance of that sort which commentators have been equally silent about, and that is, his wearing a *bracelet* at the time of his death. This I take to have been an ensign of royalty; and in that view, I suppose, we are to understand the account that is given us, of the Amalekite's bringing the *bracelet* that he found on Saul's arm, *along with his crown*, to David, 2 Sam. i. 10.

[⁵ The MS. C. gives us a like account of the Eastern letters, adding this circumstance, *that those that are unclosed, as sent to common people, are usually rolled up; in which form their paper commonly appears.* Note on Jer. 36. 2. A letter in the form of a small roll of paper would appear very odd in our eyes, but it seems is common there.]

It is not *impossible* that this bracelet might be no part of the regalia of the kingdom of Israel, but merely a thing of value which Saul had about him, and which that stranger thought fit to present *with his crown* to David; but it seems *rather* to be mentioned as a royal ornament: and it is certain it has been since used in the East as a badge of power. For when the Khalife Caiem Bemrillah granted the investiture of certain dominions to an Eastern prince, which his predecessors had possessed, and among the rest of the city of Bagdet itself, it is said this ceremony of investiture was performed by the Khalife's sending him letters patent, a *crown*, a chain, and *bracelets*⁶.

I do not however find that any of the commentators have taken Saul's bracelet in this light. All the observation that Grotius makes upon it is, that it was an ornament used by the *men* as well as *women* of those nations, upon which he cites Num. xxxi. 50.

The ornament however, probably, was not so common as we may have been ready to suppose; for though the word bracelet is frequently to be met with in our translation, the original word in this text occurs *at most* but in two other places; and as the children of Israel found one or more of these bracelets among the spoils of Midian, so they killed at the same time five of their *kings*, Num. xxxi. 8. The other place indeed speaks

¹ D'Herbelot, p. 541.

of female ornaments, *If. iii. 20*, but if the word is the same, might not the women of that age wear an ornament which, from its likeness to one of the ensigns of royalty, might be called by the same name, as in some countries of late² brides have worn an ornament which has been called a crown, though that word indisputably, long before that time, marked out the chief badge of royal dignity?

OBSERVATION LII.

XXXVIII.

The slaughter of Saul filled his camp with terror and mourning: before that, it is probable, his tent might sometimes be distinguished by lights; at least these illuminations are now used in those countries to do honour to princes, and must not here be forgotten.

So the tent of the Bey of Girge, Norden tells us¹, was distinguished from the other tents in that encampment by forty lanterns, suspended before it in form of checquer-work. So Thevenot, describing the reception of the new Bashaw of Ægypt under tents, near Cairo, says there were two great trees, on which two hundred lamps hanged, at the gate of the little inclosure which surrounded his pavilions, which were lighted in the night-time; and that there was the same

² Voyages faits en Moscovie par Olearius, p. 238.

¹ Part 2. p. 45.

before the tents of the principal officers, as in the caravan of Mecca².

In the East then *now* it is a customary thing; if it was the same anciently, perhaps the words of Job might refer to it, ch. xxix. 2, 3, “Oh! that it were with me as in months past, as in the days when God *preserved me*: when *his candle shined upon my head*,” (when I returned prosperous from expeditions against the enemies of my tribe, and had my *tent adorned with lamps*,) “and I passed through the night by the light of it.”

As to illuminating *their houses* on occasions of joy, I have elsewhere given an account of it³.

OBSERVATION LIII.

[*Chains about the necks of their camels* are mentioned in Judges viii. 26, as a part of the ornaments belonging to the kings of Midian, which were given to Gideon.

Perhaps these chains were like those Bishop Pococke saw in Ægypt, hanging *from the bridles* of the Agas of the seven military bodies of that country, *to the breast-plates* of the animals on which they rode, in the grand procession of the caravan about setting out for Mecca¹. Only these were of *silver*, whereas it should seem those of the Midian-

² Part I. p. 160.
p. 264.

³ Chap. 3. Observ. 18.

¹ Vol. I.

itish Kings were of *gold*. They were however both, apparently, marks of distinction and grandeur; and, probably, were worn in the same manner.

OBSERVATION LIV.

The assembling together of *multitudes* to the place where persons have lately expired, and bewailing them in a *noisy* manner, is a custom still retained in the East, and seems to be considered as an honour done to the deceased.

That it was done anciently, appears from the story of the dying of the daughter of Jairus. St. Mark uses the term *ἑσθησις*, which signifies tumult, to express the state of things in the house of Jairus then, ch. v. 38. And accordingly Sir J. Chardin's MS. tells us, that now the *concourse in places where persons lie dead is incredible. Every body runs thither, the poor and the rich; and the first more especially make a strange noise.*

Dr. Shaw takes notice, I remember, of the noise they make in bewailing the dead, as soon as they are departed; but he takes no notice, I think, of the great concourse of people of all sorts on such occasions; which yet is a circumstance very proper to be remarked, in order to enter fully into the sense of the word *ἑσθησις*.

But the most distinct account of the Eastern lamentations that Sir J. Chardin has

given us, is in the 6th volume of his MS, by which we learn that their emotions of joy, as well as of sorrow, are expressed by loud cries. The passage is extremely curious, and the purport of it is as follows: *Gen. xlv. 2.* “*And he wept aloud, and the Ægyptians and the house of Pharaoh heard.*” This is exactly the genius of the people of Asia, especially of the women. Their sentiments of joy or of grief are properly transports; and their transports are ungoverned, excessive, and truly outrageous. When any one returns from a long journey, or dies, his family burst into cries, that may be heard twenty doors off; and this is renewed at different times, and continues many days, according to the vigour of the passion. Especially are these cries long in the case of death, and frightful, for their mourning is right-down despair, and an image of hell. I was lodged in the year 1676 at Ispahan, near the Royal Square: the mistress of the next house to mine died at that time. The moment she expired all the family, to the number of twenty-five or thirty people, set up such a furious cry that I was quite startled, and was above two hours before I could recover myself¹. These cries continue a long time, then cease all at once; they begin again as suddenly, at day-break, and in concert. It is this suddenness

¹ It seems, according to the margin, that it was in the middle of the night, Sir John in bed, and the cry so violent, that he imagined they were his own servants that were actually murdering.

which

which is so terrifying, together with a greater shrillness and loudness than one would easily imagine. This enraged kind of mourning, if I may call it so, continued forty days; not equally violent, but with diminution from day to day. The longest and most violent acts were when they washed the body, when they perfumed it, when they carried it out to be interred, at making the inventory, and when they divided the effects. You are not to suppose that those that were ready to split their throats with crying out wept as much; the greatest part of them did not shed a single tear through the whole tragedy.

This is a very distinct description of Eastern mourning for the dead: they cry out too, it seems, on other occasions; no wonder then the house of Pharaoh heard, when Joseph wept at making himself known to his brethren.

OBSERVATION LV.

The making a kind of *funeral-feast* was also a method of honouring the dead, used anciently in these countries, and is continued down to these times.

The references of commentators here have been, in common, to the Greek and Roman usages; but as it must be more pleasing to learn Eastern customs of this kind, I will set down what Sir J. Chardin has given us an account of in one of his Manuscripts; and the rather, as some particulars are new to me.

The

The Oriental Christians still make banquets of this kind, (speaking of the ancient Jewish feasts of mourning, mentioned Jer. xvi. 6, 7, and elsewhere,) by a custom derived from the Jews; and I have been many times present at them, among the Armenians in Persia. The 7th verse speaks of those provisions which are wont to be sent to the house of the deceased, and of those healths that are drank to the survivors of the family, wishing that the dead may have been the victim for the sins of the family. The same, with respect to eating, is practised among the Moors.—Where we find the word comforting made use of, we are to understand it as signifying the performing these offices. In like manner he explains the bread of men, mentioned Ezek. xxiv. 17, as signifying the bread of others; the bread sent to mourners; the bread that the neighbours, relations, and friends sent.

OBSERVATION LVI.

The burying warriors *with their arms*, seems also to have been a method sometimes made use of, to do them honour.

Ezekiel refers apparently to such a practice, when he saith, “ They shall not lie
 “ with the mighty that are fallen of the
 “ uncircumcised, which are gone down to
 “ hell *with their weapons of war*: and they
 “ have laid *their swords under their heads.*”
 ch. xxxii. 27.

Grotius upon this occasion cites 1 Macc. xiii. 29, not very happily, for the Prophet
 is

is speaking of burying *their arms*, particularly *their swords*, with warriors; and the apocryphal historian is describing carvings, on pillars, set over the graves of such.

Sir J. Chardin's MS. note is, *In Mingrelia they all sleep with their swords under their beads, and their other arms by their sides; and they bury them in the same manner, their arms being placed in the same position.* This is all he says; and when we think of the little connexion between *Mingrelia* and a *Jewish Prophet*, we read the remark with some coolness. But things greatly alter, when we come to reflect, that it has been supposed by many learned men, and in particular by the extremely celebrated Borchart, that Meshech and Tubal, of whom Ezekiel is here speaking, mean *Mingrelia*, and the country thereabouts: this greatly excites curiosity, and makes strong impressions on the mind.

In the first place, it cannot but be remarked, that Ezekiel is speaking of the burial of several nations in this chapter, *Ægypt*, *Asshur*, *Elam*, *Edom*, &c; but no mention is made of interring weapons of war in any of the paragraphs, that only excepted which speaks of Meshech and Tubal, which nations are joined together by the Prophet. The burying warriors then with their weapons of war, seems to have had some distinguishing relation to Meshech and Tubal, or *Mingrelia and the adjoining country.*

Secondly,

Secondly, The modern management there seems to be derived from the customs of the *very ancient* inhabitants of that country; and we are not to suppose, on the contrary, that the Prophet intends here to distinguish Meshech and Tubal from the other nations of antiquity, by this circumstance, that those other nations were buried with their weapons of war, whereas Meshech and Tubal were buried without them: since the inhabitants of Mingrelia are thus buried now; since customs hold a long time in the East; since we see nothing of this martial pomp in the interments of the modern inhabitants of the other countries named here; nor any accounts of their burying them in this form there anciently, in any of the sacred writings.

When then the Prophet saith, ver. 27, “ They shall not lie with the mighty that
“ are fallen of the uncircumcised, which
“ are gone down to hell,” (or the grave,)
“ with their weapons of war, and they have
“ laid their swords under their heads,” they must be the Ægyptians he is here speaking of; or he must mean that the Mingrelian warriors that were cut off with the sword were, as totally vanquished, buried by their enemies, and without the usual martial solemnities with which the people of that country were wont to have their dead interred.

It cannot well be understood in the first sense, because the Prophet, all along, describes
the

the Ægyptians as being to lie with the rest of the uncircumcised in the grave; it most probably is therefore to be understood in the second¹.

OBSERVATION LVII.

The *burying* of persons *in their cities* is also an Eastern manner of doing them honour. They are in common buried without the walls of their towns, as it is apparent, from many places of the Old and New Testament, the ancient Jews also were; but sometimes they bury in their cities, when they do a person a *distinguished honour*.

“ Each side of the road,” says the author of the history of the Piratical States of Barbary¹, “ without the gate, is crowded with
 “ sepulchres. Those of the Pashas and the
 “ Deys are built near the gate of *Babalouet*.
 “ They are between ten and twelve feet high,
 “ very curiously white-washed, and built in
 “ the form of a dome.—Hali Dey, as a
 “ *very eminent mark of distinction*, was buried
 “ in an inclosed tomb *within* the city. For
 “ forty days successively his tomb was deco-
 “ rated with flowers, and surrounded with
 “ people, offering up their prayers to God

[¹ This perhaps may be more easily admitted, if it is considered, that the original words, translated, “ and they
 “ have laid their swords under their heads, but” &c, are,
 “ and they have given their swords under their heads,
 “ and their iniquities” &c, which may be understood of
 their swords *not* being placed under their heads, but taken
 away by their conquerors.]

¹ P. 163.

“ for

“ for his foul. This Dey was accounted a
 “ *Saint*, and a particular favourite of hea-
 “ ven, because he died a natural death; an
 “ happiness of which there are few instances
 “ since the establishment of Deys at Al-
 “ giers.”

No comment is more lively, or more sure, than this, on those passages that speak of the burying the kings of the house of David within Jerusalem; those sepulchres, and that of Huldah the prophetess, being the only ones to be found there². But it is not a perfect comment; for it is to be remembered that a *peculiar holiness* belonged to Jerusalem, as well as the *dignity of being the royal city*, but no particular sanctity is ascribed to Algiers, by those people that buried *Hali Dey* there.

XL.

OBSERVATION LVIII.

This burying persons in their cities is a very extraordinary honour paid the dead; sepulchral memorials are a much more common one: they are, however, attended with circumstances that want illustration, consequently to be considered in this chapter.

I would here examine those words of Job,
 “ O that my words were now written! O
 “ that they were *printed* in a book! That
 “ they were graven with an iron pen and

² Lightfoot, vol. 2. p. 21.

“ lead,

“ lead, in the *rock* for ever !” Job xix. 23, 24.

The sense of these words, according to the translation of the celebrated Schultens, and Dr. Grey’s notes extracted from him, is this : Who will write my words ! Who will record them in a book ! Let them be engraven on some sepulchral stone, with an iron pen, and with lead, so as to last for ever !¹

The word *rock*, which our translators have made use of, seems to me to be more just than that used by Schultens. It is certain the word *Tzur*, which is in the original, signifies, in other places of the book of Job, a rock ; and never there, or any where else in the Scriptures, that I am aware of, (and I have with some care examined the point,) doth it signify a small sepulchral stone, or monumental pillar. On the other hand, I am sure, the words that are used for this purpose, when the sacred writers speak of the sepulchral stone on Rachel’s grave ;* of the pillar erected by Absalom to keep up his memory ;† and of that monument which marked out the place where the Prophet was buried that prophesied against the altar of Jeroboam, and which continued to the days of Josiah ;‡ are different.

Nor can the using this term appear strange, if we consider the *extreme antiquity* of the book of Job ; since it is easy to imagine, that

¹ See chap. 7. Obs. 1.

צֶרֶךְ

* Gen. 35:20

מִצְבָּה

† II Sam. 18:18

מִצְבָּה

‡ II Kings 23:16

הַצֵּיִר

the *first inscriptions on stone* were engraved on some places of the rocks which were accidentally smoothed, and made pretty even. And, in fact, we find some that are very ancient, engraved on the *natural rock*, and what is remarkable, in Arabia, where it is supposed Job lived. This is one of the most curious observations in that account of the Prefetto of Ægypt, which was published by the late Bishop of Clogher; and is, in my apprehension, an exquisite confirmation of our translation, though there is reason to think, neither the writer, nor editor of that journal, thought of this passage, and so consequently claims a place in this collection.

The Prefetto, speaking in his journal of his disengaging himself at length from the mountains of Faran, says, they came at length “ to a large plain, surrounded how-
 “ ever with high hills, at the foot of which
 “ we reposed ourselves in our tents, at about
 “ half an hour after ten. These hills are
 “ called *Gebel el Mokatab*, that is, the *writ-*
 “ *ten mountains*; for, as soon as we had
 “ parted from the mountains of *Faran*, we
 “ passed by several others for an hour toge-
 “ ther, *engraved with ancient unknown cha-*
 “ *acters*, which were cut into the hard
 “ *marble rock*, so high, as to be in many
 “ places at twelve or fourteen feet distance
 “ from the ground: and though we had in
 “ our company persons who were acquainted
 “ with the *Arabic*, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac,
 Coptic,

*^r Coptic, Latin, Armenian, Turkish, English,
“ Illyrican, German, and Bohemian languag-
“ es, yet none of them had any knowledge
“ of these characters; which have never-
“ theless been cut into the *hard rock* with
“ the greatest industry, in a place where
“ there is neither water, nor any thing to
“ be gotten to eat.

“ It is probable therefore these unknown
“ characters contain some very secret mysteries,
“ and that they were engraved either by the
“ *Chaldeans*, or some other persons long be-
“ fore the coming of Christ.”

The mention of the English, the Illyri-
can, the German, and the Bohemian lan-
guages, might at least have been spared out
of this enumeration of particulars; it could
not be imagined the inscriptions were in
any of those languages: it would have been
sufficient to have remarked, they were in
none of the characters now in use in the
East, or in any of those in which ancient
inscriptions before known are found written
in those countries.

The curious Bishop of Clogher, who most
laudably made very generous proposals to the
Antiquarian Society, to engage them to try
to decypher these inscriptions, was ready to
imagine they are the *ancient Hebrew charac-*
ters, which the Israelites, (having learned to
write at the time of giving the law,) diverted
themselves with engraving on these moun-
tains, during their abode in the wilderness.

The making out, upon what occasion these letters were engraven, might probably be very entertaining to some of the inquisitive; I very much question, however, whether we can *naturally* suppose, this laborious way of writing was practised *for diversion*. The Prefetto says, they were an hour passing by these mountains, by which, however, I do not imagine he designs to insinuate, that this *whole length* of rock is engraven, but only that every now and then there is an inscription, and that from the first which they observed, to the last, was an hour's journey, or three miles; but cutting the letters of these inscriptions into the hard marble, and sometimes at twelve or fourteen feet from the ground, which is the Prefetto's account, could not surely be mere diversion.

When, on the contrary, I consider the *nature of the place*, there being neither water nor any thing to be gotten to eat; and compare it with the account Maillet gives us² of the great burying-place of the Ægyptians, which is called the Plain of Mummies, and which, according to him, is a dry sandy circular plain, no less than four leagues over; and when I recollect the account that Maundrell gives of figures and inscriptions, which, like these, are engraven on tables plained in the natural rock, and at some height above the road, which he found near the river Lycus², which figures,

² Lett. 7. p. 275, 276.

² P. 37

he tells us, seemed to resemble mummies, and related, as he imagined, to some sepulchres thereabouts; I should be ready to suppose this must be some very ancient burying-place³. Such a supposition justifies the explanation

³ Either of the Israelites when in the wilderness, in which case the examining the inscriptions will answer the same end, as if the Bishop of Clogher's supposition were just; or of some warriors belonging to other nations, who lay buried there; or made use of upon some other occasion, of which the memory is now lost. [I must not however conceal from my reader, that since the first edition of this book, a paper of Mr. Wortley Montague's has been published in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. 56, in which he seems to ascribe these engravings to pilgrims, in their journeys from Jerusalem to Mount Sinai. But would they in that case have been so numerous? Or at least, would they have been engraved by such persons at the *height* of twelve or fourteen feet? Perhaps there is a mixture of both kinds of inscription. Benjamin the Jew, who lived six hundred years ago, tells us, in his Itinerary, that travellers were then wont to inscribe their names on certain remarkable places: he mentions one at Jerusalem, p. 75 (Ed. Elzev. 1633); and Rachel's sepulchre as another, where all Jews that passed by wrote their names, p. 83. In another page he speaks of a great burying-place near Rama, which stretched out two miles in length, p. 89. Might not the written mountains be a burial-place half as long again as that near Rama? And might not travellers engrave their names on these same rocks, as Benjamin tells us the Jews of his time were wont to do on Rachel's sepulchre, and thus mingle together the memorials of those *wayfaring-men that tarried there only for a night*, and of those that were entered into their *long home*? The Greek and Arabic inscriptions, which only say "such an one was here at such a time," as Montague assures us, are evidently the *trivial memorandums* of passengers, written by people of different nations; those engraved at the height of twelve or fourteen feet, one would

planation of Grey, as to the alluding in these words to a sepulchral inscription; but would engage us to retain the *English* translation as to the term *rock*, in contradistinction to monumental pillars, or grave-stones cut from the quarry.

But be this as it will, it is certain there are in Arabia several inscriptions *in the natural rock*; that this way of writing is very *durable*, for these engravings have, it seems, outlived the knowledge of the characters made use of; the practice was, for the same reason, *very ancient* as well as durable; and if these letters are not so ancient as the days of Moses, which the Bishop of Clogher supposes, yet these inscriptions might very well be the continuation of a practice in use in the days of Job, and may therefore be thought to be referred to in these words of his, “ O
“ that they were graven in the rock
“ for ever !”

think should be *sepulchral inscriptions*. Niebuhr mentions a great cœmety in this same desert of Sinai, *where a great many stones are set up in an erect position, on a high and steep mountain, covered with as beautiful hieroglyphics as those of the ancient Ægyptian monuments*. The Arabs, he says, carried them to this burial-place, which is really more remarkable than the written mountains, seen and described by other travellers in this desert; for so many well-cut stones could never be the monuments of wandering Arabs, but must necessarily owe their origin to the inhabitants of some great city near this place, which is however now a desert, p. 347. Unhappily he doth not tell us whether the hieroglyphics of this burial-place are incrustated with colours, like those of Ægypt, or not.]

But however happy our translators have been in using the word rock in the 24th verse, it is certain they have been very far from being so in the 23d, as to the word *printed*: it was absurd to employ a term that expresses what was invented but three hundred years ago; and especially as it doth not even by an improper expression convey the idea of Job, which was the perpetuating his words, as is apparent from the 24th verse—*records*, to which Job refers, being *written*, not *printed among us*.

These written Arabian mountains very agreeably illustrate these words in part, and perhaps but in part; for it doth not appear from the accounts of the Prefetto with what view *lead* is mentioned here, “graven with “an iron pen and lead.” Grey supposes the letters being hollowed in the rock with the iron pen or chissel, were filled up with melted lead, in order to be more legible; but it doth not appear that any of these inscriptions are so filled up. Indeed, though some of them are engraven, most of those Dr. Pococke observed² near Mount Sinai, were not cut, but stained, making the granite of

⁴ Vol. I. p. 148. Dr. Pococke, however, himself saw some that were cut, see p. 59; as indeed the expression, that *most* of them that *he* saw were stained, implies that some were engraven. [That paper of Wortley Montague’s, in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. 50, in like manner speaks of several inscriptions, in this wilderness, that were stained; but it tells us, that those of the written mountains were engraved, with a pointed instrument.]

a lighter colour, which stain he had an opportunity of being satisfied sunk some depth into the stone; whether this was done with lead, let the curious determine. The Septuagint do not explain this at all, though the painting of granite rocks was very common anciently in Ægypt, and those paintings, (stainings, or mere incrustations, as Norden took them to be,) extremely durable. “This sort of painting,” says Norden, “has neither shade nor degradation. The figures are incrustated like the cyphers on the dial-plates of watches, with this difference, that they cannot be detached. I must own, that this incrustated matter *surpasses in strength* all that I have seen in this kind. It is superior to the al-fresco, and the Mosaic work; and indeed, has the advantage of *lasting a longer time*. It is something surprizing to see how gold, ultra marine, and divers other colours, have preserved their lustre to the present age. Perhaps I shall be asked how all these lively colours could soften together; but I must own it is a question that I am unable to decide^s.” But if Job referred to the writing with these durable staining materials on the rocks, the Septuagint did not understand him to do so, they seem rather to have supposed he meant the recording things by engraving accounts of them on plates of lead. “Who

^s 2 part, p. 75, 76.

“ will

“ will cause my words to be written, to be
 “ put in a book that shall last for ever ;
 “ with an iron pen and lead, (i. e. upon
 “ lead,) or to be engraven on the rocks ?”
 Which cutting letters on lead marks out an ancient method, indeed, of perpetuating the memory of things, but is very different from that which Dr. Pococke saw had anciently obtained in Arabia, the country of Job, and to which therefore his words may possibly refer.

[I am inclined however, upon the reconsidering this place, to believe, that the incrustating materials, that were anciently used for the colouring the engravings on the rock or stone, such as Norden saw in Ægypt, are meant by the word translated *lead* here, whether they were preparations of lead, or composed of other matters ; since we find it is used Lev. xiv. 42, 45, for the *plaster* made use of to cover the stones of a building, and perhaps for the terrace-mortar of the roof, being applied to a building in the same way as gold and silver were to the walls of the temple ; the same verb being used for the application of both to their respective buildings, 1 Chron. xxix. 4. As it was a common practice in Ægypt, to overlay their hieroglyphics with some *coloured plaster* or paint, which the word translated *lead* signifies, the same might be practised in Arabia in the time of Job, though we are not expressly told that travellers have met

with such inscriptions ; or this Ægyptian way of recording things might be celebrated among the Arabs, and other Eastern nations, as extremely durable, as in fact it has been found to be ; and this might be sufficient to engage Job to use this expression, O that my words *were written* ! that they were recorded *in a book* ! that they were graven with an *iron pen*, and incrustated with some *durable plaister*, after the manner of the Ægyptians, whose memorials are supposed to be the most lasting of any nation's !]

There is no necessity of supposing that the *writing on the stones* mentioned Deut. xxvii. 2, 3, which apparently was designed to be very lasting, was by inscribing them on the *plaister* of lime, as has been imagined. The plaister, or mortar, might be commanded, because it is made extremely strong and durable, for some works, in those countries, a circumstance which both ⁶ Maillet and Shaw have remarked ; whereas clay, or some such mouldering a material, might be thought sufficient for the cementing the stones of common buildings. Nay, their monuments were often heaps of stones, unconnected by any cement whatever⁷. I am not ignorant, that the very learned Dr. Kennicott supposes⁸, that the *whole stone* was covered with this plaister, excepting the let-

⁶ Maillet, lett. 12. p. 192, 193.

Shaw, p. 206.

⁷ See Gen. 31. 46.

⁸ 2d Diff. on the state of the printed Heb. Text. Note, p. 77.

ters, the stones being, he imagines, naturally black. Travellers must *decide* of what colour the great stones of that district usually are; but most probably these stones were only cemented in this case to keep them in their proper place.

OBSERVATION LIX.

XLI.

But previous to these sepulchral honours, there were some methods of honouring the dead, which demand our attention: *the being put into a coffin* has been, in particular, considered as a mark of distinction.

With us the poorest people have their coffins: if the relations cannot afford them, the parish is at the expense. In the East, on the contrary, they are not at all made use of in our times: Turks and Christians, Thevenot assures us¹, agree in this. The ancient Jews probably buried their dead in the same manner: neither was the body of our Lord, it should seem, put into a coffin; nor that of Elisha, whose bones were touched by the corpse that was let down a *little after* into his sepulchre, 2 Kings xiii. 21. That they however were anciently made use of in Ægypt all agree, and antique coffins of stone, and of sycamore-wood, are still to be seen in that country; not to mention those said to be made of a kind of pasteboard, formed by folding and glewing cloth together a great

¹ Part I. p. 58.

number of times, which were curiously plaited, and then painted with hieroglyphics². Its being an ancient Ægyptian custom, and its not being used in the neighbouring countries, were doubtless the cause that the sacred historian expressly observes of Joseph, that he was not only *embalmed*, but that he was *put into a coffin too*, Gen. l. 26, both being managements peculiar in a manner to the Ægyptians.

Bishop Patrick, in his commentary on this passage, takes notice of these Ægyptian coffins of sycamore-wood and of pasteboard, but he doth not mention the contrary usage of the neighbouring countries, which was, I should think, requisite, in order fully to illustrate the place: but even this perhaps would not have conveyed the whole thought of the sacred author. Maillet apprehends, that *all* were not inclosed in coffins that were laid in the Ægyptian repositories of the dead, but that it was an honour appropriated to persons of figure; for after having given an account of several niches that are found in those chambers of death, he adds, “ But it
 “ must not be imagined that the bodies, de-
 “ posited in these gloomy apartments, were
 “ *all* inclosed in chests, and placed in niches.
 “ The greatest part were simply embalmed
 “ and swathed after that manner that every
 “ one hath some notion of; after which
 “ they laid them one by the side of another,

² Thevenot, part I. p. 137.

“ without

“ without any ceremony. Some were even
 “ put into these tombs without any embalm-
 “ ing at all ; or such a flight one, that there
 “ remains nothing of them in the linen in
 “ which they were wrapped but the bones,
 “ and those half rotten.—It is probable that
 “ each considerable family had one of these
 “ burial-places to themselves ; that the *niches*
 “ were designed for the bodies of the *heads*
 “ *of the family*, and that those of their do-
 “ mestic and slaves had no other care taken
 “ of them, than the *laying them on the*
 “ *ground*, after having been embalmed, or
 “ even without that. Which, without doubt,
 “ was also all that was done, even to the
 “ heads of families *of less distinction*³. After
 which he gives an account of a way of bu-
 rial, practised anciently in that country,
 which had been but lately discovered, and
 which consisted in placing the bodies, after
 they were swathed up, on a layer of char-
 coal, and covering them with a mat, under
 a depth of sand of seven or eight feet.

Coffins then were not *universally* used in
 Ægypt, that is undoubted from these ac-
 counts ; and probably they were *persons only*
of distinction that were buried in them. It is
 also reasonable to believe, that in times so
 remote as those of Joseph, they might be
 much less common than afterwards, and
 consequently that Joseph's being put into a
 coffin in Ægypt, might be mentioned with a

³ Lett. 7. p. 281.

design to express the great honours the Ægyptians did him in death, as well as in life, being treated after the most sumptuous manner of the Ægyptians, *embalmed, and put into a coffin.*

— Agreeably to this, the Septuagint version, (which was made for Ægyptians,) seems to represent coffins as *a mark of grandeur*, Job xxi. 32.

It is no objection to this account, that the widow of Naim's son is represented as carried forth to be buried in a *Σοφος*, for the present inhabitants of the Levant, who are well known to lay their dead in the earth uninclosed, carry them frequently out to burial in a kind of coffin: so Russell in particular describes the bier used for the Turks at Aleppo as a kind of coffin, much in the form of ours, only that the lid rises with a ledge in the middle⁴. Christians indeed, that same author tells us, are carried to the grave on an open bier⁵; but as the most common kind of bier there very much resembles our coffins, that used by the people of Naim might very possibly be of the same kind, in which case the word *Σοφος* was very proper,

XLII.

OBSERVATION LX.

If the use of a coffin in burial was doing a particular honour to the dead, the *embalming* them also certainly was; and the disserta-

⁴ P. 115.⁵ P. 130.

tions of the late Dr. Ward, published soon after his death, have given occasion to the annexing this Observation to the rest of this chapter. The Doctor supposes the Jewish method of embalming was very different from the Ægyptian, and that this appeared by several passages of the New Testament. Both, he thinks, swathed up their dead; but instead of the Ægyptian *embowelling*, he supposes the Jews contented themselves with an *external unction*; and that, instead of myrrh and casia, they made use of myrrh and aloes; to which he adds the supposition, that St. John might mention the circumstance of our Lord's embalming, the better to obviate the false report that then prevailed among the Jews, that the body of our Lord had been stolen away in the night by his disciples, for the linen, he supposes, could not have been taken from the body and head, in the manner in which it was found in the sepulchre, on account of its clinging so fast from the viscous nature of these drugs, had they been so foolish as to attempt it.

The modern Eastern method, the modern Ægyptian method, of applying odours to the dead, certainly differs from that which was anciently made use of in that country. The present way in Ægypt, according to Maillet¹, is to wash the body divers times with rose-water, which, he elsewhere observes, is there much more fragrant than with us; they afterwards

¹ Lett. 10. p. 88.

perfume it with incense, aloes, and a quantity of other odours, of which they are by no means sparing; they after that bury the body in a winding-sheet, made partly of silk, and partly of cotton, and moistened (as I imagine, with some sweet-scented water, or liquid perfume, though Maillet only uses the simple term moistened); this they cover with another cloth of unmixed cotton; to which they add one of the richest suits of clothes of the deceased. The expense, he says, on these occasions, is very great, though nothing like what the genuine embalmings of former times cost.

The modern Ægyptian way of embalming then, if it may be called by that name, differs very much from the ancient; whether the Jewish method in the time of our Lord differed as *much*, or how far, I know not. To pass by the difference Dr. Ward has remarked *between their drugs*, the Ægyptians using myrrh and casia, and the Jews myrrh and aloes, which might be only in appearance, since more than two sorts might be used by both nations, though these only happened to be distinctly mentioned, it doth not appear so plain to me as to the Doctor, that the Jews were not wont to *embowel* their dead in embalming. Their hope of a resurrection did not *necessarily* prevent this. And as all *other nations* seem to have embalmed exactly according to the Ægyptian manner; the same causes that induced them to do so,
pro-

probably occasioned the Jews not to vary from them in this respect. So the accurate editor of the Ruins of Palmyra tells us², they discovered that the inhabitants of that city used to embalm their dead; and that upon comparing the linen, the manner of swathing, the balsam, and other parts of the Mummies of Egypt, (in which country they had been a few months before,) with those of Palmyra, they found their method of embalming exactly the same. Zenobia, whose seat of government Palmyra was, was originally a native of Ægypt, this writer observes; but then he remarks that these bodies were embalmed before her time. So that passage which *the Doctor* cites³ from Tacitus, concerning Poppæa, the wife of Nero, supposes it was the *common* ancient custom to fill the body with drugs, and not merely apply them externally, *Corpus non igni abolitum, ut Romanus mos; sed Regum exterorum consuetudine DIFFERTUM odoribus conditur*. Her body, that is, was not consumed by fire according to the Roman manner, but was buried, after having been *stuffed* with odours, after the way of foreign princes, not merely of the Ægyptian, but of those that practised burying in general, it seems.

It doth not however follow from hence that our Lord was embowelled, though St. John says, he was buried with spices *as the manner of the Jews was to bury*⁴; for these

² P. 22.³ P. 143.⁴ John 19. 40.

words do not necessarily signify, that all was done that was wont to be done in those cases among the Jews. The contrary appears to be *fact*, from the farther preparations the women made, who were not, I imagine, unacquainted with what had been done, though Dr. Ward supposes the contrary; since St. Luke expressly telleth us, that the “ women, “ which came with him from Galilee, fol- “ lowed after, and beheld the sepulchre, and “ how his body was laid. ”

If indeed this be admitted, the Doctor's thought concerning the difficulty of taking off the bandages, besmeared with very glutinous drugs, will appear to be ill-founded, for in that case the women could have done nothing more as to the embalming him. That thought indeed seems to have made all the impression on the Doctor's mind, that the force of novelty, it might be expected, should give it; but as aloes and myrrh do not appear to have that very glutinous quality the Doctor supposed, so a much more obvious account may be given of St. John's making mention of a circumstance about which the other Evangelists are silent—He appears to have published his history for the use of persons less acquainted with the customs of the East, than those for whose information the others immediately wrote. The Doctor himself has remarked, in the 32d Dissertation, that in giving an account of

^s Luke 23. 55.

the circumstances of the death of our Lord, St. John has reckoned the hours after the manner of the Romans, whereas the other Evangelists speak according to the Jewish method of computation; the same reason that induced him to do that, naturally led him to say to those who were wont to *burn* their dead, that our Lord was *buried, with spices*, which was *in general* the Jewish method of disposing of their dead, which he might very well do, though the straitness of the time did occasion some deviation from what they commonly practised.

Which shortness of time, we may believe, prevented them also from swathing him with that *accuracy and length of bandage* they would otherwise have used: the Ægyptians, we are told, have used above a thousand ells of filletting about a body, *besides what was wrapped about the head*. Thevenot found it so, he informs us⁴, in a Mummy which he examined. The Jews, it is reasonable to believe, swathed them in *something* of the same form, which could not have been nicely performed in such an hurry as the disciples were then in, [though not exactly after the Ægyptian manner: for the head not only of our Lord, but of Lazarus, was simply bound about with a napkin⁵; which Chardin tells us, in his MS, is used by the Mahometans at this very time.

⁴ Part I. p. 137.⁵ John II. 44.

And as the Jewish manner, of covering the head of a corpse, more resembled the present Eastern managements than the ancient Ægyptian, perhaps the rest of their grave-clothes did so too: they now, Dr. Perry tells us⁶, wrap up the body in two, three, or more different sorts of stuff, according to the circumstances of the deceased; if the Jews did so too, the spices those good women prepared might be designed to be placed between the outer and inner wrappers, the ointment for the head⁷.]

What Joseph and Nicodemus did with the mixture of myrrh and aloes, doth not appear. Dr. Lardner supposes they might possibly form a bed of spices⁸. But with respect to the quantity, which he tells us, from Bishop Kidder, a modern Jew has made an objection against the history of the New Testament, affirming that it was enough for two hundred dead bodies, (which is saying, in other words, that half a pound of these drugs is sufficient to embalm a single body,) I would observe that our English surgeons require a much larger quantity of drugs for embalming; and in a receipt, which I have seen, of a very eminent one, the weight of the drugs employed is above one third of the weight Nicodemus brought.

⁶ P. 247. ⁷ Matt. 26. (7, 12,) intimates that the anointing the head with ointment, was one thing attending a Jewish burial. ⁸ Cred. of the Gosp. Hist. book 1. chap. 7. § 17.

Much less indeed would be wanted where the body is not embowelled, but even the cerate, or drugs used externally in our embalmings, is one seventh of the weight, I find, of the myrrh and aloes that were brought for embalming our Lord. However, be this as it may, as it appears from what Josephus says of the funeral of Aristobulus, the last of the High-priests of the family of the Maccabees, that *the larger the quantity of the spices used in their interments, the greater honour was thought to be done to the dead*⁹, we may easily account for the quantity Nicodemus brought in general, though we may not be able to tell, with the precision that could be wished, how it was disposed of. Dr. Lardner has not, I think, mentioned this passage; but it entirely answers the objection of this Jew.

[A passage from Drummond's Travels ought not to be omitted here, in which he gives us an account of the manner in which a large quantity of spices and perfumes was made use of, to do honour to the dead. It seems, according to a tradition that prevailed among the Turks, *An eminent prophet, who lived in Mesopotamia many ages ago, whose name was Zachariah, was beheaded by the prince of that country, on account of his virtuous opposition to some lewd scheme of his. His head he ordered to be put into a stone urn, two feet square, upon the top of which was an inscrip-*

⁹ Antiq. lib. 15. p. 746. ed. Haverc.

tion, importing, that that urn inclosed the head of that great prophet Zachariah. This urn remained in the castle of Aleppo, till about eight hundred years ago, when it was removed into an old Christian church in that city, afterwards turned into a mosque, which decaying, another was built near it, and the place where the head was deposited choaked up by a wall. About forty years before Mr. Drummond wrote this account, (which was in December 1748,) consequently about the year 1708, a zealous Grand Vizier, who pretended to have been admonished in a dream to remove this stone vessel into a more conspicuous place, had it removed accordingly, with many religious ceremonies, and affixed in a conspicuous part of a mosque: and in the close of all it is said, “the urn was
 “ opened, and filled with spices and per-
 “ fumes to the value of four hundred
 “ pounds¹⁰”.

Here we see in late times honour was done to the supposed head of an eminent saint, by filling its repository with odoriferous substances. The bed of sweet odours in which Afa was laid¹¹ seems to have been of the same kind, or something very much like it. Might not large quantities of precious perfumes in like manner be strewed, or designed to be strewed, about the body of our Lord? This would require large quantities.

Zachariah of Mesopotamia had been dead so long, that nothing of this kind could be

¹⁰ P. 237, 238.

¹¹ 2 Chron. 16. 14.

done with any view to preserve his head from decay, it was merely to do him honour: the spices used by the Jews in burial might be for the same purpose.

OBSERVATION LXI.

Sir John Chardin, in his MS¹, gives us an account of a very *whimsical* honour paid the Persian Princes after their deaths—the driving their physicians and astrologers from court. This he supposes to be of great antiquity, and to have been the cause of Daniel's absence, when Belshazzar saw the hand, writing his doom on the wall, which writing no body that was then with him could explain.

Daniel was not, it is certain, only *occasionally* absent from this solemnity, which was managed in a manner affronting to the God of Israel²; for it appears from ver. 13, that he was not at all *personally* known to Belshazzar. This has been supposed to have been owing to his having been a *vicious and a weak* prince; Chardin supposes, on the other hand, that the ceremonial of the Persian court required it. The first reason hardly accounts for his absence, since weak and vicious as he might be, Nitocris his mother, who appears to have been no stranger to the great abilities of Daniel, who is said to have been a lady of great wisdom, and

¹ Note on Dan. 5. 11.² V. 2—4.

who is believed to have had the chief management of affairs, might have employed Daniel in matters of state, which *in all probability*, considering his eminence, would have made him known to the king: he did not however know him; he did not therefore employ Daniel. But whether for the reason assigned by Sir John, is another consideration.

If that really was the reason, Daniel's retirement from the management of affairs of state must have been of long continuance, (23 years, according to Dr. Prideaux,) for it must have commenced at the death of Nebuchadnezzar.

Be this as it may, it is so extraordinary an usage, that it deserves a place in these papers. *I collect from hence*, says Sir John, that is, from the queen-mother's recommending to Belshazzar to consult Daniel, *that Daniel had been mazouled*³ *at the death of the king: for in the East, when the king dies, the physicians and astrologers are displaced; the first for not having driven away death, and the other for not having predicted it.* This the 13th verse confirms.

³ An Eastern term, signifying displaced, used by Dr. Perry, in his View of the Levant, p. 41, &c. Sir J. Chardin's words are. Je recueille de la que Daniel avait esté mazoul a la mort du roy car en orient, quand le roy meurt, les medecins & les astrologues sont chassés les uns pour n'avoir chassé la mort, les autres pour ne l'avoir predite. C'est ce que le v. 13 confirme. Tu es Daniel &c?

Curious etiquette this ! Upon this principle Daniel certainly deserved to be re-instated in his office, since he predicted now the death of Belshazzar. However, whatever was the ground of their procedure, *Belshazzar* made him the third ruler in the kingdom, Dan. v. 29 ; and under *Darius the Mede* the Prophet made a distinguished figure at court, Dan. vi. 1—3.

According to this the life of Daniel was extremely *variegated*: a large part of it spent in conducting affairs of state ; a considerable portion of it in a devout retirement—in reading, meditation, and prayer. He practised these things when involved in the hurry of public business⁺ ; certainly therefore when disengaged from affairs of state.]

CHAP. VII.

Concerning their Books.

OBSERVATION I.

TH E R E is a distinction made, in that passage of the book of Job which I was considering under the fifty-eighth Observation of the preceding chapter, relating to the *writing* of words, and *writing them in a book*, that I never saw remarked, though it seems to me that a very clear account of it may be given.

⁺ Dan. 9. 2, 3.

“ O that my words were now written!
 “ O that they were printed in a book! That
 “ they were graven . . . in the rock for
 “ ever¹!” There is a *way of writing* in the
 East which is designed to fix words on the
 memory, but the writing is not designed to
 continue. The children in Barbary that are
 sent to school make no use of paper, Dr.
 Shaw tells us², but each boy writes on a
 smooth thin board, slightly daubed over with
 whiting, which may be wiped off, or renewed
 at pleasure³; and it seems they learn to read,
 to write, and to get their lessons by heart, all
 at the same time: *O that my words then, says
 Job, might not be, like many of those of the
 miserable, immediately lost, in inattention or for-
 getfulness, but that they were written in order
 to be fixed in the memory!* There are few,

¹ Job 19. 23, 24. ² P. 194. ³ Dr. Pocke
 represents the Coptis, who are used by the great men of
 Ægypt for keeping their accounts, &c, as making use of
 a sort of paste-board for that purpose, from which the
 writing is wiped off from time to time with a wet sponge,
 the pieces of paste-board being used as slates. Vol. I.
 p. 191. [Peter della Valle observed a more inartificial way
 still of writing short-lived memorandums in India, where
 he beheld children *writing their lessons with their fingers on
 the ground, the pavement being for that purpose strewed all
 over with very fine sand. When the pavement was full, they
 put the writing out; and, if need were, strewed new sand,
 from a little heap they had before them wherewith to write
 farther*, p. 40. One would be tempted to think the Pro-
 phet Jeremiah had this way of writing in view, when he
 says of them that depart from God, *they shall be written
 in the earth*, chap. 17. 13. Certainly it means in general
soon to be blotted out, and forgotten, as is apparent from Pf.
 69. 28, Ezek. 13. 9.]

Shaw says, that *retain* what they have learned in their youth; doubtless things were often wiped out of the memory of the Arabs in the days of Job, as well as out of their writing-tables, as it now often happens in Barbary: Job therefore goes on, and saith, *O that they were written in a book*, from whence they should not be blotted out! So in conformity to this, Moses speaks of writing things *for a memorial* in a book. But books were *liable to injuries*; therefore Jeremiah commanded, that the book that contained the purchase he made of some lands in Judæa, just before the captivity, should be put into an earthen vessel, that it might continue many days, Jer. xxxii. 12. 14: and for this reason also Job wishes his words might be even *graven in a rock*, the most lasting way of all, and much more effectual to perpetuate them than a book. Thus the distinction betwixt *writing* and *writing in a book* becomes perfectly sensible, and the gradation appears in its beauty, which is lost in our translation: where the word printed is introduced, which, besides its impropriety, conveys no idea of the meaning of Job, records that are designed to last long not being distinguished from less durable papers by being printed.

OBSERVATION II.

As to the *form* of their books, and the *materials* of which they were composed, I have nothing considerable to offer. Some things, however, relating to the last of these, should be taken notice of.

That their books were rolled up, instead of opening in the manner ours do¹, in the time of our Lord, appears from some remains of antiquity; that they were of the same form much more anciently, we learn from Jer. xxxvi. 2. Pf. xl. 7, &c: this circumstance has been often remarked, and for that reason I pass it over with barely mentioning it.

The *materials* of which their books were composed, is that which is rather to be considered, and is what this Observation is designed a little to enquire into. The ancient Ægyptian books were made of the papyrus, a sort of bulrush of that country, according to Dean Prideaux², which rose up to a considerable height, and whose stalk was co-

[¹ Sir J. Chardin, in a MS. note on If. 8. 1, tells us, *the Eastern people roll their papers, and do not fold them, because their paper is apt to fret.* This Observation may account for that inconvenient way, so long retained, of rolling up their writings. The Ægyptian papyrus was much made use of; the brittle nature of it made it proper to roll up what they wrote; and it having been customary to roll up their books, &c, many continued the practice when they used other materials, which might very safely have been treated in a different manner.] ² Connection of the Hist. of the O. and N. Test. part 1. book 7.

vered with several films, or inner skins, on which they wrote. Maillet gives a different account of the papyrus³. But be this as it will, we are told the use of the papyrus for these purposes was not found out, till the building of Alexandria⁴: the rolls then that are mentioned in the Prophets were not formed of this plant; for Alexander the Great, the founder of that city, lived after the prophetic times. The art of engraving on stones and metals was very ancient, as old at least as the days of Moses, as appears from Exod. xxviii. 11, 36, but these ancient books were not formed of tablets of stone, or plates of metal, since they were *rolled up*, it seems; besides which, we find that the book which Baruch wrote, from the lips of Jeremiah, was *cut in pieces* by king Jehoiakim, with a *pen-knife*, and those pieces *thrown into the fire* which was burning on the hearth before him, Jer. xxxvi. 23, which liableness to being *cut*, and *consumed in the fire*, determines that they were neither of stone, nor of metal.

Parchment, Dr. Prideaux shews in the same place in which he speaks of the papyrus, was a later invention than the Ægyptian paper, and therefore one would imagine could not have been the material of which the old Jewish books were formed, which yet the Dean supposes, imagining that if Eumenes of Pergamus was the first *among the*

³ Lett. 9. p. 19.
above-cited place.

⁴ See Prideaux's Conn. in the

Greeks that used parchment, he could not however have been the inventor of it, since the Jews long before had rolls of writing, and who, says he, can doubt, but that these rolls were of parchment? He goes on, “and
 “ it must be acknowledged, that the au-
 “ thentic copy of the law, which Hilkieh
 “ found in the temple, and sent to king Jo-
 “ siah, was of this material, none other
 “ used for writing, excepting parchment
 “ only, being of so durable a nature as to
 “ last from Moses’s time till then, (which
 “ was eight hundred and thirty years.”) But is this reasoning demonstrative? The very old Ægyptians used to write *on linen*, things which they designed should last long; and those characters continue to this day, as we are assured by those that have examined mummies with attention. So Maillet tells us, that the filletting, or rather the bandage, (for it was of a considerable breadth,) of a mummy which was presented to him, and which he had opened in the house of the Capuchin Monks of Cairo, was not only charged from one end to the other with hieroglyphical figures, *but they also found certain unknown characters, written from the right-hand towards the left, and forming a kind of verses. These he supposed contained the Eulogium of the person whose this body was, written in the language which was used in Ægypt in the time in which she lived. That some part of this writing was afterwards copied by an engraver*

graver in France, and these papers sent to the *Virtuosi* through Europe, that if possible they might decypher them; but in vain⁵. Might not a copy of the Law of Moses, written after this manner, have lasted eight hundred and thirty years? Is it unnatural to imagine that Moses, who was learned in all the arts of Ægypt, wrote after this manner on linen? And doth not this supposition perfectly well agree with the accounts we have of the form of their books—their being rolls⁶? and of their being easily cut in pieces with a knife, and liable to be burnt? The old Jewish books *might* indeed be written on other materials; but these considerations are sufficient to engage us to think, that their being written on parchment is not so *indubitable* as the Dean supposes.

The most considerable arguments that Prideaux makes use of, are quotations from Diodorus Siculus and Herodotus, which give an account of the writing on skins by the old Persians and Ionians, long before the time of Eumenes; yet as to this, it is surprizing that he should so confidently suppose those skins must of course be dressed like parchment: it is visible that these skins must have been prepared in a much more clumsy way, and have been very unlike parchment, of which we are assured Eumenes was

⁵ Lett. 7. p. 278. ⁶ For it should seem the linen was first primed, or painted all over, before they began to write, and consequently would have been liable to crack if folded.

the inventor, and which, if found out before, would have made the want of the Ægyptian paper no inconvenience to that prince. Such skins might do for records, and some occasional writings, but would have been by no means agreeable for books. Is it not then, upon the whole, most natural to suppose the ancient Jews wrote on linen as the Ægyptians did⁶?

If so, *ink*, paint, or something of that kind, must have been made use of, of which,

[⁶ Among other objections Monsieur Voltaire has made to the *antiquity* of the Pentateuch, in his *Raison par Alphabet*, (seconde partie, Art. Moysé,) of which some are amazingly absurd, one is, that these five volumes must have been *engraven on polished stones*, which would have required *prodigious efforts and length of time*: too great, the insinuation is, to be credible. “Les Egyptiens ne se servaient pas encor du papiros; on gravait des hiéroglyphes sur le marbre ou sur le bois. Il est même dit que les tables des commandemens furent gravées, sur la pierre. Il aurait donc fallu graver cinq volumes sur des pierres polies, ce qui demandait des efforts & un tems prodigieux.” But were there no other substances that could be made use of but wood or stone, before the papyrus was brought into use? Could not linen? Do not the mummies incontestibly prove it actually was made use of before Alexandria was built, consequently before the papyrus was wont to be written on? What inattention or what fraud (which you please) must this writer have been guilty of, when he supposes the Pentateuch must have been engraven on wood or stone, if older than the use of the papyrus! How vain the consequence, that because the ten commands were engraven on stone, therefore the whole Pentateuch must! These things would have been very surprizing in another writer; but the perversely witty Mons. Voltaire has so habituated us to the expectation of meeting in him with the most *groundless* assertions, urged with confidence and grimace, that we are surprized at nothing which we meet with in his writings.]

accord-

accordingly we read Jer. xxxvi. 18. But their *pens* must have been very different from ours: accordingly the word which is used Judges v. 14. for a pen, *they that handle the pen of the writer*, signifies a sceptre, rod, or branch of a tree, and consequently may be thought to have much more nearly resembled the modern pens of Persia, which are canes or *reeds*⁷, their paper not bearing such pens as ours, than the quills we make use of. The other Hebrew word we translate pen seems precisely to signify a thing with which they lay on colours, and consequently is equally applicable to a quill, a pencil, or a reed; it is the using the other word in poetry, which explains the nature of their pens, of which we might otherwise have been ignorant, the proper word for them not at all determining their nature.

OBSERVATION III.

Many nice observations have been made on the titles of the Psalms, but attended with the greatest *uncertainty*. Later Eastern customs, respecting the titles of books and poems, may perhaps give a little more *determinateness* to these matters; but *great* precision and positiveness must not be expected.

D'Herbelot telleth us, that a Persian metaphysical and mystic poem was called—the

⁷ Olearius, p. 857. See also Rauwolff, in Ray's Collection of Travels, p. 87.

*Rose-bush*¹. A collection of moral essays—the Garden of *Anemonies*². Another Eastern book—the *Lion of the Forest*³. That Scherfeddin al Bauffiri called a poem of his, wrote in praise of his Arabian Prophet, who, he affirmed, had cured him of a paralytic disorder in his sleep—the *Habit of a Dervise*⁴; and because he is celebrated there for having given sight to a blind person, this poem is also intituled by its author—the *bright star*⁵. Other titles mentioned by him are as odd.

The ancient Jewish taste may reasonably be supposed to have been of the same kind. Agreeable to which is the explanation some *learned men* have given, of David's commanding the *bow* to be taught the children of Israel, 2 Sam. i. 18, which they apprehended did not relate to the use of *that weapon in war*, but to the hymn which he composed on occasion of the death of Saul and Jonathan, and from which he intituled this elegy, as they think, *the bow*.

The twenty-second Psalm might in like manner be called the *Hind of the Morning*; the fifty-sixth, the *Dove dumb in distant places*; the sixtieth, the *Lily of the Testimony*; the eightieth, the *Lilies of the Testimony*, in the plural; and the forty-fifth, simply the *Lilies*.

It is sufficiently evident, I should think, that these terms do not denote certain musical instruments. For if they did, why do

¹ P. 407.

² P. 158.

³ P. 300.

⁴ A sort of Mohammedan monk.

⁵ P. 195. and 211.

the more common names of the timbrel, the harp, the psaltery, and the trumpet, with which Psalms were sung, (Ps. lxxxii. 2, 3,) never appear in those titles?

Do they signify certain tunes? It ought not however to be imagined that these tunes are so called, from their bearing some resemblance to the noises made by the things mentioned in the titles, for Lilies are silent, if this supposition should *otherwise* have been allowed with respect to the Hind of the Morning. Nor doth the fifty-sixth Psalm speak of the *Mourning* of the Dove, but of its *Dumbness*.

If they signify tunes at all, they must signify, I should imagine, the tunes to which such songs or hymns were sung, as were distinguished by these names: and so the enquiry will terminate in this point, whether the Psalms to which these titles are affixed, were called by these names; or whether they were some *other* Psalms or Songs to the tune of which *these* were to be sung.

And as we do not find the *bow* referred to, nor the *same name* twice made use of, *so far as our lights reach*, it should seem *most probable* that these are the names of *those very Psalms* to which they are prefixed.

The forty-second Psalm, it may be thought, might very well have been intitled the *Hind of the Morning*, because, *as that panted after the water-brooks, so panted the soul of the Psalmist after God*; but the twenty-second

Pſalm, it is certain, might equally well be diſtinguiſhed by this title, *Dogs have compaſſed me, the aſſembly⁶ of the wicked have incloſed me*: and as the Pſalmiſt did in the forty-ſecond Pſalm rather chooſe to compare himſelf to an *hart* than an *hind*, the twenty-ſecond Pſalm much better anſwers this title, in which he ſpeaks of his hunted ſoul in the *feminine* gender, “ Deliver my ſoul from the “ ſword, my *darling*” (which in the original is feminine) “ from the power of the dog.”

Every one that reflects on the circumſtances of David, at the time to which the fifty-ſixth Pſalm refers, and conſiders the Oriental taſte, will not wonder to ſee that Pſalm intituled the *Dove dumb in diſtant places*; nor are *Lilies* more improper to be made the title of other Pſalms, with proper diſtinctions, than a *Garden of Anemonies* to be the name of a collection of moral diſcourſes.

OBSERVATION IV.

The works of ſeven of the moſt excellent Arab poets, who flouriſhed before the times of Mohammedaniſm, were called, d’Herbelot obſerves, *Al Moállacát*. becauſe they were ſucceſſively fixed, by way of honour, to the gate of the temple of Mecca; and alſo *Al Modhahebat*, which ſignifies gilded, (or *golden*,) becauſe

⁶ The huntings of the Eaſtern people, according to Dr. Shaw, are managed by aſſembling great numbers of people, and incloſing the creatures they hunt, p. 235.

they were written in letters of gold upon Ægyptian paper¹: and d'Herbelot in a succeeding page tells us², that the Arabs, when they would praise any one's poems, *were wont* to say, these are the golden verses of such or such an one, which he seems to suppose was derived from the writing of these poems in letters of gold.

Might not the sixtieth Psalm, and the five others that are distinguished by the same epithet, be called *golden*, on account of their having been, on some occasion or other, wrote in letters of gold, and hung up in the sanctuary, or elsewhere? Not, it may be, on account of their being judged to have a superior excellence to the other hymns of this collection, absolutely speaking, but their being suited to some particular circumstances, which might occasion their being treated with this distinction.

Hezekiah, we know, went up to the house of the Lord, and spread the letter of Sennacherib before him there, Is. xxxvii. 14. —hung it up, it may be, before the Lord. What Hezekiah did with a paper of threatening, other princes might do with these Psalms of encouragement and hope.

Some have imagined they were called golden Psalms *merely* on account of their distinguished excellence. That distinguished excellence however doth not appear; and what is more, the ancient Jews, it is cer-

¹ P. 586.

² P. 593.

tain, had a different way of marking this out — The *Song of Songs*, which is Solomon's³, not the *golden Song* of Solomon.

Ainsworth supposes the word Michtam signifies a golden jewel⁴. That the affixing such a title to a Psalm, would have been agreeable enough to the Eastern taste anciently, we may believe from what appears in these modern times. D'Herbelot has actually mentioned a book, intituled, *Bracelets of Gold*, containing an account of all that history had mentioned relating to a month sacred among the Arabs⁵. I cannot, however, *easily* admit that this is the true meaning of the word Michtam, because there are several Psalms which have this word prefixed to them; whereas, if it signified a jewel of gold, it would have been intended, if we may judge by modern titles of Eastern books, to have distinguished one Psalm from all the rest. To which may be added, that some of these Psalms have another name given them: the fifty-sixth being called the *Dove dumb in distant places*, and the sixtieth the *Lily of the Testimony*.

I will only farther add, that this writing in *letters of gold* still continues in the East. "The greatest part of these books," says Maillet, speaking of the royal Mohammedan library in Ægypt, which was so famous, and was afterwards destroyed by Saladine,

³ Cant. 1. 1. ⁴ In his Annot. on the sixteenth Psalm.
⁵ P. 714.

“ were written in *letters of gold*, such as the
 “ Turks and Arabs, *even of our time*, make
 “ use of in the titles of their books ⁶.” And
 a little after ⁷, speaking of the ignorance of
 the modern Ægyptians as to the burnishing
 of gold, so that their gilding has nothing of
 the ancient splendor, he adds, “ It is true,
 “ to make up this defect, they have pre-
 “ served the art of making gold liquid, and
 “ fit for ink. *I have seen some of their books*
 “ *written with this gold*, which were ex-
 “ tremely beautiful.”

OBSERVATION V.

St. John evidently supposes *paintings*, or
drawings, in that volume which he saw in
 the visions of God, and which was sealed
 with seven seals; the first figure being that
 of a man on a white horse, with a bow in
 his hand, &c¹. We expect copper-plates in
 our printed books, but it may be, never
 thought of drawings *in a manuscript*.

The Eastern manuscripts however are not
 without these ornaments. So Olearius, de-
 scribing the library belonging to the famous
 sepulchre of Schich Sefi, says, that the ma-
 nuscripts are all extremely well written,
 beautifully bound, and those of history il-
 lustrated with many *representations* in minia-
 ture ².

⁶ Lett. 13. p. 189.

⁷ P. 192.

¹ Rev. 6.

² P. 638.

The *more ancient* books of the East are also found to be beautified after this manner: for Dr. Pococke speaks in his Travels of two manuscripts of the Pentateuch, one in the monastery of Patmos, and the other belonging to the Bishop of Smyrna, adorned with several paintings, well executed for the time, one of which is supposed to be above nine hundred years *old*. Such a sort of book, it should seem, was that St. John saw in a vision.

OBSERVATION VI.

If they adorn their books sometimes with *material* paintings, those of the *intellectual* kind are however much more frequent. They continue still, as they were anciently, very bold, but with a coarseness, oftentimes, not very pleasing to *our* taste.

The curious have in general long ago remarked this; but as I have met with some instances of this kind, which may serve to illustrate some passages of Scripture more perfectly than I have seen them, and as I have also observed some other passages of the modern Asiatic poets, which may throw a light over some of those of the sacred, I will here annex, to the preceding observations, a short specimen of those illustrations of Holy Writ, which a careful perusal of the Turkish, Persian, and Arabian poets would soon enlarge. Parallel images are often

often introduced into our commentaries on Scripture from the writers of Greece and Rome; extracts from those of Asia would be more *curious*, and, as being more perfectly in the old Jewish taste, would be more *enlightening*.

As to those coarse images I was speaking of, and which this Observation particularly refers to, Hushai's comparing David and his men to a *bear* robbed of her whelps, 2 Sam. xvii. 8, appears to us very odd; but it shocks our delicacy much more, when we find it applied to the Majesty of heaven, Lam. iii. 10.

This is however entirely owing to the difference of the taste of the Europeans from that of the people of the Levant. We in England, when we compare a person to a bear, always have something of a *disagreeable* fierceness, and *awkward* roughness, in view; therefore these paintings give us pain. But though *we do*, the Eastern nations *do not* blend these ideas with those of strength and terribleness in displeasure; that therefore which appears an indecent comparison to us, was none to them, and this image accordingly still continues in use among those people. "Saladine," says Maillet¹, "going one day from Cairo up to the castle he had built there, and causing his brother Sirocoé, who had accompanied him, to take a view of its works and buildings:" ' This

¹ Lett. II. p. 106.

‘ castle,’ “ said he to him,” ‘ and all Ægypt, will be one day the possession of your children.’ “ Sirocoé replying that “ it was wrong to talk after that manner, “ since heaven had given him children to “ succeed to his crown ; Saladine rejoined,” ‘ My children are born in Ægypt, where ‘ men degenerate, and lose their spirit and ‘ bravery ; but *yours* are born in the mountains of Circassia, of a man that possesses ‘ the fierceness of *bears*, and *their* courage.’ “ The event justified the prediction, the “ posterity of Saladine reigning but a few “ years in Ægypt after the death of that great “ prince.”

Here my reader sees Sirocoé compared to *bears* by an Eastern prince, where an Elogium was intended, and not the least disrespectful hint designed.

The name which an Hivite Prince was called by, according to Gen. xxxiv. 2, is full as grotesque: for Hamor signifies an ass. Such a name would be thought a reproachful one among us, and very unbecoming the dignity of a prince ; in the East they have thought very differently². Mervan, the last Khalife

[² The modern Eastern people however, at least sometimes, seem to understand it as an affront: so Mr. Drummond, in his Travels, repeating the uncomplaisant answer the Turkish commander at Beer, in Mesopotamia, returned to their request to see the castle there, tells us that he asked, “ Do they take me for a child or an ass’s head, that “ they would feed me with sweetmeats, and dupe me with
“ a bit

Khalife of the Ommiades, was furnamed, according to Monf. d'Herbelot, Hemar, the afs, and the afs of Mefopotamia, becaufe of his ftrength and vigour. And as the wild afs is fuppofed by the Oriental people, to furpafs all other animals in fwiftnefs, Baharam, King of Perfia, he fays, was furnamed Gour: a word which fignifies, in the language of that country, a wild afs³.

OBSERVATION VII.

As to the Afatic poets, Aboulfarage San- giari, a Perfian, who lived at the time of the irruption of the Tartars under Geng-

“ a bit of cloth? No! they fhall not fee the caftle, &c.” p. 206. I cannot forbear remarking here, that we find an expreffion fomewhat like this in one of the prophetic hiftorians, 2 Sam. 3. 8: “ Then was Abner very wroth for “ the words of Ifh-bosheth, and faid, Am I a dog’s “ head? &c.” Some learned men, and fome modern Jewish writers, according to Bifhop Patrick, have underftood this term as fignifying, *he was treated as if he was captain of a pack of dogs, inftead of leader of the armies of Ifrael*; but this doth not feem to me to be a natural explanation, and this expreffion of the governor of Beer feems much better to illuftrate the complaint of Abner: “ Do “ they take me for an afs’s head?” feems to mean, *Do they think I am ftupid as an afs?* and, “ Am I a dog’s “ head?” feems to fignify, *Am I a dog?* which kind of complaining expoftulatory expreffion we meet with elfewhere, 1 Sam. 17. 43. If there is any difference between thefe expreffions, it fhould feem to be, that as *an afs’s head* apparently means like an afs with refpect to *underftanding*; fo *dog’s head* fhould anfwerably fignify, *Are all my cares for thee of no more value in thine eyes than thofe of a dog, one of the moft impure and defpicable of animals, that amufes thee in hunting for prey?*]³ P. 447.

hizkhan,

hizkhan, gives this description of those miserable days. *It was a time in which the sun arose in the West. That all sort of joy was then banished from the world, and men appeared to be made for no other end but suffering. In all the countries through which I have passed, I either found no body at all, or met only with distressed wretches*¹. Just so the Prophet Amos threatened, that God would make the *sun to go down at noon*, and would *darken the earth in a clear day*; that he would turn their feasts into mourning, and their songs into lamentation, &c, ch. viii. 9, 10.

The sun's *going down at noon*, and its *rising in the West*, are different expressions indeed, but they are of the same import, and serve to illustrate one another: for they both signify how extremely short their time of prosperity would be, how unexpectedly it would terminate, and for how long a time it would be succeeded by suffering, of which darkness was often made the emblem.

OBSERVATION VIII.

The Prophet Ezekiel has these words in his twentieth chapter: “ Say to the forest
 “ of the South, hear the word of the Lord,
 “ thus saith the Lord God, Behold I will
 “ kindle a *fire* in thee, and it shall devour
 “ every *green tree*, and every *dry tree*: the
 “ flaming fire shall not be quenched, and

¹ D'Herbelot, p. 25.

“ all faces from the South to the North
“ shall be burnt therein :” this may be paralleled by a passage of a modern writer.

Upon receiving this message from God, the Prophet observes that the people were ready to say, his messages were parables, ver. 49. Whether this declaration of God was really as hard to be understood by them as a parable, I shall not take upon me to say ; but d’Herbelot¹ hath given us a passage of a Persian poet, describing the desolation made by a pestilence², whose terms very much resemble the words of the Prophet.

- “ The pestilence, like an avenging *fire*,
“ ruins at once this beautiful city,
“ whose territory gives an odour surpassing
“ that of the most excellent
“ perfumes.
“ Of all its inhabitants, there remains
“ neither a young man nor an old :
“ This was a lightning that falling upon
“ on a *forest*, consumed there the *green*
“ *wood with the dry.*”

So the *pestilence* and *coals of fire* are mentioned together in the same verse of the Prophet Habakkuk, “ Before him went the *pestilence*, and *burning coals* went forth at his feet,” ch. iii. 5.

¹ P. 330.

² This pestilence entirely ruined the city of Aſterabad, in the time of a Prince who died in the year of our Lord 997. Voy d’Herbelot, p. 140.

C H A P. VIII.

Observations relating to the Natural, Civil, and Military State of Judæa.

OBSERVATION I.

Natural philosophers often make mention of water-spouts, which are most surprizing appearances; but *hardly any* of the commentators, that I have observed, speak of them, though our translators have used the term, Pf. xlii. 7, and the Psalmist seems to be directly describing those phænomena, and painting a storm at sea. And *none of them*, I think, take notice of the *frequency* of them on the Jewish coast, and consequently that it was natural for a Jewish poet to mention them, in the description of a violent and *dangerous* storm.

That this however is the fact, we learn from Dr. Shaw, who tells us, that water-spouts are *more frequent* near the Capes of *Latikea, Greego, and Carmel*, than in any other part of the Mediterranean¹. These are all places on the coast of Syria, and the last of them every body knows in Judæa, it being a place rendered famous by the prayers of the Prophet Elijah. The Jews then could not be ignorant of what fre-

¹ P. 333.

quently happened on their coasts, and David must have known of these dangers of the sea, if he had not actually seen some of them, as Dr. Shaw did. Strange then! since this is the case, that commentators should speak of these water-spouts as only meaning vehement rains²; or that any should imagine that he compares his afflictions to the pouring of water through the spouts of an house, as Bythner seems to do in his *Lyra*, when they have nothing to do with a storm at sea, which the Psalmist is evidently describing.

Others have remarked that these spouts are often seen in the Mediterranean, but I do not remember to have seen it any where remarked, before I read Dr. Shaw, that they are *more* frequent on the Syrian and Jewish coasts, than any other part of this sea; and as the Doctor has not applied the observation to the explaining any part of Scripture, I thought it was right to take notice of it in these papers, and as it belongs to the natural history of Judæa, it comes into this chapter.

OBSERVATION II.

The land of Israel is called by the Prophet Isaiah, chap. v. 1, *A vineyard in the horn of the son of oil*. That curious expositor Vitringa seems to suppose it is so represented on account of its height; and such seems to have been the thought of our trans-

² Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

lators, for they render the words, *A vineyard in a very fruitful hill*. Hills are undoubtedly the proper places for planting vineyards¹; and God might justly upbraid Israel with the *goodness of the country* in which he had placed them, its mountains themselves being very fertile: but if that was the sole intention, is it not somewhat strange that the Prophet should, on this occasion, use an expression so *extremely figurative*? especially as the same Prophet elsewhere often speaks of the hills with simplicity.

I will not deny, that it is agreeable enough to the Eastern style, to express an hill by the term *born*: for the supposition of Bishop Pockocke² seems to be by no means unnatural, who tells us, that there is a low mountain in Galilee, which hath both its ends raised in such a manner as to look like two mounts, which are called the *Horns of Hutin*; and, as he thinks, from this circumstance, and the village of Hutin's being underneath it. But then it is to be remembered, that the term *born* may equally well at least be understood in a different sense: so Sir John Chardin informs us, that a *long strip of land*, that runs out into the Caspian sea, is called the *middle-sized born*³; and so d'Herbelot tells us, that the place where one of the branches of the Euphrates falls into the Tigris, is called the *born*⁴. By the horn

¹ Shaw, p. 338. ² Vol. 2. p. 67. ³ In his account of the coronation of Solyman III. p. 154. ⁴ P. 353.

then

then of the son of oil the Prophet might mean Syria, which is bordered on one side by the sea, and on the other by a most barren desert, and stretches out from its base to the south *like an horn*; and so these words will be a geographic description of Judæa of the *poetic kind*, representing it as seated in particular in the fertile country of Syria, rather than in a general and indeterminate way, as situated in a fertile hill.

The propriety of describing Syria as a country of oil, no one will, I suppose, contest, as we find that oil was wont anciently to be carried from thence to Ægypt, Hof. xii. 1; and as we find the celebrated Crusade historian, William of Tyre, describing Syria Sobal as all thick-set with olive-trees, so as to make prodigious woods that covered the whole country, affording its inhabitants in those times, as they did their predecessors, a livelihood, and the destruction of which must have been their ruin⁵.

OBSERVATION III.

[This leads us to consider with attention, the description that is given of the *plenty* of the country God gave Israel. “ The Lord
 “ thy God bringeth thee into a good land,
 “ a land of brooks of water, of fountains,
 “ and depths, that spring out of valleys and
 “ hills. A land of wheat, and barley, and

⁵ P. 893.

“ vines,

“ vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates,
 “ a land of oil-olive” (or, “ of the olive-
 “ tree of oil,” according to the margin,)
 “ and honey,” &c. Deut. viii. 7, 8.

I would set down passages illustrating this description, just as they occur in writers, who have incidentally had occasion to mention matters of this sort.

Hasselquist tells us ¹, that he eat *olives* at Joppa, (upon his first arrival in the Holy-Land,) *which were said to grow on the Mount of Olives, near Jerusalem; and that, independent of their holiness, they were of the best kind he had tasted in the Levant.* As *olives* are frequently eaten in their repasts, the delicacy of this fruit in Judæa ought not to be forgotten; the *oil* that is gotten from these trees much less, because still more often made use of. In the progress of his journey he found several fine vales abounding with *olive-trees*. He saw also olive-trees in Galilee, but none farther, he says, than the mountain where it is supposed our Lord preached his sermon ².

The *fig-trees*, in the neighbourhood of Joppa, *Hasselquist* goes on to inform us, were as beautiful as any he had seen in the Levant ³.

The reason why *pomegranates* are distinctly mentioned, in this description of the productions of the Land of Promise, I have had

¹ P. 117.

² P. 159.

³ P. 119.

occasion to point out under a preceding Observation.

Honey is used in large quantities in these countries ; and *Ægypt* was celebrated, it seems, for the assiduity with which the people there managed their bees. Maillet's account of it is very amusing⁴. “ There are *abundance of bees* in that country,” he tells us ; “ and a singular manner of feeding them, “ introduced by the *Ægyptians* of ancient “ times, still continues there. Towards the “ end of October, when the Nile, upon its “ decrease, gives the peasants an opportunity “ of sowing the lands, sainfoin is one of the “ first things sown, and one of the most “ profitable. As the Upper *Ægypt* is hotter “ than the Lower, and the inundation there “ goes sooner off the lands, the sainfoin appears there first. The knowledge they “ have of this, causes them to send their “ beehives from all parts of *Ægypt*, that “ the bees may enjoy, as soon as may be, the “ richness of the flowers, which grow in “ this part of the country sooner than in “ any other district of the kingdom. The “ hives, upon their arrival at the farther “ end of *Ægypt*, are placed one upon another in the form of pyramids, in boats “ prepared for their reception ; after having “ been numbered by the people, who place “ them in the boats. The bees feed in the “ fields there for some days ; afterwards,

⁴ Lett. 9. p. 24, 25.

“ when it is believed they have nearly col-
“ lected the honey and wax, which were to
“ be found for two or three leagues round,
“ they cause the boats to go down stream,
“ two or three leagues lower, and leave
“ them there, in like manner, such a pro-
“ portion of time as they think to be neces-
“ sary for the gathering up the riches of
“ that canton. At length, about the be-
“ ginning of February, after having gone
“ the whole length of Ægypt, they arrive
“ at the sea, from whence they are con-
“ ducted, each of them, to their usual
“ place of abode. For they take care to
“ set down exactly in a register each district,
“ from whence the hives were carried in the
“ beginning of the season, their number,
“ and the names of the persons that sent
“ them, as well as the number of the boats,
“ where they are ranged according to the
“ places they are brought from. What is
“ astonishing in this affair is, that with the
“ greatest fidelity of memory that can be
“ imagined, each bee finds its own hive,
“ and never makes any mistake. That
“ which is still more amazing to me is, that
“ Ægyptians, of old, should be so atten-
“ tive to all the advantages deducible from
“ the situation of their country; that after
“ having observed that all things came to
“ maturity sooner in Upper Ægypt, and
“ much later in the Lower, which made a
“ a difference of above six weeks between
“ the

“ the two extremities of their country, they
 “ thought of collecting the wax and the
 “ honey, so as to lose none of them; and
 “ hit upon this ingenious method of making
 “ the bees do it successively, according to
 “ the blossoming of the flowers, and the
 “ arrangement of nature.”

If this solicitude was as ancient as the dwelling of Israel in Ægypt, they must have been anxious to know whether honey, about which they took such care in Ægypt, was plentiful in the Land of Promise; and they must have been pleased to be assured it was. It continues to be produced there in large quantities: *Hasselquist*, in the progress of his journey from Acra to Nazareth, tells us, that he found “ great numbers of bees, bred thereabouts, to the great advantage of the inhabitants.” He adds, *they make their beehives, with little trouble, of clay, four feet long, and half a foot in diameter, as in Ægypt. They lay ten or twelve of them, one on another, on the bare ground, and build over every ten a little roof*⁵. Mr. Maundrell observing also many bees in the Holy Land, takes notice, that by their means the most barren places of that country in other respects became useful, perceiving in many places of the great salt-plain near Jericho, a smell of honey and wax as strong as if he had been in an *Apiary*⁶.

By *Hasselquist's* account it appears, that the present inhabitants of Palæstine are no

⁵ P. 153, 154.

⁶ P. 66, & 86.

strangers to the use of *bives*. They are constructed of very different materials from ours, but just the same with the Ægyptian hives. They should seem to be an ancient contrivance; and indeed so simple an invention must be supposed to be as old as the days of Moses, when arts, as appears from his writings, of a much more elevated nature were known in Ægypt. I cannot then well persuade myself to adopt that opinion of some of the learned⁷, that those words of Moses in Deut. xxxii. 13, “He made
 “him to suck honey *out of the rock*, and oil
 “out of the flinty rock,” are to be understood of his causing Israel to dwell in a country, where sometimes they might find honeycomb in holes of the rock. It is very possible, that in that hot country, these insects, when not taken due care of, may get into hollow places of the rocks, and form combs there, as they sometimes construct them in ours in hollow trees, though I do not remember to have met with any traveller that has made such an observation. But would this have been mentioned with so much triumph by Moses in this place? The *quantities* of honey produced after this manner could be but *small*, compared with what would be collected in hives properly managed; when found, it must often cost a great deal of pains to get the honey out of these *little ca-*

⁷ See Bishop Patrick on the place, and Dr. Shaw's Travels, p. 338.

vities in the hard stone, and much the greatest part must be absolutely lost to the inhabitants. The interpretation is the more strange, because when it is said in the next clause, "and oil out of the flinty rock," it is evidently meant, that they should have oil, produced in abundance by olive-trees growing on flinty rocks; and consequently the sucking honey out of the rock should only mean, their enjoying great quantities of honey, produced by bees that collected it from flowers growing among the rocks: the rocky mountains of this country, it is well known⁸, produce an abundance of aromatic plants proper for the purpose⁹.

Nor doth *Asaph*, in the close of the eighty-first Psalm, speak, I apprehend, of honey found in cavities of rocks; nor yet is he there describing it as collected from the

⁸ Dr. Shaw, in the same place; Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2. p. 13, mention their finding odoriferous herbs in great numbers, along with olive-trees, on Mount Carmel.

⁹ I have indeed read an account somewhere concerning the Cape of Good-Hope, that they have bees there, but do not trouble themselves to hive them, the Hottentots furnishing them at an easy rate with rock-honey, which has a *better flavour* than that of the hive. If this account be *exact*, it does not follow that this ever was the case in Palæstine: the present inhabitants are too indolent to give themselves the trouble of making hives, if they could be furnished with sufficient quantities out of the rocks, easy to be come at, and at the same time better tasted than the honey of a hive; but we find by Hasselquist that they actually make use of hives at this day, though of a very different construction from those of our country.

odoriferous plants that grow in the rocky hills of those countries, if the reading of our present Hebrew copies be right: but the Prophet, it should seem, tells Israel, *that had they been obedient, God would have fed them with the fat of wheat, and with the rock of honey would he have satisfied them*: that is, with the most delicious wheat, and with the richest, most invigorating honey, in large quantities, both for eating, and making agreeable drink. Its reviving *strengthening* quality appears in the story of Jonathan, Saul's son, 1 Sam. xiv. 27; as the using the term *rock* to signify strength, &c, appears in a multitude of places. The rock of a sword, Ps. lxxxix. 43, for the edge of a sword, in which its energy lies, is perhaps as strange an expression to Western ears.

I shall have occasion to take notice of the nobleness of the *grapes* of Judæa in a succeeding chapter¹⁰; and I may be dispensed with as to the pursuing the further examination of the productions of this country, upon giving my reader a remark of Dr. Shaw's to this purpose, *that it is impossible for pulse, wheat, or grain of any kind, to be richer or better tasted, than what is commonly sold at Jerusalem*¹¹.

Only it may not be amiss to add, with respect to this country's being well watered, that the *depths* spoken of in this passage

¹⁰ The ninth.

¹¹ P. 336.

seem to mean reservoirs¹² of water, filled by the rains of winter, and of great use to make their lands fertile; as the second word seems to mean *wells*, or some such sort of conveniencies, supplied by *springs*; and the first word, *rivers*, or running streams, whether carrying a larger or a smaller body of water. What an important part of this pleasurable description, especially in the ears of those that had wandered near forty years in a most dry and parched wilderness! I will only add, without entering into particulars, that the present face of the country answers this description.

OBSERVATION IV.

The Scriptures, in their representations of the *fruitfulness* of the Land of Promise, do in no place, so far as I remember, speak of the plenty of *fish* there, though *Ægypt* was famous for its fish, and the children of Israel longed with eager desire for fish *when in the wilderness*. To whatever cause this was owing, it doth not appear to be the *scarcity* of this kind of food in that country.

Fish *caught in the Mediterranean* was brought to Jerusalem, in the time of Nehemiah, in considerable quantities, by the Ty-

¹² The word seems apparently to mean something of this kind in Ezek. 31. 4; and again, Job 38. 30, for *he* could be supposed to know nothing of the freezing of the face of any other deep, than of a large pool or reservoir of water.

rians, Neh. xiii. 16. As they were a city remarkable for skill in maritime affairs, it is impossible to say how far their fisheries might extend; however, it cannot but be agreeable to find, by modern travellers, that they might have caught much fish in *their own neighbourhood*. “While I was busy in “considering the city,” says LeBruyn, speaking of Tyre, “my comrade employed his “time in fishing with a line, and his manner of doing it was by putting the line “about his finger, and when he found the “fish had taken the bait, he drew the string “with both his hands, one after the other; “by which means we had a very good dish “of fish, and found them excellently well “tasted¹.”

Travellers have found that the sea of Tiberias, in Galilee, abounds in fish², some of them very large³; so they were anciently, John xxi. 11. Haffelquist tells us, several of the sorts of fish in this great lake are the same with those found in the *Nile*, a circumstance which he thinks remarkable⁴; doubtless because it is imagined by the curious, that the fish of that river are peculiar to it. It is certain that Maillet, in the ninth letter of the description of *Ægypt*, tells us, *that it is surprizing, that, notwithstanding the prodigious quantity of fish in the Nile, there are hardly any, excepting the eel, that resem-*

¹ Tom. i. p. 564.

² Pococke, vol. 2. p. 69, 70.

³ Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2. p. 33.

⁴ P. 158.

ble those that are taken in the rivers of Europe. This remark, however curious, little concerns these papers: it is more agreeable to my design, to take notice, that among those mentioned by Hasselquist, as common to the sea of Galilee and the Nile, are the Charmud, or Karmud, as Egmont and Heyman call it, and which these gentlemen tell us, is of the size of the Bonni, another of those fish which are common to the Nile and the Sea of Galilee, and which they say weighs commonly near thirty pounds⁵. Well then might these authors say, some of the fish of Galilee were very large. To which I would add, that one hundred and fifty-three fishes of this size, or half this size, might well be supposed by St. John to endanger a net, in the passage just now cited from him.

OBSERVATION V.

Hasselquist says, that the *mulberry-tree* scarcely ever grows in Judæa, very little in Galilee, but in abundance in Syria and Mount Lebanon¹. He therefore blames the translation of *Luther*, which renders the word we translate sycamore-tree, Luke xix. 4, *mulberry-tree*, and again, it seems, Luke xvii. 6.

Our translators do not so render these two passages; but there are other places in which they mention mulberry-trees, in particular 2 Sam. v. 23, 24. and 1 Chron. xiv. 14, 15,

⁵ Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2. p. 220. ¹ P. 287.

and

and in the margin of Pf. lxxxiv. 6. I am afraid therefore he would equally have condemned them, had he been acquainted with our version.

If they are a species of trees not natural to those countries, we cannot imagine them to have been brought into Judæa before the reign of David, hundreds of years before the production of *silk* was thought of there, which is the cause, I presume, of their now growing in abundance in Syria and mount Lebanon, the inhabitants of those places applying themselves, in these later times, with great industry, to the raising *silk*, and making it one great branch of their commerce²; if, on the contrary, they had been *natives* of Judæa, they would still, without doubt, appear there in numbers, as they did, as our translation supposes, in the reign of king David: it is unimaginable then that our translation should be right.

It is much more easy, however, to determine that they are wrong in their translation, than to find out what the original word really means. The Chaldee paraphrase, it seems, contents itself with speaking of them as trees in general: the Septuagint, in Samuel, supposes they were trees that grew in a place called *Weeping*, and Josephus follows them in this; but this version in Chronicles supposes the word signifies *pear-trees*.

² Voy. de Syrie, &c, par de la Roque, tom. 1. p. 8.

Were I to hazard a conjecture here, and were there a greater sameness between the notions of the East and the West, I should imagine we might propose it, as no improbable supposition, that the *Weeping Willow* is the tree meant here. Ruffell found it a *common tree* in the gardens of Aleppo³, which are known to have *common trees of the field* growing frequently in them, as well as other plants: Ruffell himself mentions the poplar, the common white willow, the horn-beam, oaks, the ash, growing in their gardens, with other trees we should more readily expect to find there, forming on the whole a *wild and irregular, but agreeable prospect*⁴. It is true, I do not remember to have met with an account of this species of willow, in the *catalogues* of the plants of the Holy-Land which I have seen; but every one knows the Flora and the Fauna Palæstini are very imperfect: as it is so *common* a tree at Aleppo, we may believe it is no stranger in Judæa.

OBSERVATION VI.

We have before taken notice that the *olive-tree* is very common in Judæa: I would now remark, that the Scriptures frequently refer to them, and that those very references have given some pain to an ingenious traveller, on the account of trees of this species wanting a vivid verdure.

³ P. 44.⁴ P. 22, 23.

Mr. Sharp, in his forty-eighth letter from Italy, expresses his *pain* in these words, “ The
 “ fields, and indeed the whole face of *Tus-*
 “ *cany*, are in a manner covered with olive-
 “ trees; but the olive-tree does not answer
 “ the character I had conceived of it: the
 “ Royal Psalmist and some of the Sacred
 “ Writers speak with rapture of the *green*
 “ olive-tree, so that I expected a *beautiful*
 “ *green*; and I confess to you, I was *wretch-*
 “ *edly* disappointed, to find its hue resem-
 “ bling that of our hedges, when they are
 “ *covered with dust*. The olive-tree may,
 “ possibly, delight in the *barren district* of
 “ *Judæa*, but, undoubtedly, will disgust a
 “ man accustomed to *English verdure*.”

The objection shews, that it is of some importance to attend to *minute*, and even seemingly trifling circumstances mentioned in Holy Writ, which is the great design of these papers. In considering it, I cannot allow the *propriety* of this worthy writer's method of alleviating the difficulty he had proposed: Judæa is not now so destitute of verdure, as to make a tree that looks as if it was all over covered with dust, an object sufficient to charm the eye *by its colour*; and such a supposition is still less admissible, when it relates to former times, when it was much better cultivated. The true way of solving the difficulty is, I imagine, to consider the word translated *green* not as descriptive of *colour*,
 in

in these passages, but of some other property, *youthfulness, vigour, prosperity, &c.*

It certainly *must* be so understood in some places where it occurs. No mortal ever imagined, that when Nebuchadnezzar said, "I was at rest in mine house, and *green* in my palace," Dan. iv. 4, that he meant either that the *colour* of his face, or of his garments was green; but that he was, as our translators justly render it, *flourishing* in his palace—that he was in such a state, with respect to his royalty, as a tree is when it is green, considered as a vegetable. So in the fifty-second Psalm, David describes a wicked man, as being soon to wither away and disappear; while he should be like a *young, vigorous* olive-tree, which had long to live and to flourish. The beauty of the olive-tree marked out in other passages of Scripture, consisted in the spread of its branches, not its colour, Hof. xiv. 6.

The disappointment then of Mr. Sharp arose, not from the misrepresentation of the sacred writers, but merely from his misunderstanding them.

In like manner, when the Psalmist says, "I shall be anointed with *green* oil," Pf. xcii. 10, where there is the same word in the original, we are not to suppose he means oil of a green *colour*: would there have been any great advantage in that? Or can any passage be produced to shew it was an object of desire to the people of the East? But we are,

are, I believe, to understand the word as signifying *precious, fragrant* oil, such as princes in times of prosperity were anointed with: fragrant, if you will, as a field which the Lord has blessed, a flowery field, in all its *verdure*, to the smell of which Isaac compared the scent of the *perfumed* clothes Jacob had on, when Isaac blessed him, Gen. xxvii. 27.

It appears from many passages, that when princes were victorious rich presents were wont to be made them¹; and from the history of Hezekiah², that *precious ointments*, or oils in which odoriferous plants or other substances had been put, and kept there some time, were presented to them, preserved long by them among their treasures in part, and in part, we may believe, made use of on joyful occasions: which kind of oil is, without doubt, what the Psalmist calls *green oil*, and with which he was to be anointed, when God should exalt his power, and make his horn like that of an unicorn.

To think of greenness *of colour* in the oil would be childish; to interpret the word of oil expressed from green, that is to say, from *unripe* olives, would not well agree with the accounts of some modern writers on medical preparations, who affirm that oil cannot be drawn from unripe olives³; to understand

¹ 2 Sam. 8. 10, 2 Chron. 32. 23.

² If. 39. 2.

³ Voy. Dict. des Drogues, par Lemery, Art. Omphacium,

stand the word as signifying *fresh-drawn* oil would be to give it much less energy than, I apprehend, was intended by the Psalmist; to explain it of oil made *extremely odoriferous* is, I cannot help thinking, placing it in the proper point of light.

It is natural to suppose most, if not *all* the oil that was made use of for anointing themselves for pleasure, was more or less fragrant; it would else have hardly answered the purpose, which was the stifling those disagreeable scents the heat of that climate often excited. On this account it became extremely necessary to the enjoyment of life; for which reason the Prophet Micah ⁴ threatened Israel, *that they should tread olives, but not anoint themselves with oil.* We are ready to imagine no other important use of oil but for eating, but they found life would be very inelegant without anointing.

Some of their ointments were extremely precious: such was the composition with which the head of our Lord was anointed ⁵. But a slight infusion of some of their own country flowers was sufficient to give their hair a very agreeable scent. So Hasselquist tells us the Ægyptians put the flowers of the *tuberosæ* into sweet oil, and by this means give

cium. “Ce que les auteurs appellent *Oleum Omphacinum*, “feroit une huile tirée par expression, des olives vertes; “mais on n’en peut point tirer, comme je l’ay remarqué “dans ma pharmacopée.” ⁴ Ch. 6. 15. ⁵ Matt.

26. 7.

the oil a most excellent smell, scarce inferior to *oil of jessamine*⁶; and in another place, that he found *jessamine* growing in the Holy Land⁷, besides other fragrant plants.

OBSERVATION VII.

The description that Sir J. Chardin gives us in his MSS. of the state of these countries, with respect to the *cracking of the earth*, before the autumnal rains fall, is so lively a comment on Jer. xiv. 4, “because
“the ground is *chapt*, for there was no rain
“in the earth, the plough-men were a-
“shamed,” that I beg leave to introduce it here as a distinct Observation.

The lands of the East, he says, in a note on Pf. cxliii. 6, *which the great dryness there causes to crack, are the ground of this figure, which is certainly extremely beautiful; for these dry lands have chinks too deep for a person to see to the bottom of: this may be observed in the Indies more than any where, a little before the rains fall, and wherever the lands are rich and hard.*

The Prophet’s speaking of plough-men shews that he is speaking of the *autumnal* state of those countries; and if the *cracks* are so deep from the common dryness of their summers, what must they be when the rains are withheld beyond the usual time, which is the case Jeremiah is referring to?]

⁶ P. 267.⁷ P. 134.

OBSERVATION VIII.

III.

To those that feel something of an *incredulous* anxiety, about the accounts the sacred writers have given us, of the *extent* of the *kingdom* and of the *fame* of Israel in the days of David and Solomon, whereas we find *few* or *no traces* of this mighty power in *profane history*, and we know that the Arabs have been always looked upon as an *untameable* people, I would recommend the account the curious editor of the Ruins of Palmyra has given of that state.

Let them consider that it was a small territory, in the midst of a desert, and yet extended its conquests over many rich countries and considerable states; that the great kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and of the Ptolomies became part of the dominions of a single city, *whose name we in vain look for in history*¹; and this though it flourished in *modern times*, in comparison of the age of David, (none of the dates found there being earlier than Christ,) and in times concerning which we have large accounts.

That Palmyra and Balbec, which are perhaps the two most surprising remains of ancient magnificence now left, should be so neglected in history, as in a great measure to be left to tell their own story, appears to

¹ Ruins of Palmyra, p. 11.

this ingenious writer a very remarkable fact, carrying instruction with it². Instruction of more forts than one, let it be permitted me to say! for besides those moral lessons the editor of these Ruins refers to, it removes at once all difficulties derived from the *silence* of prophane history concerning the kings and affairs of Jerufalem, a city which stood in the neighbourhood of Palmyra and Balbec, which are passed over in as great or greater silence: to which is to be added the consideration, that Jerufalem was much more *ancient* than they.

IV.

OBSERVATION IX.

Palmyra, though situated between the two great empires of Rome and Parthia, was an independent state in the days of Pliny, and by its advantageous situation, in the midst of a great desert, not only preserved its independence, but it was, according to Mr. Wood¹, the first care of those two mighty empires, when at war, to engage it in their interest.

As it did not however always preserve its independence, being conquered by Aurelian, and subjected to the Romans, the ruins of some of their works still continuing there; so it might not be always a separate state in the ages that preceded that of Pliny. It however must notwithstanding have been an

² P. I.¹ Ruins of Palmyra, p. 5.

object of great attention at all times: and even *before any city was built there*, on account of its waters², which indeed are supposed to have been the occasion of erecting it. So William the Archbishop of Tyre³ mentions it as a great defect in the Christians, that they did not seize upon a place called Gerba, where there was an *abundance of water*, and which lay in the way of Saladine, in his march out of Ægypt to Damascus; which had they done, he supposes Saladine must have returned into Ægypt, and have lost his whole army by thirst. Their taking possession afterwards of the waters called Rasel Rasit, which they proposed to do, but did not, he supposed too would have obliged him to have gone farther about in the wilderness, and would have been attended with great loss to him.

Was then Palmyra the place that Pharaoh Necho wanted to secure⁴, or Hadadezer king of Zobah⁵? One might be tempted to fancy so from its importance, and its nearness to the Euphrates. It could hardly however be an object of Necho's attention, because the place he went against is expressly called by the Jewish historian *Carchemish*, whereas Palmyra was *known to the Jews* by the name of Tadmor in the Wilderness, and is so called by this very historian, 2 Chron. viii. 4. Agreeably to this, long after the days of

² P. 18.
35. 20.

³ *Gesta Dei*, &c. p. 1027.
⁵ 2 Sam. 8. 3.

⁴ 2 Chron.

Necho, Saladine, who reigned over the same country of Ægypt, is spoken of as having *more towns than one* on the Euphrates⁶. This however shews how fond the Ægyptian princes have always been of having some towns in the neighbourhood of that river.

It is much more probable, that this might be the border that Hadadezer sought to recover out of the hands of David; since it is in a manner universally allowed, that Solomon his son built a city here, which place, as he was a pacific prince, it is most natural to think had been previously secured by David; and it is reasonable to believe that he seized upon this important place, which, though of such consequence to his caravans, had been neglected by Hadadezer, in order to become master of that advantageous commerce carried on through it from the Euphrates, which the ingenious editor of the Ruins of Palmyra⁷, if I understand him right, supposes was as ancient as these times. Such a supposition explains, I think, in the easiest manner, the contest between the king of Zobah and David about this place, which till then, it should seem, had laid unoccupied, and had been only used for a watering-place.

But whether we are to understand it of *the Springs* of Palmyra, or of *any other place* nearer the Euphrates, in the time of David

⁶ *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 1029. ⁷ P. 18.

at farthest, Providence fulfilled the prediction to Abraham, *that to his seed should be given the land from the river of Ægypt to the Euphrates.*

OBSERVATION X.

V.

Dr. Pococke has made a remark upon this river, (the Euphrates,) which may possibly serve to explain a difficulty relating to another, of which we read much more frequently in the Scriptures, I mean the Jordan.

The bed of the Euphrates, this writer tells us, was measured by some English gentlemen at Beer, and found to be six hundred and thirty yards broad¹, but the river only two hundred and fourteen yards over; that they thought it to be nine or ten feet deep in the middle; and were informed that it sometimes rises twelve feet perpendicularly. He observed that it had an inner and an outer bank; but says, it *rarely* overflows the inner bank; that when it doth, they sow water-melons, and other fruits of that kind, as

[¹ This, I suppose, was the breadth from one of the inner banks to the other; for Mr. Drummond tells us that the Euphrates at Beer has “two sets of banks, one for summer, and the other for winter, these last being *full* half a mile wider than the other.” p. 205. If the width of one of the outer banks from the other is half a mile, or eight hundred and eighty yards *more* than the common bed of the Euphrates, it must be the distance from one of the inner banks to the other that these gentlemen measured, which they found to be six hundred and thirty yards only.]

soon as the water retires, and have a great produce².

Might not the overflowings of Jordan be like those of the Euphrates, not annual, but much more rare? Maundrell observed an inner and an outer bank belonging to Jordan, but says, that river was so far from overflowing when he was there, that it ran at least two yards below the brink of its channel. The circumstance of his having been there the thirtieth of March, the proper time for its inundation, 1 Chron. xii. 15, appears a little to have disconcerted him; however, he supposes it might *anciently*³ have overflowed the level strand up to the first bank, though at present it seems to have forgot its ancient greatness, either by having worn its channel deeper than it was formerly, or because its waters are diverted some other way. But *possibly* the whole of it lies in this, that it doth not, like the Nile, overflow annually, as authors by mistake have supposed, but, like the Euphrates, only in

² Vol. 2. p. 164.

[³ It appears from a passage of Josephus, (de Bell. Jud. lib. 4. cap. 7,) that the Jordan was sometimes swelled in the spring, so as to be impassable in places where people were wont to go over, *in his time*; for speaking of a transaction on the fourth of the month Dystrus, which answers our *March*, or, as some reckon, *February*, he gives an account of great numbers of people who perished in this river, into which they were driven by their enemies, which, by the circumstances, appears to have happened *in a few days after* what was done on the fourth of Dystrus.]

some particular years ; but when it doth, that it is in the time of harvest. It is unhappy that no virtuoso hath ascertained the fact : may the writer of these papers venture to recommend the examination of it to the curious ?

If it did not in ancient times annually overflow its banks, the Majesty of God's dividing its waters in the days of Joshua was certainly the more striking to the Canaanites, who, when they looked upon themselves as extraordinarily defended by the overflowing of the river, which happened not every year, its breadth and rapidity being both so extremely increased, yet found the river in these circumstances open itself, and make a way on the dry land for the people of Jehovah.

OBSERVATION XI.

VI.

Though wood is very scarce in Palæstine, in some well-watered places they have considerable thickets of trees, and of reeds.

So Dr. Pococke represents Jordan as almost hid by *shady trees*, between the lake Samochonites, and the sea of Tiberias ; which trees, he says, are chiefly of the platanus-kind, and grow on each side of it¹. To which he adds, that the lake itself, when the waters are fallen, is only a marsh². And, in another place³, he describes the sea of Tiberias as having reeds growing by it in great

¹ Vol. 2. p. 72.² P. 73.³ P. 70.

numbers. Sandys had long before given a similar account of these places: observing that Jordan was shaded with poplars, alders, tamarisks, and reeds of sundry kinds; and that the lake Samochonites, then called Houle, was in the summer *for the most part* dry, and overgrown with shrubs and reeds⁴.

In these places, both authors agree, live many wild boars. Dr. Pococke in particular observed very large herds of them on the other side Jordan, where it flows out of the sea of Tiberias; and several of them on the same side (on which he was) lying among the reeds by the sea⁵. The wild boars of other countries delight in the like moist habitations⁶.

These shady marshes then, it should seem, are called in the Scripture *woods*, for it calls these animals the wild boars of the wood, Pf. lxxx. 13.

Might not the wood of Ephraim, in which the battle was fought between the army of Absalom and the servants of David, be a *wood of the same kind*? If it was, a difficulty that seems to have perplexed commentators may be removed: for it is certain that a boggy place may be very fatal to an army, partly by suffocating those that in the hurry of flight inadvertently venture over places incapable of supporting them; and partly

⁴ P. 110. ⁵ Vol. 2. p. 70. ⁶ See Keyfler concerning the wild boars of Germany, vol. 1. p. 134, and Le Bruyn concerning those of Persia, vol. 4. p. 451.

by retarding them, so as to give their pursuers an opportunity of coming up with them, and cutting them off. A greater number of people than of those that fall in the heat of battle may thus be destroyed.

So the Archbishop of Tyre tells us, that some of the troops of one of the Christian kings of Jerusalem, were lost in the *marshy places* of a valley of *this country*, out of which that prince was driving a great number of cattle, owing to their not being acquainted with the passages through them; and this, though he was successful in his expedition, and had no enemy to molest him in his return⁷. They were indeed, according to the Archbishop, but few; but in what numbers would they have perished, must we think, had they been forced to fly, like the men of Abfalom, before a victorious army. So Josephus ascribes the death of Demetrius, one of the kings of Syria, to his horse's plunging into a muddy place, which could not easily be passed through, where being intangled, he was slain by those very enemies he had been pursuing, who seeing the accident, turned back, and killed him with their darts⁸. On such accounts as these, the ancient warriors thought such retreats as marshes proper places for them to encamp in, especially when their enemies surpassed them in numbers; so Josephus represents Jonathan the Maccabee, as encamping in the fens of Jordan, and

⁷ *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 1003. ⁸ *Antiq.* l. 13. cap. 2.

after being forced from thence by Bacchides, as returning thither again⁹. The secure retreat two young Babylonian Jews and their comrades found, seems to have been of the same kind—a reedy wood, surrounded by the Euphrates¹⁰.

No commentator however, that I know of, has proposed this explanation of this piece of David's history—his causing the battle to be in the wood, and of the wood's destroying more than the fight. Instead of it, some of them have supposed the meaning of the last particular was, that Absalom's soldiers were destroyed by the *wild beasts* of this wood. A most improbable thought: as we cannot believe that in such a time as that of king David, when Israel was so numerous, wild beasts should be so numerous in one of the woods of that country, as to occasion such a destruction; and if their numbers were ever so large, they would doubtless have retired upon the approach of the two armies, under the apprehension of danger to themselves¹¹, rather than have stayed to devour those that fled. The expeditions of the Turks against Faccardine, the famous Emir that made such a noise in the beginning of the last century, were chiefly in the woods of Mount Lebanon, according to Mons. la Roque, where, that author elsewhere tells us, there are many wild

⁹ Ibid. cap. i. §. 3. & 5.

¹⁰ Ibid. lib. 18. c. 9.

¹¹ See Shaw, p. 235.

beasts¹², yet not one word of either Maronites or Turks being injured by them occurs in his account¹³. Yet unnatural as this thought is, it is, we are told¹⁴, the comment of some Jewish writers, of the Chaldee Paraphrast, and of the authors of the Syriac and Arabic versions of the Old Testament.

Others have given different conjectures, which, if not so improbable as that I have been considering, are however, I think, less natural than that I have proposed.

If we turn our thoughts to other countries, Lewis the Second of Hungary lost his life in a bog, fighting in his own kingdom, in the sixteenth century; and Decius, the Roman Emperor, long before him, perished with his army in a fen, according to Zosimus.

OBSERVATION XII.

VII.

Wild beasts, *however*, were sometimes found in these countries, and ancient warriors thought it no small part of their glory to destroy them.

The exploits of Richard the First and his warriors, in the Holy-Land, are among the most celebrated of those times; yet Bishop Gibson gives us to understand, that Hugh Nevill considered his destroying a *lion* there by an arrow-shot, and by running him through with his sword, as the noblest of

¹² Voy. de Syr. tome 1. p. 70.

¹³ Tome 2. p. 206.

¹⁴ Vide Poli Syn. in 2 Sam. xviii. 8.

his exploits: for he tells us, that his seal expressed this atchievement, and the manner of it¹; a monk also of that time thought it a fit subject for him, it seems, to celebrate, the Bishop having given us an old verse made on the same occasion in his account. Albertus Aquensis in like manner celebrates a German, named Wickerus, for an action of the same sort near Joppa²; a fact mentioned by another writer in that collection³.

The same simplicity, and a taste a good deal like that of Nevill and the people of his time, without doubt, led the Prophet to *select* Benaiah's slaying a lion, in the midst of a pit in a time of snow, from many other exploits of the Jewish worthy he could have mentioned, 2 Sam. xxiii. 20⁴,

OBSERVATION XIII.

[*Mice*, small as those animals are, have been sometimes extremely troublesome, and indeed *destructive*, to Palæstine.

¹ See his additions to Camden's Account of Essex, in his Britannia, p. 358. ² Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 314. ³ P. 75. ⁴ David had to defend his flock from *bears* as well as lions, 1 Sam. 17. 34:

and, as Dr. Shaw gives us to understand, these rugged animals are not peculiar to the bleak countries of the North, being found in Barbary; so Thevenot informs us, that they inhabit the wilderness adjoining to the Holy-Land, and that he himself saw one near the Northern extremities of the Red Sea, part 1. p. 163, 164. How much nearer the inhabited parts of Palæstine they have been observed by modern travellers, I cannot say.]

Commentators, upon occasion of what is said, 1 Sam. vi, 4, 5,¹ have cited abundance of passages, relating to the havock made by creatures of this genus, in *other* countries; but they are silent as to Judæa's suffering by them, at other times besides that mentioned in the prophetic history, which would, however, have been much more satisfactory, or at least pleasing.

This is not owing to its being a kind of scourge never known there, excepting in that particular case mentioned in the book of Samuel; but to a want of extending their enquiries *far* enough: for we find an account of this country's suffering by this kind of animal, in the history of William the Archbishop of Tyre, a little before his time — in the beginning of the twelfth century. The Archbishop's account in short is², “ that a kind of penitential council was held at *Naplese*, in the year one thousand one hundred and twenty, where five and twenty canons were framed, for the correction of the manners of the inhabitants of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, who they apprehended had provoked God to bring upon them the calamities of earthquakes, war, and famine. This last the Archbishop ascribes

¹ Bishop Patrick in particular.

² *Gesta Dei*, p. 823, 824. — *Regnum Hierosolymorum multis vexationibus fatigaretur, & præter eas quæ ab hostibus inferebantur molestias, locustarum intemperie & edacibus muribus, jam quasi quadriennio continuo fruges ita penitus deperissent, ut omne firmamentum panis defecisse videretur.*

to locusts and devouring *mice*, which had for four years together so destroyed the fruits of the earth, as seemed to cause a *total failure* of that branch of their food.

The ravages of *locusts* in Palæstine have been frequently taken notice of by authors; but here *mice* were joined with them, as making havock of the country. What species of this genus of animals is meant by the Archbishop, may be the subject of very curious enquiry. The creature meant was, it seems, very destructive; but the *jird*, the *jerbóá*, or *yerbóá*, and the *daman Israel*, are all supposed by Dr. Shaw³ to be *harmless* animals.

Fulcherius Carnotensis gives us to understand, that the usual time that the mice injure the corn is at it's first sprouting, as that of the locusts is after it is in the ear³.

OBSERVATION XIV.

Some of the *venomous animals* of this country, it was supposed, might be *charmed*, and their noxious effects, by that means, prevented.

Dr. Shaw has taken notice of this opinion's remaining in the Levant; I should not therefore have mentioned it in these papers, had not Sir John Chardin given an account in his MS. of another circumstance,

³ P. 176, 177, 348.

⁴ *Gesta Dei*, p. 427.

which

which Shaw has omitted, and which he supposed is alluded to in Psalm lviii. 6.

“ Break their teeth, O God, in their mouth: break out the great teeth of the young lions, O Lord,” are the words of the Psalmist. It would have been natural to suppose the image changed at the beginning of this verse, and that the whole verse spoke of lions, had we not been told by Chardin, *that those that know how to tame serpents by their charms, are wont commonly to break out their teeth.*

It appears, by Pool, that Hammond had the same sentiment: this account may serve to strengthen this opinion.

There is a marginal addition in the MS, relating to the *power of music* over serpents, and some other circumstances, so extraordinary, that as that MS. is not likely ever to be published, I would set it down here, and leave it to my readers to make what reflexions upon it they please. *It appears, says the margin, that all the teeth of a serpent are not venomous, because those that charm them will cause their serpents to bite them till they draw blood, and yet the wound will not swell. Adders will swell at the sound of a flute, raising themselves up on the one half of their body, turning the other part about, and beating proper time; being wonderfully delighted with the music, and following the instrument. It's head, before round and long, like an eel, it spreads out broad and flat, like a fan. Adders and serpents twist them-*

themselves round the neck and naked body of young children, belonging to those that charm them. At Surat, an Armenian seeing one of them making an adder bite his flesh, without receiving any injury, said, I can do that; and causing himself to be wounded in the hand, he died in less than two hours.

A serpent's possessing a musical ear, its keeping time in its motions with the harmony, its altering the shape of its head, are circumstances which, if true, are very wonderful ¹.]

VIII.

OBSERVATION XV.

When the Grand Signior ordered the Bashaw of Damascus to make the Emir Faccardine a prisoner, whom I mentioned under the eleventh Observation, Faccardine shut himself up in the hollow of a great rock, with a small number of his officers, where the Bashaw besieged him some months, who was on the point of blowing up the rock, when the Emir surrendered on some conditions, Nov. 12, 1634. A lively comment, I have always thought this, on Samson's retiring, after various exploits against the Philistines, to the top of the rock Etam; and on his surrendering himself afterwards into the hands of the men of Judah, sent by the Philistines to take him.

Nor is this to be supposed a kind of defence, which Samson and Faccardine made

¹ See however Shaw's Travels, p. 411.

use of, merely from their being unable, on the account of a surprize, to recover some place of greater safety; they were considered as very strong places, and made use of frequently in that country in the time of the Croisades, by those Christians that went from the West, and were perfectly well acquainted with the manner of fortifying places in Europe in that age¹. One of those places, which the history of the Croisades mentions, was in the territory of Sidon; but in the days of the Prophets, *Edom* seems to have been distinguished from the other Eastern nations by this sort of fastnesses, Obad. v. 3, 4. Jer. xlix. 16.

The caves, the rocks, the high places, and the dens, which we read of 1 Sam. xiii. 6, and Judges vi. 2, seem to have been, at least some of them, places of much less strength, answerable to those places to which people retired in the time of the Croisades for a little shelter, but out of which they were soon forced²: safety in them being rather to be hoped for from their secrecy than their strength.

One of the writers in the *Gesta Dei per Francos* speaks of the inhabitants of the region called *Traconitis*, as usually living in caves³; but I do not remember that the Scriptures any where directly refer to such habitations, at least I presume that is not

¹ Vide *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 914, 946, 962, 1026. P. 405, 734, 781. ³ P. 895.

the meaning of the Edomites making their nests on high, which the Prophets Obadiah and Jeremiah speak of.

Remarks of this kind, in general, have been frequently made, I am very sensible; all that I pretend to, in this article, is the illustrating some passages a little more particularly than has been done before me.

IX.

OBSERVATION XVI.

The Archbishop of Tyre tells us, that the Christian kings of Jerusalem used to assemble their forces at a *fountain* between Nazareth and Sepphoris, which was greatly celebrated on that account. This being looked upon to be nearly the centre of their kingdom, they could from thence, consequently, march most commodiously to any place where their presence was wanted¹. He mentions also another *fountain* near a town called Little Gerinum, which he says was the ancient Jezreel; near this Saladin pitched his camp, for the benefit of its waters², while Baldwin king of Jerusalem had, as usual, assembled his army at the first-mentioned place.

This solicitude in the princes of these sultry climates to pitch near fountains; this mention that is made of one by Jezreel; this custom of assembling their armies in the centre of their kingdom; all serve to illus-

¹ *Gesta Dei &c.* p. 991, 1027, 1036, 1037. ² P. 1037.

trate the 1 Sam. xxix. 1, which speaks of the encampment of Israel at a fountain, considerably distant from the proper country of the Philistines, just before the fatal battle which concluded the reign of Saul. If the Philistines had extended their territories at this time to Mount Carmel³; if they were wont to make their irruptions into the land of Israel that way, in that age; or if Saul had received intelligence of such a design at this time; these circumstances, or any of them, would farther explain the propriety of this pitching by the fountain of Jezreel: but what William of Tyre says about the managements of the Christian kings of Jerusalem of his days, and of their predecessors, is *alone* a more clear illustration of this passage than commentators have furnished us with.

And perhaps this may serve to explain Psalm lxviii. 26, “ Bless ye God in the congregations, even the Lord, *from the fountain of Israel.*” The exact word of the original which is translated congregations, occurs no where else, I think, in the Scripture; but a word derived from the same root, and consequently near akin to it, means the assembly of Israel gathered together for war, Judges xx. 2, Ch. xxi. 8, 1 Sam. xvii. 47, Gen. xlix. 6. Water must have been as necessary for those ancient ar-

³ Vide Relandi Pal. p. 77.

mies of Israel, as for the less numerous ones of the Christian kings of Jerusalem; it is natural therefore to suppose they used to assemble near some plentiful fountain, and as natural to suppose they generally made use of one and the same fountain, as that the princes of the cross should; whether that between Sepphoris and Nazareth, or that by Jezreel, or any other, it nothing concerns us here to determine. That place must have been well known in those days, and might, in the language of poetry, be as well called the *fountain of Israel*, as be marked out by its particular name, *Bless God in your warlike assemblies, even the Lord, from the fountain of Israel, the stated place of your rendezvous; for the Lord shall bless you in your consultations there, and you may march from thence with songs of praise, and confident hopes of success* ⁴.

There are other places in the *Gesta Dei per Francos* ⁵, and other places in the Scripture ⁶, which speak of the pitching near fountains; might not an exact account of the fountains of this country serve to settle many points of geography, relating to the places where the armies of the Old Testament times encamped?

⁴ See 2 Chron. 20. 21.

⁵ P. 982, 993, 1027.

⁶ So the army of Ithi-betheth sat down by the pool of Gibeon, 2 Sam. 2. 12, 13.

OBSERVATION XVII.

X.

As a plentiful fountain was very necessary, in that country, in those places in which they were wont to rendezvous, so the want of water must have been very terrible in any after-encampments, in their pursuing a war, and especially when they had to stay any time in such a place.

The thought then of Hezekiah, who proposed to his princes the *stopping of all fountains*, and the *brook that ran through the midst of the land*, when Sennacherib was making his approaches to Jerusalem, was on this account very natural; but it may be thought to be a proof of the great simplicity of antiquity, to entertain such a thought, and more so, if he was able to effect his scheme. How could *fountains* and a *brook* be so stopped as totally to be concealed? How easy was it for such a mighty army as the Assyrian to sink a multitude of wells?

But odd as this contrivance may seem, it was actually made use of at the same place, many centuries after Hezekiah's time, and greatly perplexed an *European* army, and that too assembled from *various* warlike countries. For William of Tyre, describing the besieging of Jerusalem by the Croises in 1099, tells us, that its inhabitants having had advice of their coming, *stopped up* the mouths of their fountains and cisterns for five or six

miles round the city, that being overwhelmed with thirst, they might be obliged to desist from their design of besieging it. This management of theirs occasioned, he informs us, infinite trouble afterward to the Christian army; the inhabitants in the mean time not only having plenty of rain-water, but enjoying the benefit of the springs too, without the town, their waters being conveyed by aqueducts into two very large basons within it¹. These precautions indeed did not hinder the Croises from persevering in the siege from June 7 to July 15, and succeeding at last; but he says, the army was distressed with thirst in the most terrible manner, notwithstanding it had the assistance of some of the Christian inhabitants of Bethlehem and Tekoa, who being in the army, in considerable numbers, conducted the people to fountains at four or five miles distance. For as for the nearer neighbourhood of Jerusalem, it was a very dry and unwatered soil, having scarce any brooks, or fountains, or pits of fresh water, and all those they filled up with dust, and by other means, as much as they could; and either broke down the cisterns of rain-water, or maliciously hid them, that they might be of no advantage to the pilgrims. And as for those distant fountains to which they were conducted, there was such pressing, and hindering one another from drawing, that it was with diffi-

¹ *Gesta Dei &c.*, p. 749.

culty, and after long delays, that they got a little muddy water in their leather-bottles, of which a draught could not be purchased but at an extravagant rate. As for the fountain of Siloam, which was near, sometimes it had no water, and sometimes when it had, it was not agreeable to drink, so that it did not afford a sufficient supply to the army by any means. The men however made a shift, one way or another, to save themselves from perishing by thirst; but the horses, mules, asses, flocks, and herds, died in great numbers, and occasioned a dangerous pestilential corruption of the air. The besieged in the mean while, by their frequent sallies, cut off great numbers of those that were dispersed about in search of provisions and forage².

What the Archbishop of Tyre has said, concerning the *nature* of the country about Jerusalem, shews the impracticability of an army's supplying itself with water by sinking of wells; springs in the earth being rare there, and the soil on the contrary extremely dry. It shews also how easily such wells as have a supply of water may be concealed, which are what the term translated fountains in the 2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4. frequently means³, and what Hezekiah *must* mean, since there was no fountain to form any brook in the near neighbourhood of Jerusalem, excepting that of Siloam, as St. Jerome ex-

² Gesta Dei &c, p. 751, 752.

³ See Gen. xxiv.

preſsly affirms, in his Commentary on Jeremiah xiv⁴, which the accounts of travellers of later ages have confirmed.

That ſtream that flowed from Siloam is, I preſume, the *brook* that Hezekiah ſpeaks of, which in the time of the Croifades was not, it ſhould ſeem, attempted to be ſtopped up. What the cauſe of that was we are not told, but it ſeems the waters of ſome ſprings without the city were conveyed into Jeruſalem at that time; and that Solomon in his reign had attempted to do the like, as to part of the water of the ſprings of Bethlehem, and effected it⁵: it was no wonder then that Hezekiah ſhould think of introducing the waters of Siloam in like manner into the city, in order at once to deprive the beſiegers of its waters, and benefit the inhabitants of Jeruſalem by them. Probably it was done in the ſame manner that Solomon brought the waters of Bethlehem thither, that is, by collecting the water of the ſpring or ſprings into a ſubterraneous reſervoir, and from thence, by a concealed aqueduct, conveying them into Jeruſalem, with this difference, that Solomon took only part of the Bethlehem water, leaving the reſt to flow into thoſe celebrated pools which remain to this day; whereas Hezekiah turned all the water of Si-

⁴ Uno quippe fonte Silœ, & hoc non perpetuo utitur civitas, & uſque in præſentem diem ſterilitas pluviarum, non ſolum frugum, ſed & bibendi inopiam facit. ⁵ Maundrell, p. 89, 90.

loam into the city, absolutely stopping up the outlet into the pool, and filling it up with earth, that no trace of it might be seen by the Assyrian. Which seems indeed to be the account of the sacred writer, 2 Chron. xxxii. 30, "This same Hezekiah also stopped " the upper water-course of Gihon," (which is another name for Siloam,) "and brought " it streight down to the west side of the " city of David." Thus our translators express it: but the original may as well be rendered, "Hezekiah stopped the *upper going* " *out* of the waters of Gihon, and directed " them *underneath* to the west of the city " of David;" and so Pagninus and Arias Montanus understand the passage—he stopped up, that is, the outlet of the waters of Gihon into the open air, by which they were wont to pass into the pool of Siloam, and became a *brook*, and by some subterraneous contrivance directed the waters to the west side of Jerusalem.

But besides these methods of stopping up wells, and breaking down cisterns, the same writer⁶ informs us of another way the Eastern people have sometimes practised, to deprive their enemies of the use of their waters; that is, the throwing into them such filth as rendered them not drinkable. This was done in particular by the people at a place called Bofferet. Accident also has sometimes, after much the same manner, made them unfit for

⁶ Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 1031.

drinking:

drinking : so, in describing the expedition of Baldwin III. against the same town, he says, that his army underwent very great thirst at that time ; for passing through the country of Traconitis, which hath no fountains, only cisterns of rain-water, it happened that at the time he passed through it, these cisterns were rendered usefess by means of the locusts, which had a little before swarmed to an uncommon degree, and dying, had occasioned such putrefaction in their waters, as to render the drinking them insupportable⁷. It is not impossible that the *corrupt spring* that Solomon alludes to, Prov. xxv. 26, and to which he compares a *righteous man slain by a wicked one*, whose promised usefulness was by that means cut off, might intend a receptacle of water made usefess after this manner ; though it must be allowed that the corrupting a rill of water, by making it muddy, is as natural an interpretation.

XI.

OBSERVATION XVIII.

Dr. Shaw mentions a beautiful rill in Barbary, which is received into a large basin, called Shrub we krub, (drink and away,) there being great danger of meeting there with rogues and assassins¹. If such places are proper for the lurking of murderers in times of peace, they must be proper for the lying in ambush in times of war ; a circum-

⁷ *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 895.

¹ P. 20.

stance that Deborah takes notice of in her song, Judges v. 11.

But the writer that is placed first in that collection which is intituled *Gesta Dei per Francos*, gives a more perfect comment still on that passage: for, speaking of the want of water that the Croisade army so severely felt, at the siege of Jerusalem, he complains, that besides their being forced to use water that stunk, and barley-bread, their people were in *continual danger* from the Saracens, who lying hid *near all the fountains, and places of water*, every where destroyed numbers of them, and carried off their cattle ².

To which may be added a story from William of Tyre, relating to Godfrey duke of Lorraine, afterwards king of Jerusalem, who stopping short of Antioch five or six miles, (to which place he was returning,) in order to take some refreshment in a pleasant grassy place *near a fountain*, was suddenly set upon, it seems, by a number of horsemen of the enemy, who rushed out of a *reedy fenny place* near them, and set upon the duke and his people ³.

OBSERVATION XIX.

XII.

But though Hezekiah stopped up the wells of water, &c, Sennacherib however boasted that he was not afraid of wanting *water*, or of being reduced to get it with

² P. 27.³ P. 734, 735.

hazard or difficulty from small fountains at a distance ; which *boast* was perhaps occasioned by an account he had heard, of the precautions taken by Hezekiah : “ I have digged
 “ and drank *strange waters*, and with the
 “ *sole of my feet* have I dried up all the rivers
 “ of besieged” (or fenced) “ places,” (or of Ægypt, as others understand it,) 2 Kings xix. 24.

The curious Vitringa admires ¹ the explanation Grotius has given, of that watering with the foot by which Ægypt was distinguished from Judæa ², derived from an observation made on Philo, who lived in Ægypt, Philo having described a machine used by the peasants of that country for watering, as wrought by the *feet* ; which sort of watering Dr. Shaw has since understood of the gardener’s putting a stop to the farther flowing of the water in the rill, in which those things were planted that wanted watering, by turning the earth against it *with his foot* ³. Great respect is due to so candid and ingenious a traveller as Dr. Shaw ; I must however own, that I apprehend the meaning of Moses is more truly represented by Grotius than the Doctor. For Moses seems to intend to represent the *great labour* of this way of watering by the foot, which the working that instrument really was, on which account it seems to be laid aside in Ægypt since the time of Philo, and easier methods of raising

¹ In Com. in Jesaiam. ² Deut. 11. 10. ³ P. 408.

the water made use of; whereas the turning the earth with the foot, which Dr. Shaw speaks of, is the least part of the labour of watering. If it should be remarked, that this machine was not older than Archimedes, which has been supposed, I would by way of reply observe, that the more ancient Ægyptian machines might be equally wrought with the foot, and were undoubtedly more laborious still, as otherwise the invention of Archimedes would not have brought them into disuse.

But though I think the interpretation of Deut. xi. 10. by Grotius is preferable to that of Dr. Shaw, I readily admit that the Doctor's thought may be very naturally applied to these words of Sennacherib, (to which however the Doctor has not applied it;) for he seems to boast, that he could *as easily* turn the water of great rivers, and cause their old channels to become dry, as a gardener stops the water from flowing any longer *in a rill by the sole of his foot*.

And as the gardener stops up one rill, and opens another with his mattock⁺, to let in the water; so, says Sennacherib, I have *digged* and drank *strange* waters, waters, that is, that did not heretofore flow in the places I have made them flow in. This is the easiest interpretation that can, I believe, be given to the word *strange*, made use of by this Assyrian prince, and makes the whole verse a

⁺ See Shaw in the last cited place.

reference to the Eastern way of watering: *I have digged channels, and drank, and caused my army to drink out of new-made rivers, into which I have conducted the waters that used to flow elsewhere, and have laid those old channels dry with the sole of my foot, with as much ease as a gardener digs channels in his garden, and directing the waters of a cistern into a new rill, with his foot stops up that in which it before ran.*

In confirmation of all which, let it be remembered, that this way of watering by rills is in use in those countries from whence Sennacherib came⁵; continued down from ancient times there, without doubt, as it is in Ægypt.

The understanding those words of the Psalmist, Pf. lxxv. 9, “Thou visitest the earth and waterest it, thou greatly enrichest it with the *river of God*,” of the watering it as by a rill of water, makes an easy and beautiful sense; the rain being to the earth in general the same thing from God, that a watering-rill, or little river, is to a garden from man.

XIII.

OBSERVATION XX.

As the people of these countries endeavoured to distress those that came to besiege them, by concealing their waters, so those on the other hand frequently cut down the

⁵ Thevenot, part 2. p. 50, 51.

most valuable trees of their enemies. This Moses forbad to be done in Canaan; but the Moabites were punished after this manner, according to 2 Kings iii. 19, 25.

The Arabs of the Holy-Land, we are told, still make war after this manner on each other, burning the corn, *cutting down the olive-trees*, carrying off the sheep, and doing one another all possible damage; excepting that these Arabian villagers never touch one another's lives¹. The Turks in like manner are wont to cut down the mulberry-trees of the Maronites, which are of great importance to them for feeding their silk-worms, (silk being one of the greatest articles their country affords,) when they would distress those poor Christians: so Dr. Pococke tells us, he himself, when he visited Mount Lebanon, saw a great number of their young mulberry-trees, which had been cut down by a Pasha, who had some demands upon them which they could not answer².

OBSERVATION XXI.

XIV.

But besides fortified towns and cities, we find that in the time of the Croisades they were wont to have *towers*, for the people of *open towns* to fly to in time of danger.

¹ See Egmont and Heyman, vol. i. p. 303, and p. 329. Haffelquist, p. 143, 144. ² Vol. 2. p. 97.

Thus in the reign of Baldwin II, when the strength of the kingdom was collected together to the siege of Tyre, the people of Afcalon suddenly invaded the country about Jerufalem, William of Tyre telleth us, and put to the fword the greateft part of the inhabitants of a town called Mahomeria, five or fix miles from Jerufalem; but the old men, the women, and the children, by be-taking themselves to a *tower*, escaped¹.

Towers of this fort seem to have been used very anciently. Judges ix. 51. gives us a story exactly like the Archbishop's; and the mention of them in the Old Testament history shews the dangerousness of those times².

¹ Gesta Dei &c, p. 840. [² Sir John Chardin, in his MS, cannot admit that it was only a *piece* of a mill-stone that was thrown on the head of Abimelech, and occasioned his death: he supposes it was one of the two mill-stones, which was thrown down whole and entire by the woman. This arose doubtless from his observing the *smallness* of the stones used in their hand-mills; and that it was not so natural to suppose the pieces of a broken mill-stone should be at hand on this occasion as a whole one. The error of our translation, if it be one, is not so evident to me as to this writer: I cannot, however, but observe here, that Sir John's way of rendering the words seemeth to be very much favoured by Job 41. 24, "His heart is as firm as a *stone*, yea, as hard as a piece of the nether mill-stone." They might very well think it right to place the hardest mill-stone below; but is a *piece* harder than a stone that is whole? A mill is composed of two pieces of stone; and I should think it is sufficiently plain that the words *there* are to be understood of the *lower piece*, not of a fragment of that lower piece.]

There were anciently towers also in their vineyards, If. v. 2, and Matt. xxi. 33, are proofs of it; and it should seem in their gardens, Cant. vii. 4. They have also retained *these towers* in the East. So Marcus Sanutus tells us, that the inhabitants of Ptolemais beat down the *towers of their gardens* to the ground, and removed the stones of them, together with those of their burying-place, upon the approach of the Tartars in one thousand two hundred and sixty³. Sandys also speaks of numbers of them in the country between Jerufalem and Bethlehem⁴; and Maundrell mentions the same sort of edifices, in his more modern account of the gardens of Damascus⁵; which confirms the account William of Tyre gives us of the gardens of the Levant in the twelfth century⁶.

To a tower of this last kind, it is to be imagined, our Lord refers in Luke xiv. 28: for I can hardly think, with some commentators, that he is speaking of the slight and unexpensive buildings in a vineyard, which indeed are sometimes so slight as to consist only of four poles with a floor on the top of them, to which they ascend by a ladder⁷; but rather of those elegant turrets erected in

³ *Gesta Dei per Francos*, tom. 2. p. 221. ⁴ P. 137.
⁵ P. 122. ⁶ *Erant præterea intra ipsa pomeriorum septa, domus eminentes & excelsæ, quas viris pugnaturis communierant, &c. Gesta Dei &c.*, p. 911. ⁷ See Pococke, vol. 2. p. 137.

gardens, where the Eastern people of fortune spend some considerable part of their time.

These towers are not designed for strength, but pomp, and perhaps convenience and pleasure. Nor do those *other towers*, designed for safety in times of danger, seem to have been very strong, but rather intended for a *short defence* in those unquiet times, when enemies were wont to make sudden irruptions into that country, and as suddenly retreat: for when Saladine could not force the city of Berytus, but thought fit to draw off, he nevertheless could, and did, demolish all the towers of the adjacent villages⁸. So Baldwin II, of Jerusalem⁹, returning victorious from fighting with the king of Damascus, forced a tower in his way home, in which were ninety-six of his enemies; and undermined another, in which were twenty, who were obliged to give it up without any farther difficulty, upon which he entirely demolished it¹⁰. Gideon in like manner seems without much difficulty to have demolished the *tower* of Penuel, Judges viii. 9, 17.

⁸ *Gesta Dei* &c, p. 1030. ⁹ P. 844. ¹⁰ William of Tyre mentions another tower in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, built of unburnt brick, but fled to for refuge, which being *undermined*, fell upon the prince that was endeavouring to take it, and well-nigh crushed him to death. *Gesta Dei*, p. 853.

OBSERVATION XXII.

XV.

William of Tyre describes a country not far from the Euphrates, as inhabited by Syrian and Armenian Christians, who fed great flocks and herds there, but were in subjection to the Turks, who though few in number, yet living in strong places among them, kept them under, and received tribute from these poor peasants who inhabited the villages, and employed themselves in country business¹.

I do not know whether this may not give us a truer view, of the design of those *towers* that Uzziah built in the wilderness, mentioned 2 Chron. xxvi. 10, than commentators have done², who have supposed they were conveniences made for sheltering the shepherds from bad weather, or to defend them from the incursions of enemies; for they might rather be designed to keep the nations that pastured there in awe—to prevent their disputing with his servants about wells³, and also to induce them quietly to pay that tribute to which the seventh and eighth verses seem to refer.

OBSERVATION XXIII.

[People too retired to the *mountains* anciently when defeated in war: they do so still.

¹ P. 950.

² See Patrick upon the place.

³ See

Gen. 21. 25, and ch. 26. 20, 21.

Dr. Shaw indeed seems to suppose, that there was no greater safety in the *hills* than in the *plains* of this country: *that there were few or no places of difficult access; and that both of them laid equally exposed to the insults and outrages of an enemy*, page 340. But in this point this ingenious writer seems to be mistaken: since, as we find that those that remained of the armies of the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fled *to the mountains*, in the days of Abraham, Gen. xiv. 10; so d'Arvieux tells us, that the rebel peasants of the Holy-Land, who were defeated while he was in that country by the Arabs, in the plain of Gonin, *fled towards the mountains, whither the Arabs could not pursue them at that time*¹.

So in like manner, the Archbishop of Tyre tells us, that Baldwin IV, one of the Croisade Kings of Jerusalem, ravaging a place called the Valley of Bacar, a country remarkably fruitful, *the inhabitants fled to the mountains, whither our troops could not easily follow them*².

This flying to hills and mountains for safety, is frequently alluded to in Scripture.]

XVI.

OBSERVATION XXIV.

In the Croisade wars, their encampments seem often to have been much less strong

¹ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 78, 79. ² Ad quos non erat facile iter nostris pervium. Gestæ Dei, p. 1003.

than

than in modern times, and we may believe that of Saul, when he pursued after David, was still less guarded.

One can hardly imagine then, that the Hebrew word *Magnagal* signifies a ditch and bank thrown up, 1 Sam. xxvi. 5, as one would suppose our translators apprehended, from their using the word *trench*; for it appears from the story that they took no precautions against David. Nor doth it seem to mean a *ring of carriages*, as it is supposed in the margin, and as Buxtorf interprets the word¹, for most probably the passing of carriages was impracticable in that mountainous country. It seems simply then to mean *the round* these troops formed, in the midst of which, as in the place of honour, Saul slept.

The view D'Arvieux gives us of a modern Arab camp agrees perfectly well with this account of Saul, only supposing, that for the sake of expedition they carried no tents with them; for he tells us, an Arab camp is always *round* when the disposition of the ground will permit, *the prince being in the middle*, and the Arabs about him, but so as to leave a respectful distance between them². Add to this, that their *lances are fixed near them in the ground* all the day long, ready for action³.

¹ Vide Buxtorfii Epit. Rad. Heb. Pal. p. 173, 174.

² Voy. dans la

³ P. 169.

When David is represented as sometimes secreting himself in the night, when he was with his armies, instead of lodging with the people, 2 Sam. xvii. 8, 9, it is to be supposed to refer to his not lodging in the middle of the camp, which was the proper place for a king, the better to avoid any surprize from enemies.

XVII.

OBSERVATION XXV.

The 2 Sam. xi. 1. *seems* to suppose, there was one particular *time of the year* to which the operations of war were limited. This however was not observed *in that country* in the time of the Croisades, as we may assuredly collect from the writers of those times, and as may be learnt from the following table: for there being no index to the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, I have taken the pains to mark down the times when such and such military exploits were performed, that William of Tyre and the other Croisade writers have particularly mentioned, so far as I have observed them; by which it appears, that the princes of the East and of the West in those wars confined themselves to no particular time.

We meet however with traces of these limitations elsewhere: so Sir John Chardin, speaking of the Basha of Basra, who endeavoured in his time to erect himself into
an

an independent sovereign, tells us¹, that
 “ perceiving in the spring, that the Turkish
 “ armies were prepared to thunder upon
 “ him the next *September* or *October*, (for
 “ the heat of those climates will not permit
 “ them to take the field sooner,) he sent
 “ before-hand to offer his territory to the
 “ king of Persia.”² The contrary however
 obtained in the Croisade wars, of which the
 proofs follow.

THE T A B L E.

J A N U A R Y.

All the forces of the kingdom of Jerusalem assembled together in this month, and a long and severe fight ensued between Baldwin II. and the king of Damascus, near the last-mentioned city, on the twenty-eighth day of it, *Gesta Dei*, p. 843, 844.

Assembled again, and began the siege of Ascalon, p. 923.

All the forces of this kingdom of Jerusalem, as well horse as foot, assembled again

¹ [In his MS, which I have frequently cited, he supposes April was the time kings were wont to go out to war. His words (in a note on 2 Sam. xi. 1,) are, “ Roys
 “ & armées ne sortent que quand y a de l’herbe a la campagne pour les bestes, & qu’on peut camper, c. en
 “ Avril.” That is, *Kings and armies do not march but when there is grass, and when they can encamp, which time is April.* Different countries may find different seasons most convenient for marching; but it seems religious animosity made them do what national complaints would not.]

² *Coron. of Solyman III.* p. 146.

in the time of king Amalric, and fet out on the thirtieth for Ægypt, p. 963.

FEBRUARY.

Baldwin I. having affembled all his troops, began the fiege of Berytus in this month, and continued it to the twenty-feventh of April, when he took it, p. 803, 804.

Siege of Tyre began by the Patriarch of Jerufalem, February the fifteenth, p. 830, which held till July, when Tyre was furrendered, p. 439.

MARCH.

Turks fet out for the country about Jordan in March, which they harraffed for three months, p. 372.

Rapfanea befieged eighteen days together, by the Count of Tripoli and Baldwin II. of Jerufalem, and taken the laft day of this month, p. 845.

APRIL.

The united forces of the kingdoms of Jerufalem and Damafcus came before Paneas the firft of May, having been affembled to oppofe the Turkish prince of Aleppo, who entering the kingdom of Damafcus, came as far as a place called Rafaline, and continued fome time with his army there, till, finding the forces of thefe two kingdoms were united together againft him, he drew off; after which, they fat down before Paneas : the
move-

movements consequently that preceded the siege of Paneas must have been in April, p. 876, 877.

MAY.

Fight between Baldwin I. and a great Ægyptian army, not far from Ascalon, in the middle of May, p. 413. Another fight between an Ægyptian army and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, near Ascalon, in this month, p. 432.

In consequence of a general meeting at Acco, all the troops of the kingdom of Jerusalem were assembled at Tiberias, the twenty-fifth of May, from whence they marched against Damascus, and after some time returned unsuccessful, p. 910—914.

JUNE.

Baldwin I. set out for the relief of Edeffa, besieged by the Turks, p. 362; and again for the relief of a place near Mount Tabor, in the end of June, p. 372.

Baldwin III. after having raised the siege of Paneas, fell into an ambush, and had his army routed with great slaughter, the 19th of June, p. 941.

JULY.

A successful expedition of Godfrey king of Jerusalem against some Arabs in this month, p. 775.

Bald-

Baldwin II. crossed Jordan with his army against the king of Damascus, and some Arabs allied with him, p. 430.

A battle between Baldwin III. and Noradine, on the fifteenth day of it, p. 946.

And in the reign of Amalric, Saladine came against him with a great army out of Ægypt in July, whither he returned the end of the following September, p. 993.

AUGUST.

Baldwin II. gained a great victory over a powerful Turk, the king of Damascus, and the prince of the Arabs, on the fourteenth of August, p. 823.

Noradine gained a great victory over the Christian prince of Antioch, &c, on the tenth of this month, p. 960, 961.

Baldwin IV. assembled his troops on the first of this month, and marched into the territories of the kingdom of Damascus, p. 1003.

The beginning of this month Saladine besieged Berytus, and his Ægyptian troops besieged a place in the southern border of the kingdom of Jerusalem, p. 1029.

SEPTEMBER.

Great fight between Baldwin I. and the Ægyptians on the eighth of Sept. p. 313.

Amalric assembled a great army against Ægypt, and on the first of September went down thither, p. 958.

OCTO-

OCTOBER.

The same prince, having assembled his forces, set out again for Ægypt about the middle of October, and besieging Pelusium, took it the third of November, p. 978.

NOVEMBER.

Baldwin I. set out from Jerusalem to besiege Tyre on the eve of St. Andrew, (November 29,) p. 370.

Baldwin IV. gave Saladine a great overthrow on the twenty-fifth of this month, not far from Ascalon, p. 1010.

DECEMBER.

Baruth besieged by Baldwin I. in December, p. 362.

Baldwin II. marched with a view to take Damascus, but soon after his arrival in its neighbourhood, he was obliged to return home by the violence of the rains, which fell about the sixth of December, p. 849.

Saladine having assembled his Ægyptian forces, and those of the kingdom of Damascus, attacked a place belonging to the king of Jerusalem in this month, against whom Amalric marched from Ascalon on the eighteenth of December, p. 986.

An expedition undertaken in December, 1182, under the conduct of the Count of Tripoli, for which they prepared provision and forage for fifteen days; and on the fifteenth

teenth of this month the king of Jerufalem himself fet out againſt Damafcus, and ravaged the country about it, p. 1033.

We meet then, in theſe hiſtorians, with expeditions or battles in every month of the year. There is, however, one ſtory which the Archbiſhop of Tyre tells us, that ſeems to confirm Sir John Chardin's account, and to ſhew, that though the *active and ſuperſtitious* zeal of thoſe times might not regard it, the ſummer was no proper time for war in thoſe countries; and that is where he tells us, that in a battle fought between Baldwin IV. and Saladine, *in Galilee*, as many perished in both armies by the violence of the heat as by the ſword³. But I muſt add, that it is obſerved by the hiſtorian, that the violence of the heat which proved ſo deadly to the ſoldiers of Baldwin and Saladine, was much greater than uſual,

XVIII.

OBSERVATION XXVI.

The account of that expedition of Baldwin II. in December, mentioned under that month in the preceding article, when given more at large, is this. That Baldwin, with other princes, marching to Damafcus, fully reſolved to take it by ſurrender or ſtorm, met with a check in foraging, which enraged the army ſo much, that they immediately

³ Geſta Dei, p. 1028.

flew

flew to their arms, to chastise the affront without more delay: *when suddenly God, against whose will men can do nothing, sent such violent showers, such darkness in the sky, such difficulty in the roads, by means of the vast quantities of water in them, that scarce any one could hope for life. Which the darkness of the air, and thickness of the clouds, the irregular blowing of the winds, also the thunders and continual lightnings, signified before-hand. But as the human mind is ignorant of futurity, they did not attend to the Divine patience calling to desist, but, on the contrary, strove to proceed in an impossible attempt. The intemperateness of the weather however obliged them, this author observes, to desist; and made them, who had been at first such a terror to their enemies that they had no hopes of escaping, look upon it to be a mighty thing to be able to get back again* ¹.

I cite this long account from William of Tyre, because it may be considered as a comment on 1 Sam. vii. 10, 11, “The Philistines drew near to battle against Israel: but the Lord *thundered with a great thunder* on that day upon the Philistines, and *discomfited* them, and they were smitten before Israel; and the men of Israel went out of Mizpeh, and pursued the Philistines, and smote them, until, &c.” In this however they differed, that the people

¹ *Gesta Dei &c.*, p. 849.

of Damascus did not improve the advantage with the vigour that Israel did.

XIX.

OBSERVATION XXVII.

Had hail been mingled with the rain, Baldwin's army would have been in a still more dangerous situation: such hail as that Albertus Aquensis describes, which fell when Baldwin I. was with his army in the mountains of Arabia, beyond the dead sea; at the top of which, he telleth us, they had to encounter with the *greatest dangers*, from an horrible hail, terrible ice, unheard-of rain and snow, which were such, that thirty of the foot died with cold ¹.

Something of this kind, I presume, the Canaanites suffered in their flight from Joshua, in a *mountainous* part of Judæa, Joshua x. 11. But it must have been *much more destructive* to people that were fleeing before their enemies, than to those Albertus mentions; as they doubtless had thrown away their clothes in part for the sake of expedition ², dared not to stop for shelter, and were running along in a mountainous place, among precipices ³.

OBSER-

¹ Gesta Dei &c, p. 307.

² See 2 Kings 7. 15.

³ The danger of which is sufficiently seen, in the account William of Tyre has given of the flight of some Turks that came to take Jerusalem, but were received by the inhabitants with such gallantry, that fleeing from them, along the mountainous road that leads from that city to Jordan,

OBSERVATION XXVIII.

XX.

Saladine's army, which was defeated by Baldwin IV. near Gaza, suffered in like manner in their flight by rain and cold; but I mention it not to illustrate either Joshua x. 11, or 1 Sam. vii. 10, 11, but on the account of its being a picture *in other respects* of the flight of the Syrians, mentioned 2 Kings vii. 15. "And they went after them
 " unto Jordan, and lo, all the way was full
 " of garments and vessels, which the Syrians
 " had cast away in their haste."

Saladine's army in like manner, being vigorously pursued till night came on, and as far as a certain standing water, surrounded with reeds, twelve miles off, were continually cut off in great numbers. To fly therefore with greater expedition, they threw away their *arms* and *clothes*, and abandoned their baggage, and by this means some of those that were strongest, and had swift horses', escaped; the rest were killed or taken.

Jordan, many of them fell headlong down the precipices, and miserably perished, *Gesta Dei*, &c. p. 922, 923. [1 D'Arvieux tells us, *the Arabs generally ride mares, as more proper for their purpose; experience having taught them, that they can better endure fatigue, hunger, and thirst, than male animals of that species; they are also more gentle, less vicious, and produce annually a foal.* He adds, that *their mares never neigh, and are therefore more proper for their lying in ambush.* *Voy. dans la Palestine*, chap. 11. The translators of the Septuagint seem to have had the same

taken. Those that escaped as far as the above-mentioned fenny place, if they had any thing of weight *still* remaining, such as coats of mail, or greaves of iron, threw them among the reeds, or still farther into the water itself, that they might move quicker, and that the armour, being concealed in the water, might neither be of any after-service to the Christians, nor be kept by them as trophies of their victory. But in vain: for those that closely pursued them, diligently searched that place, that night and the following day, and with proper instruments quickly found what they had concealed in it; “and we have been informed,” says the historian, “by people of credit, “ who were eye-witnesses, that an hundred “ coats of mail were drawn out of that “ place in one day, besides iron boots, and “ things which, though of less weight, were “ both useful and valuable.” He then mentions how miserably these naked fugitives were harrassed with incessant rains, and unusual cold weather, which began the next day, and continued ten days together².

same notion, translating that word which our version renders *stalls* by a term which signifies *females*, 1 Kings 4. 26, 2 Chron. 9. 25. It doth not appear that their translation is just; but it plainly marks out, that they supposed Solomon's war-horses were, like the modern Arab cavalry, of the female gender. An observation which may not, perhaps, be displeasing to some of my readers, as the Septuagint translation might otherwise appear a very strange one.]
² *Gesta Dei*, p. 1010.

The Syrians, struck with a panic, left many of *their garments* in like manner in the road to Jordan, and of their *vessels*, or *arms*, as I suppose that word means, as Saladine's army did, (for the original word in the book of Kings is known to signify arms as well as vessels,) and the rest *perhaps* were thrown into the *river*.

The *horses* and *asses* that were left in the camp, according to the seventh verse, were doubtless the beasts of burden, used by them for the carriage of their tents and provisions, which their terror made them leave behind; and as the troops of the Syrians seem to have been horse, see 2 Kings vi. 15, it is no wonder they made no use of their heavier moving animals in their flight, but left them.

OBSERVATION XXIX.

XXI:

This flight of the Syrians puts us in mind of another flight of theirs, mentioned in the 1 Kings, in the account of which a circumstance is mentioned that engages attention: “And his servants said unto him,” (Benhadad,) “Behold now, we have heard that the kings of the house of Israel are merciful kings: let us, I pray thee, put sackcloth on our loins, and *ropes upon our heads*, and go out to the king of Israel; peradventure he will save thy life. So they girded sackcloth on their loins, and put

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“ ropes on their heads, and came to the
“ king of Israel ”.

The approaching persons with a *sword hanging to the neck* is, in the East, thought to be a very humble and submissive coming before them. So William of Tyre, describing the great solemnity and humiliation with which the governor of Ægypt, under the Caliph of that country, appeared before his master, tells us, he prostrated himself on the ground thrice, with his sword hanging to his neck, which at the third prostration he took off and laid down ².

And, what is more to the purpose, Thevenot has mentioned this circumstance, in the account he has given of the taking of Bagdat by the Turks, in one thousand six hundred and thirty eight, drawn from a letter, written by a person of distinction in the Turkish army to one of the Sangiacks of Ægypt: for, upon the begging for quarter by the besieged, he that was the *lieutenant and principal officer* of the governor of Bagdat, we are told, went to the Grand Vizier with a *scarf about his neck*, and his *sword wreathed in it*; which is, he says, an *ignominious* mark of submission, and begged, both in his own and master's name, Aman, that is to say, pardon and mercy; and having obtained it, the governor came, and was introduced to the Grand Signior, and obtained not only a confirmation of the pro-

¹ 1 Kings 20. 31, 32.

² Gesta Dei, p. 965.

mise of life that had been made him, but divers presents too of value³.

Thevenot supposed the hanging the sword about the neck was an *ignominious* mark of submission; but its being used by the governor of Ægypt, when he appeared before his master, shews, that though it was an expression of humiliation and *perfect submission*, it was not an *ignominious* one; but a token it undoubtedly was of such respect, as was thought proper for the conquered to pay the victor when they begged their lives; and as such was used, I suppose, by Ben-hadad; for those ropes about the necks of his servants were, I should imagine, what they suspended their swords with, if the customs of later times may be thought to be explanatory of those of elder days, as in the East they often are.

OBSERVATION XXX.

XXII.

Ben-hadad was received to mercy, and treated with respect; and upon this occasion promised to restore to the kingdom of Israel, the cities his father had taken from it, *And thou shalt make, said he to Ahab, streets for thee in Damascus, as my father made in Samaria.*

This was a proposal better relished by Ahab, than understood by commentators. Bishop Patrick tells us, some suppose the

³ Part I. p. 287.

word signifies market-places, where things were sold, the toll of which should belong to Ahab; others think, he meant courts of judicature, where he should exercise a jurisdiction over the Syrians; others, what we now call a piazza¹, of which he should receive the rents; but commonly, he says, interpreters understand by the word fortifications, or citadels, as we now speak; none of which suppositions however, it seems, pleased Gotf. Vallandus, who attempts to prove that palaces are meant, the building of which by Ahab being a great token of subjection in Ben-hadad.

Perhaps the privileges which we know were actually granted to the Venetians, for their aid, by the States of the kingdom of Jerusalem in the time of the captivity of Baldwin II, may more satisfactorily explain these words of Ben-hadad. William of Tyre, the greatest historian of the Croisades, has preserved that ancient instrument², which the curious reader may consult, and in which he will find ample room for the exercise of the talents of an antiquary. It will be sufficient here to observe, that it appears from that convention, as well as from the

¹ Or rather what is called by Rauwolff a fondique, champ, carvatschara, or caravanerie, p. 24, 30, and by others a kane; that is a great house, built like a cloister round a great court-yard, and full of warehouses and apartments, in which foreign merchants are wont to live, or travellers to repair as to an inn.

² *Gesta Dei*,

p. 830, 831.

accounts that he has elsewhere given of the privileges granted to other nations for their assistance, that they were wont to assign *churches*, and to give *streets*, in their towns and cities, to those foreign nations, together with great liberties and jurisdiction in these *streets*. Thus that historian tells us, that the Genoese had a street in Accon, or St. John d'Acre, together with *full jurisdiction* in it, and a church, as a reward for taking that city³, together with a third part of the dues of the port. So the above-mentioned ancient instrument very clearly shews that the Venetians had a *street* also in Accon; and explains what this *full jurisdiction* in a street means, by giving them liberty to have in their street there an oven, mill, bagnio⁴, weights and measures for wine, oil, and honey, if they thought fit, and also to judge causes among themselves, together with as great a jurisdiction over all those that dwelt in their *street and houses*, of whatever nation they might be, as the king of Jerusalem had over others.

May we not believe, that the same, or nearly the same franchises and regalities that were granted the Venetians and Genoese, to

³ P. 791. ⁴ The privilege of having a bagnio of their own, is explained by something mentioned p. 878; as is that of having weights and measures, by a paragraph in p. 124: it appearing that the bagnios paid certain duties to the Eastern princes of those times, who also received some of their dues from weights and measures.

obtain aid from them, the father of Ahab had granted to Ben-hadad's father to obtain peace, and which Ben-hadad, upon this fatal turn of his affairs, proposed to grant to Ahab in Damascus—A quarter for his subjects to live in, and which he should possess, and enjoy the same jurisdiction over, as he did the rest of his kingdom. Such a power in Samaria, and such a making over a part of it to him, in annexing it to the kingdom of Syria, with a right of building such idol-temples as he thought fit, was a sufficient disgrace to the father of Ahab; and the proposing to give Ahab now a like honour in Damascus, an expression of a very abject adulation in Ben-hadad. The things that commentators have mentioned, are either not of importance enough to answer the general representation of matters in the history; or absolutely destructive: a medium is to be sought for.

OBSERVATION XXXI.

[As the Indians of North America are not content with killing their enemies, but produce their *scalps* as proofs of the number they have destroyed; it will not be thought strange, I presume, that *something of the like kind* obtained *anciently* in Asia too, but it is surprizing to find some traces of it *still* there.

These

These ocular proofs of their success in war are agreeable enough to unpolished times: such was the age of Saul, when he required some *unequivocal marks* of David's having destroyed an hundred Philistines, or at least Heathens, and that they should be brought before him, 1 Sam. xviii. 25, 27. But it is somewhat astonishing to find something of the like sort lately practised in so polite a country as Persia; yet the MS. C. assures us, that in the *war of the Persians against the Yuzbecs, the Persians took the beards (of their enemies) and carried them to the king.* Strange custom to be retained!]

OBSERVATION XXXII.

XXIII.

Apprehensive of these fatal turns in war, they were wont anciently to perform very solemn devotions before they went out to battle, and it should seem at particular *places*. So it is said that the Israelites, in the time of Judas the Maccabec, assembled themselves to Maspha, over-against Jerusalem; for that in Maspha was the place where *they prayed aforesaid in Israel*, 1 Macc. iii. 46.

The desolation of the temple, and the Gentiles being in possession of a strong place adjoining to it, might induce Judas to assemble the people at some other place: the forty-fifth verse seems to assign these reasons for it; but that Maspha should be chosen as a place *where they before prayed in Israel on*

such public occasions, is strange, as it doth not appear that either the *Tabernacle* or the *Ark* were ever placed there, in the times preceding the building of the temple at Jerusalem.

Nevertheless, the Apocryphal writer seems to be justified in what he says, by Judges xx. 1, and 1 Sam. vii. 5—7, supposing Maspha means the same place with Mizpah, of which no one doubts. For the first passage teaches us that Israel assembled *before the Lord* at Mizpah, at a time when the *Ark* was at Bethel, according to the twenty-seventh verse of that chapter; and by the second it appears that Samuel convened the people at Mizpah, in order to prepare them by *solemn devotions* for war with the Philistines, and that the Philistines understood a meeting of Israel at Mizpah to be introductory to war, and by the first verse of that chapter it appears, that the *Ark* was at that time at Kirjath-Jearim. As for the *Tabernacle*, it is not supposed to have ever been at Mizpah.

I confess this has often perplexed me. A passage I met with in the first volume of Pocke's Travels into the East¹, recalled this difficulty to my mind, with the pleasing thought, that *possibly* it might serve to explain it. What the learned may think of it, I do not know; but I would offer it to their consideration, whether the custom he men-

¹ P. 36.

tions may not be a *remain of ancient Eastern usages.*

Pococke's account is this : “ Near Cairo, “ beyond the Mosque of Sheik Duise, and in “ the neighbourhood of a burial-place of “ the sons of some Pashas, on an hill, is a “ solid building of stone, about three feet “ wide, built with ten steps, being at the “ top about three feet square, on which the “ Sheik mounts to pray on any extraordi- “ nary occasion, when *all the people* go out, “ as at the *beginning of a war*; and here in “ *Ægypt*, when the Nile does not rise as “ they expect it should; and such a place “ they have without all the towns through- “ out Turkey.”

There are several remarkable Mosques, according to Pococke's account, in and about Cairo, one of them of surprizing magnificence, another of great antiquity, yet none of these are made use of, it seems, on these occasions; but this little place near the Mosque of Sheik Duise is appropriated to this service.

Every town in Turkey, according to this author, has such a place. If this is exact, it does not appear however that they were antiently so common in Judæa. Mizpah, if not the only place where prayers of this sort were wont to be made, which indeed we can hardly suppose, was at least celebrated on this account, and was perhaps near some plentiful

plentiful fountain of water², or otherwise proper for the assembling Israel together for war.

OBSERVATION XXXIII.

[It is not a very unusual thing, it seems, in the East, for persons to carry *their whole family* with them, when they go to war.

The mention of *little ones*, as being with Ittai the Gittite, when he attended King David flying before his son Absalom, 2 Sam. xv. 22, appears very strange to us; and for this reason it seems to be, that Sir J. Chardin tells us, in a note on that place, in his MS, that it is *usual with the greatest part of the Eastern people* to do thus, and especially the *Arabs.*]

XXIV.

OBSERVATION XXXIV.

The satisfaction Ben-hadad received, touching the safety of his life, appears to have been by *words*; but it seems that the modern Eastern people, have looked upon the *giving them a banner* as a more sure pledge of protection.

So Albertus Aquensis telleth us, that when Jerusalem was taken in 1099, about three hundred Saracens got upon the roof of a very lofty building, and earnestly begged for quarter, but could not be induced by

² See Observation XVI.

any *promises* of safety to come down, untill they had received the *banner* of Tancred, (one of the chiefs of the Croisade army,) as a pledge of life. It did not indeed avail them, as that historian observes; for their behaviour occasioned such indignation, that they were destroyed to a man¹. The event shewed the faithlessness of these zealots, whom no solemnities could bind; but the Saracens surrendering themselves upon the delivery of a standard to them, proves in what a strong light they looked upon the giving them a banner, since it induced them to trust it, when they would not trust any promises.

Perhaps the delivery of a banner was anciently esteemed, in like manner, an obligation to protect, and that the Psalmist might consider it in this light², when, upon a victory gained over the Syrians and Edomites, after the *public affairs* of Israel had been in a bad state, he says, “Thou hast shewed thy people *hard things*, &c, Thou hast *given a banner* to them that fear thee.” Though thou didst for a time give up thine Israel into the hands of their enemies, thou hast now given them an assurance of thy having received them under thy protection.

When the Psalmist is represented as saying, “Thou hast given a banner to them that fear thee, that it may be *displayed*,” it may be questioned whether it is rightly translated,

¹ *Gesta Dei* &c, p. 282.

² *Pf.* 60. 3, 4.

since

since it is most probable that they used anciently only a spear, properly ornamented, to distinguish it from a common one, as this same Albertus telleth us, that a very long spear, covered all over with silver³, to which another writer⁴ of those Croisade wars adds a ball of gold on the top, was the *standard* of the Ægyptian princes at that time, and carried before their armies. “Thou hast given
 “a banner,” (an ensign, or a standard,) “to
 “them that fear thee, that it may be lifted
 “up,” may perhaps be a better version; or rather, “that they may lift it up to themselves⁵,” or encourage themselves with the confident persuasion that they are under the protection of God, “because of the
 “truth,” thy word of promise⁶, which is an assurance of protection, like the *giving me and my people a banner, the surest of pledges.*

OBSERVATION XXXV.

[Bishop Patrick is silent about the design of the people concerned in the cutting off the head of King Saul, after his death, and the intention of David in taking away with him the head of Goliath, after he had certainly killed him by separating it from his

³ *Gesta Dei* &c, p. 288.
Gesta Dei &c, p. 80.
 conjugation called *Hithpahel*.

⁴ Robertus Monachus.
⁵ For the word is of the
⁶ 1 Chron. 17. 9, 10.

body;

body ; but Sanctius very justly supposes, both were done in a way of triumph¹.

The instances Sanctius has produced, in confirmation of his supposition, are taken from the Roman and Grecian histories ; it will, perhaps, be a considerable addition to our satisfaction, to have some adduced from the managements of people whose customs more nearly resemble those of the Old Testament. I will therefore set down such here.

Barbarossa, Morgan tells us, in his history of Algiers, having conquered the King of Cucco, and his army of African Highlanders, which Prince lost his life in the contest, Barbarossa returned in triumph, *with the slain King's head carried before him on a lance*². This is, I presume, exactly what was done with the head of Saul : it was carried in triumph on a lance before the victorious general of the Philistine army, upon it's return to their own country.

David's taking away the head of Goliath, from the place where the dead body laid, is, I imagine, to be placed in a somewhat different light, and paralleled with another transaction in the same writer. The people of Tremizan, it seems, struck off the head of an usurping King, against whom they had complained to Barbarossa, after his flight from the field of battle, in which Barbarossa had worsted him, *and sent it to Barbarossa on a lance's point*³. When then David

Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

² P. 237.

³ P. 249.

returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, and that Abner took him and brought him before Saul, with the head of the Philistine in his hand, 1 Sam. xvii. 57, we are to understand the passage, we have reason to believe, as signifying, that David having taken away the head, with a view to the solemn presenting it to Saul⁴, he was introduced into the royal presence, holding a spear in his hand, with Goliath's head on the point of it, which he presented with Eastern ceremony to his prince⁵.

The unmartial engraver of the curious maps that so agreeably adorn Reland's *Palaestina* has been very unhappy here: he represents David, in the ornamental part of the map of the country of the Philistines, as a youth with a great sword in one hand, and holding up the head of Goliath in the other, like one of our executioners holding up the head of a traitor; his appearing before Saul with the head of the Philistine in his hand was, undoubtedly, in a very different attitude. But the ideas of multitudes that read the passage, we may justly believe, are much

⁴ Niebuhr, I have lately observed, gives a similar account of the Southern Arabs, p. 263. ⁵ The head of Ishbosheth the son of Saul was, probably, presented to David by Baanah and Rechab, with the same kind of parade, 2 Sam. 4. 8. Sometimes heads are carried in *bafons* in triumph. Dr. Perry gives two instances, p. 168 and 185. He also mentions eleven heads carried in a sheet to a Bashaw, and afterwards ranged on a bench in a public place, p. 189. Compare 2 Kings 10. 7, 8.

more conformable to those of this Hollander, than to those excited in the mind upon reading the story in Morgan.

I would add, that as the arrangement of circumstances in the history of Sifera will not allow us to imagine that Jael *presented his head with solemnity* to Barak; or that she cut it off, in order to *it's being carried in triumph before that general*; there is reason to believe that our version, in Judges v. 26, is not *exact* — “With the hammer she smote Sifera, she *smote off* his head, when she had pierced and stricken through his temples.”

Different as this management is from our rules of war, some of the next Observations will give us an account of usages still more strange in our apprehensions, and especially that which describes the sealing up of eyes.

OBSERVATION XXXVI.

They frequently cut off the *hands* and the *feet* of people in times of tumult and disorder, and afterwards expose them, as well as the head; the same thing was done sometimes anciently.

Lady Wortley Montague, speaking of the Turkish Ministers of State, tells us, “that if a Minister displeases the people, in three hours time he is dragged even from his master’s arms; they cut off his *hands*, head and *feet*, and throw them be-
 “ fore

“ fore the palace-gate, with all the respect
 “ in the world; while the Sultan (to whom
 “ they all profess an unlimited adoration)
 “ sits trembling in his apartment, &c.”

Lett. v. 2. p. 19.

This cutting off the *hands and feet*, of those that have behaved ill in matters of state, strange as it may seem to us, is only an old Eastern custom, not yet worn out; for we find the *hands and feet* of the sons of Rimmon, who slew Ishboeth, were cut off, and hanged up over the pool of Hebron, 2 Sam. iv. 12.

It seems then to be a false refinement in those commentators who suppose the *hands* of Baanah and Rechab were cut off, because they were employed in murdering Ishboeth; and their *feet*, because they made use of them to go to the place of assassination, or in carrying off that prince's head: whatever may be thought of cutting off the assassinating hands, it cannot be pretended, with any shew of reason, that the *feet* were more guilty than any other limb. The truth seems to be, these were the parts wont to be cut off from state-criminals, as well as their heads, whether they had or had not been particularly *accessary* to their guilt.

The hanging them up at the *pool* in Hebron seems to have been merely on account of it's being a place of great resort.

I leave it to the curious to consider, whether Providence designed any reference to this

this ancient punishment, in secretly directing the second fall of Dagon so, as that it's head, and palms of it's hands, were cut off, 1 Sam. v. 4.

OBSERVATION XXXVII.

The *treatment* of those that are shut up in *Eastern prisons* differs from our usages, but serves to illustrate several passages of Scripture.

The MS. C.¹ relates several circumstances concerning their prisons, which are curious, and should not be omitted.

In the first place, he tells us that the *Eastern prisons are not public buildings erected for that purpose; but a part of the house in which their criminal judges dwell. As the governor and provost of a town, or the captain of the watch, imprison such as are accused in their own houses, they set apart a canton of it for that purpose, when they are put into these offices, and choose for the jailor the most proper person they can find of their domestics.*

Sir John supposes the prison in which Joseph, together with the chief butler and chief baker of Pharaoh, was put, was in Potiphar's own house. But I would apply this account to the illustration of another passage of Scripture: "Wherefore," it is said Jer. xxxvii. 15, "the princes were wroth with Jeremiah, and smote him, and

¹ Vol. 6.

“ put him in prison *in the house of Jonathan*
 “ *the scribe* ; for they had made that the
 “ prison.” Here we see a *dwelling-house* was
 made a prison ; and the house of an *eminent*
person, for it was the house of a *scribe*, which
 title, it should seem, marks out a person of
 quality : it is certain it doth so in some other
 places of Jeremiah, particularly ch. xxxvi. 12,
 “ Then he went down into the king’s house
 “ into the scribe’s chamber, and lo, all the
 “ *princes* sat there, even Elishama the *scribe*,
 “ and Delaiah, &c.” The making the house
 of Jonathan the prison, would not now in
 the East be doing him any dishonour, or oc-
 casion the looking upon him in a mean
 light ; it would rather mark out the placing
 him in an office of importance. It is pro-
 bable it was so anciently, and that his house
 became a prison, when Jonathan was made
 the *royal scribe*, and became, like Elishama,
 one of the princes of the people.

A second thing relating to the Eastern
 princes, taken notice of in this MS, is, that
 a discretionary power is given to the keeper
 to treat his prisoners just as he pleases, all
 that is required of him being only to pro-
 duce them when called for ; whereas in Eu-
 rope their treatment is regulated by *humanity*
and equity. After having remarked, that se-
 veral things he mentions relating to the im-
 prisonment of Joseph, must appear very un-
 accountable to an European, he goes on to
 this purpose, *Those that have observed the*
manners

manners of the modern Eastern people will find that the like things are practised among them: they have not different prisons for the different classes of criminals; the judges do not trouble themselves about where the prisoners are confined, or how they are treated, they considering it merely as a place of safety, and all that they require of the jailor is, that the prisoner be forthcoming when called for. As to the rest, he is master to do as he pleases, to treat him well or ill; to put him in irons or not; to shut him up close, or hold him in easier restraint; to admit people to him, or to suffer nobody to see him. If the jailor and his servants have large fees, let a person be the greatest rascal in the world, he shall be lodged in the jailor's own apartment, and the best part of it; and, on the contrary, if those that have imprisoned a man give the jailor greater presents, or that he has a greater regard for them, he will treat the prisoner with the greatest inhumanity. To illustrate this, he gives us the story of the treatment a very great Armenian merchant met with: treated with the greatest caresses upon the jailor's receiving a considerable present from him at first, and fleecing him after from time to time; then, upon the party's presenting something considerable, first to the judge, and afterwards to the jailor, who sued the Armenian, the prisoner first felt his privileges retrenched, was then closely confined, was then treated with such inhumanity as not to be permitted to drink above once in twenty-four hours, and this in the hottest time

of summer, nor any body suffered to come near him but the servants of the prison; and at length thrown into a dungeon, where he was, in a quarter of an hour, brought to the point to which all this severe usage was intended to force him.

What energy doth this account of an *Eastern prison* give to those passages of Scripture, that speak of the *fighting* of the prisoner², and it's coming before God! of Jeremiah's being kept in a *dungeon* many days, and his supplicating that he might not be remanded thither, lest he should *die* there.³

OBSERVATION XXXVIII.

The *double* evidences of Jeremiah's purchase, which are mentioned ch. xxxii. 11, seems a strange management in their civil concerns; yet something of the like kind obtains still among them.

Both the writings were in the hands of Jeremiah, and at his disposal, ver. 14; for what purpose then were duplicates made? To those that are unacquainted with Eastern usages it must appear a question of some difficulty.

“The open or unsealed writing,” says an eminent commentator, “was either a *copy* of the sealed deed, or else a certificate of the witnesses, in whose presence the deed

² Pf. 79. 11.

³ Jer. 37. 16, 20.

“ of purchase was signed and sealed ’.” But it still recurs, of what use was a *copy* that was to be buried in the same earthen vessel, and run exactly the same risques with the original? If by a certificate is meant a deed of the witnesses, by which they attested the contract of Jeremiah and Hananeel, and the original deed of purchase had no witnesses at all, then it is natural to ask, Why were they made *separate* writings? and much more, Why was one sealed, and not the other?

Sir J. Chardin’s account of modern managements, which he thinks illustrates this ancient story, is, *that after a contract is made, it is kept by the party himself, not the notary; and they cause a copy to be made, signed by the notary alone, which is shown upon proper occasions, and never exhibit the other.*

According to this account, the two books were the same, the one sealed up with solemnity, and not to be used on common occasions; that which was open the same writing, to be perused at pleasure, and made use of upon all occasions. The sealed one answered a record with us; the other, a writing for common use.

OBSERVATION XXXIX.

The very mention of the *sealing up of eyes* appears to us very odd, yet this is an

¹ Lowth Com. on Jer. 32. 17.

Eastern management, and used on different occasions.

It is one of the solemnities at a *Jewish wedding*, at Aleppo, according to Dr. Ruffell, who mentions it as the most remarkable thing in their ceremonies at that time¹. It is done, it seems, by *fastening the eye-lids together with gum*, and the bridegroom is the person, he says, if he remembered right, that opens his bride's eyes at the appointed time.

It is used also as a *punishment* in those countries. So Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain, in his account of his voyage to East-India, tells us of a son of the Great Mogul, whom he had seen, and with whom Sir Thomas had conversed, that had before that time been cast into prison by his father, "where *his eyes were sealed up*," (by something put before them, which might not be taken off,) "for the space of three years; after which time, that seal was taken away, that he might with freedom enjoy the light, though not his liberty²." The same writer informs us, that he was afterwards taken out of prison, but still kept under a guard, in which situation he saw him, though it was believed to be the intent of his father, to make this prince, who was his first-born, his successor, though out of some jealousy, he being much beloved by the people, he denied him his liberty.

¹ P. 132.

² P. 471, 472.

Other princes have been treated after a different manner, when it has been thought fit to keep them under, they have had *drugs* ordered them, to render them *stupid and inattentive to things*. Thus Olearius I remember tells us³, that Schach Abas, the celebrated Persian monarch who died in 1629, ordered a *certain quantity of opium* should every day be given to his grandson, who was to be his successor, in order to render him *stupid*, that he might not have any reason to apprehend any dangers from him.

I do not know that there is any reason to suspect a reference to this Jewish sealing up of eyes, in their *marriage* solemnities, in the Scripture; but I would ask, whether there may not be some ground to believe, the Prophet Isaiah alludes to these two different methods of treating other people, in chap. xlv. 18? “ They have not known, nor understood: for he hath shut their eyes,” *daubed their eyes* is the marginal translation, which is known to be the exact import of the original word, “ that they cannot see; and “ *their hearts*, that they cannot understand.” Is the supposition void of all probability, and altogether absurd?

If there is any thing at all in it, there is equally an allusion to this method of applying stupefying drugs, in Isaiah vi. 10, I should suppose, where the Prophet says,

³ P. 915.

“ Make the *heart of this people fat*, and make
 “ their ears heavy, and shut their eyes : lest
 “ they see with their eyes, and hear with
 “ their ears, and understand with their
 “ heart, and convert and be healed.” I do
 not imagine there is an allusion to *three* dif-
 ferent operations here : because it is not only
 difficult to conceive, what other operation
 the making the ears heavy should allude to ;
 but because one single thing—the stupefying
 the senses, would be abundantly sufficient to
 answer this whole description ; for in such a
 situation, with ears open, they would not
 be able to hear to any purpose ; and with
 eyes unsealed, they would not be able to see
 with any advantage to themselves. Two
 things possibly might be intended, and shut-
 ting the eyes mean sealing them ; but we
 cannot suppose three ; perhaps one only is
 meant—the stupefying them.

How beautiful in this view do these words
 appear, which have been painful and diffi-
 cult to many ! The *quality* of the persons
 treated after this manner ; the *tenderness* ex-
 pressed in these sorts of punishment ; the
temporary nature of them ; and the after-de-
 sign of making them partakers of the *biggest*
honours ; which appear in the relations of
 Olearius and of Sir Thomas's chaplain, all
 serve to throw a softness over this dispen-
 sation of Providence, towards those that de-
 served great severity, which will appear, I
 dare say, *perfectly new* to many of my readers.

The

The Jews, to whom the words of the vith chapter relate, will not be displeas'd with such an illustration; but it ought to be observ'd also, that they were the *Gentiles*, who were abandoned of God to stupid idolatries; that the xlivth chapter 18th verse refers to; the dereliction of both by God, at different periods, being dreadfully deserv'd by both; and being appointed with designs of mercy as to both: which general thought is certainly true, being the doctrine of St. Paul in the xith to the Romans, whatever may be thought of this illustration of these passages, deduced from modern Oriental managements.

OBSERVATION XL.

As *treasures* are frequently hidden underground in the East, by those that are apprehensive of revolutions; so the finding them is one great object, in their apprehensions, of *sojcery*.

We are told by travellers into the East, that they have met with great difficulties very often, from a notion universally disseminated among them, that all Europeans are *magicians*, and that their visits to those Eastern countries are not to satisfy curiosity, but to find out, and get possession of, those vast treasures they believe to be buried there in great quantities.

These

These representations are very common ; but Sir J. Chardin's MS, in a note on a passage of the Apocrypha ¹, gives us a more particular and amusing account of affairs of this kind. *It is common in the Indies, for those forcerers that accompany conquerors, every where to point out the place where treasures are hid. Thus at Surat, when Siragi came thither, there were people who, with a stick striking on the ground, or against walls, found out those that had been hollowed or dug up, and ordered such places to be opened. He then intimates, that something of this nature had happened to him in Mingrelia.*

Among the various contradictions that agitate the human breast, this appears to be a remarkable one : they firmly believe the power of magicians to discover hidden treasures, and yet they continue to hide them.

Dr. Perry has given us an account of some mighty treasures, hidden in the ground by some of the principal people of the Turkish empire, which upon a revolution were discovered by domestics privy to the secret ². D'Herbelot has given us accounts of treasures concealed in the same manner, some of them of great princes, discovered by accidents extremely remarkable ³ ; but this account of Chardin's, of conquerors pretending to find out hidden treasures by means of forcerers, is very extraordinary.

¹ 1 Macc. i. 23. ² P. 77. ³ Voy. l'Art Amadeddulat, p. 107 ; & l'Art Ismail Samani, p. 502, 503.

As however people of this cast have made great pretences to mighty things in all ages, and were not unfrequently confided in by princes, there is reason to believe they pretended sometimes, by their art, to discover treasures anciently to princes, of which they had gained intelligence by other methods; and as God opposed his Prophets, at various times⁴, to pretended forcerers, it is not unlikely that the Prophet Isaiah points at some such *prophetic* discoveries in those remarkable words, Is. xlv. 3, “ And I will give thee the *treasures of darkness*, and *bidder riches of secret places*, that thou mayest know, that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel:” I will give them, by enabling some Prophet of mine to tell thee where they are concealed.

Such a supposition throws a great energy into those words.

Great also was the *extent* of the prohibition to the Jewish people, not to consult forcerers: they were neither to do it as Saul did, to know *the event of a war*; nor after they had conquered, to find out *the treasures of the vanquished*.

OBSERVATION XLI.

The Eastern people to this day, it seems, support the expensies of government, in com-

⁴ Excd. 7. 11, ch. 8. 19, and Is. 44. 25.

mon, by paying such a proportion of the *produce of their lands* to their princes. These are their taxes. No wonder it was so in remoter ages.

The MS.C. gives us this account: *The revenues of princes in the East are paid in the fruits and productions of the Earth. There are no other taxes upon the peasants* ¹.

The twelve officers of Solomon then, mentioned 1 Kings iv. 7—19, are to be considered as his general-receivers. They furnished food for all that belonged to the king; and the having provisions for themselves and attendants, seems to have been, in those times of simplicity, all the *ordinary* gratification his ministers of state, as well as his meaner servants, received. Silver, gold, horses, armour, precious vestments, and other things of value, came to him from other quarters: partly a kind of tribute from the surrounding princes, 1 Kings x. 15, 25; partly from the merchants, whom he suffered to pass through his country to and from Ægypt, or elsewhere, ver. 15; partly from his own commerce by the Red-Sea, ver. 22.

The horses and armour he seems to have distributed among the most populous towns, who were to find horsemen and people to drive chariots to such a number when called for; and out of the silver, and other precious things that came to him, he made pre-

¹ This is mentioned in a note on 1 Esdras 4, 6, and another on 1 Mac. 10. 29.

sents upon extraordinary occasions to those that distinguished themselves in his service, 1 Kings x. 26, 27.

And according to this plan of conducting the expenses of civil government, it should seem the history of Solomon is to be explained. Commentators, it may be, have not always had this present to their minds, when illustrating this part of Scripture.

Sir J. Chardin even supposes the telling the flocks, Jer. xxxiii. 13, was for the purpose of paying tribute, *it being the custom in the East to count the flocks, in order to take the third of the increase and young ones for the King* ².

OBSERVATION XLII.

The money that is collected together in the treasuries of Eastern Princes is, it seems, told up in certain equal sums, *put into bags, and sealed*; it appears to have been so anciently.

The MS.C, in a note on Tobit ix. 5, tells us, *it is the custom of Persia always to seal up bags of money, and the money of the King's treasure is not told, but is received by bags sealed up.*

² It was not so large a proportion in the time of Samuel, 1 Sam. 8. 17, but must have been thought an heavy burden, when this eagerness, after their nation's having *regal glory among them like others*, was a little abated.

These are what are called, in some other parts of the Levant, *purfes*, I presume; where they reckon great expences by so many *purfes*. Each of these, Maillet informs us in a note¹, contains money to the value of fifteen hundred livres, or five hundred crowns².

The money collected in the Temple in the time of King Joash, for its reparation, seems, in like manner, to have been told up in bags of equal value to each other, and we may believe delivered to those that paid the workmen sealed, 2 Kings xii. 10. One can hardly imagine the putting it in bags would otherwise have been mentioned. What the value of a *Jewish purse* was, no virtuoso, I doubt, will be able presently to inform us³.

Job seems to allude to this custom, ch. xiv. 17: and if so, it should seem he considered his offences as reckoned by God to be *very numerous*; as well as not suffered by him to be lost in inattention; for they are only *considerable* sums that are thus kept. If commentators have understood this image to point out the first of these two things, I have overlooked those passages: they seem to me to have confined themselves to the last,

¹ Lett. 10. p. 79. ² Consequently a purse is equal to about sixty-five pounds of our money. ³ Each bag, mentioned 2 Kings 5. 23, seems to have been of the value of a *talent*; but this might be something extraordinary: probably they were greatly superior to modern Eastern purses in value.

which

which is undoubtedly contained in the metaphor, but appears not to be the whole of it.

OBSERVATION XLIII.

When we read over some of the compliments paid to Eastern Princes, particularly those of the wise woman of Tekoah to King David, "As an angel of God, so is my Lord the King, to discern good and bad;" and again, "My Lord is wise, according to the wisdom of an angel of God, to know all things that are in the earth," 2 Sam. xiv. 17. 20; we are ready to call to mind the hyperbolical genius of those countries: but perhaps there was more of real persuasion here than we are ready to apprehend.

Sir J. Chardin, in the sixth volume of his MS, in a note on Gen. xliv. 18, gives us a remarkable story of what once happened to him in Persia. *I happened one day, says he, when I was in the King's wardrobe, whither I had been sent for by the grand master, to fix the price of a pretty rich trinket, which his majesty had a mind to have at a less price than I could afford. I happened I say to answer him, upon his telling me that the King had valued it at so much only, that he knew very well it was worth more, many of the principal courtiers being present; the grand master made me a severe reply, and told me, I was not a little bold to find fault with the King's valuation, and that if a Persian had dared to have done this, it*

would have been as much as his life was worth, &c. I answered him, "My lord, shall this be reckoned a crime, the saying that a great King, perpetually covered with the most beautiful precious stones in the world, has put but little value on a trinket, which, compared with them, is, in truth, a trifle." The grand master replied, with the same air, "Know that the Kings of Persia have a general and full knowledge of matters, as sure as it is extensive; and that equally in the greatest and the smallest things, there is nothing more just and sure than what they pronounce." I had a mind to mention this incident, as it so well shows the prepossession of the Asiatics in favour of their Kings, or rather of their own slavery. The knowledge of this prince, according to this great officer of his, was like that of an angel of God.

How far he believed this cannot be known. Prejudice is a powerful thing; and as the Asiatics are bred up in the profoundest reverence for their princes, so the Persians imagine, I think, there is something sacred in this race of their Kings. If the ancient Ægyptians supposed their princes possessed the like sagacity, which is not improbable, the compliment of Judah to Joseph was a very high one, "Thou art even as Pharaoh¹," knowing and equitable as he.

Some of the Kings of Judah really possessed exquisite sagacity: David and Solomon

¹ Gen. 44. 18.

in particular². The spirit of extraordinary illumination has sometimes rested upon other princes, when God would bless the nations they governed. In such cases, without doubt, there is great truth in that saying, “A sentence of *divination* is in the lips of the King: his mouth transgresseth not in judgment.” Prov. xvi. 10. But this wisdom is not always appendant to majesty, though some Western flatterers, as well as some of the East, have described them to be *like angels of God in point of Knowledge*; they have also contended for their possessing the power of healing a virulent disorder by their royal touch: in both assertions they have been equally in the right.

OBSERVATION XLIV.

The manner of making Eastern decrees differs from ours: they are *first written*, and then the magistrate *authenticates* them or *annuls* them.

This, I remember, is the Arab manner, according to d’Arvieux. When an Arab wanted a favour of the Emir, the way was to apply to the secretary, who drew up a decree according to the request of the party: if the Emir granted the favour, he printed his seal upon it; if not, he returned it torn to the petitioner¹.

² 1 Sam. 16. 13, 1 Kings 3. 12, 28.
la Pal. p. 61, 154, and 155.

¹ Voy. dans

Sir J. Chardin confirms this account, and applies it, with great propriety, to the illustration of a passage which I never thought of when I read over d'Arvieux. After citing If. x. 1, "Woe unto them that decree un-
 " righteous decrees, *and to the writers that*
 " *write grievousness,*" (for so our translators have rendered the latter part of the verse in the margin, much more agreeably than in the body of the version,) Sir John goes on, *the manner of making the royal aëts and ordinances hath a relation to this: they are always drawn up according to the request; the first minister, or he whose office it is, writes on the side of it, "according to the King's will," and from thence it is sent to the secretary of state, who draws up the order in form.*

They that consult Vitringa upon the passage, will find that commentators have been perplexed about the latter part of this woe: every one sees the propriety of denouncing evil on those that decree unrighteous judgments; but it is not very clear why they are threatened that write them—it certainly would be wrong to punish the clerks of our courts, that have no other concern in unjust decrees, than in barely writing them down, according to the duty of their place—are mere amanuenses.

But according to the Eastern mode, we find he that writes or draws up the order at first is deeply concerned in the injustice, since he expresses matters as he pleases, and is the
 source

source of the mischief; the superior only passes or rejects it. He indeed is guilty if he passes an unjust order, because he ought to have rejected it; but a great deal of the guilt unquestionably comes upon him that first draws the order, and who makes it more or less oppressive to others, just as he pleases, or rather, according to the present that is made him by the party that solicits the order.

For it appears from d'Arvieux², that the secretary of the Emir drew up no order without a present, which were wont to be proportionate to the favour asked; and that he was very oppressive in his demands.

In this view of things the words of the Prophet are very clear, and easy to be understood; and Sir J. Chardin, by his acquaintance with the East, proves a much better interpreter than the most learned Western commentators, even celebrated rabbies themselves: for, according to Vitringa, rabbi David Kimchi supposes the judges themselves were the writers the Prophet meant, and so called, because they *caused* others to write unjust determinations; though Vitringa admits, that such an interpretation doth not well agree with the conjugation of the Hebrew word.

² P. 63.

OBSERVATION XLV.

The expedition of Chederlaomer and his associates, mentioned Gen. xiv, to an European reader seems very strange, almost incredible; but expeditions of a like kind still continue among the *Arabs*.

What appears strange in the Mosaic account is, the smallness of the number of their troops, with which the petty Kings of five single cities dared to contend, ver. 9, against these who had so many conquests, ver. 5, 6, 7; and the distance from whence these came, one of them at least, from the land of *Sbinar*, ver. 1.

Mekkrami, an Arab Shech, Niebuhr tells us, *by his politics and valour became terrible to his neighbours, and even to distant states: he then mentions several of his expeditions; and after adds, having thus caused his army to pass, in a little time, through the whole breadth of Arabia, from the Arabian gulph to the Persian, even through strange countries, which would be impossible to be done in our method of making war in Europe. But the Arabian armies take neither cannon with them, nor many tents; the small quantity of provisions and ammunition which they have with them is carried on camels, and their soldiers, who are nearly naked, or at least very thinly clad, are not oppressed with arms.*
p. 237.

It

It appears from the account that Niebuhr gives of his expeditions, that he passed over a *considerable desert*; that he attacked very *different clans* of Arabs; that he fell upon very *distant parts* of the country from that which he governed; and that his army was *but small*: circumstances very much resembling those of the ancient Princes mentioned by Moses, who seem to have been Arabs, one of them reigning over a portion of the land of *Sobab*, whose extent in these times we may not be able precisely to determine, the other three neighbours.

Quere?

Niebuhr also mentions a stratagem of an Arab Prince, very much resembling that of Gideon, whose three hundred men blew with trumpets in different avenues to the Midianitish camp: which modern stratagem, like the ancient one, was successful, and ended in the ruin of the invaders, p. 263. But I shall take no farther notice of this; for though it is incidentally and undesignedly mentioned by Niebuhr, the learned *Michaelis* has taken notice of the conformity between the two stories, in that extract which he published of Niebuhr's Description of Arabia, p. 36; only adding this remark, that probably the Midianitish army was encamped in a place pretty much surrounded by *high hills*, like the modern Arab camp, and that the three companies of Gideon's people shewed themselves in three different entrances into the plain in which the Midianites laid. These

must have appeared extremely numerous, as there were so many trumpets, if few trumpets were anciently used, though the number of troops was considerable: Moses, we know, ordered only *two* trumpets to be made for directing the journeying of all the Israelitish camps in the wilderness, Num. x. 2; and *one* trumpet only, it seems, was used in each detachment of the modern victorious Arab army, according to Niebuhr.]

C H A P. IX.

Concerning Ægypt.

O B S E R V A T I O N I.

TH E R E are a few *wells* in Ægypt, but their waters are not drank, being unpleasant and unwholesome; the water of the *Nile* is what they universally make use of in this country, which is looked upon to be extraordinarily wholesome, and, at the same time, *extremely delicious*.

The author of the notes on le Bruyn mentions this^{*} last circumstance, and takes notice of the Ægyptians being wont to excite thirst artificially, that they might drink the more of it; nor is there any reason to doubt of the fact, since Maillet has affirmed the same thing; the only point in which they

^{*} Tom. 2. p. 103.

differ being, that Maillet says, they do this by salt, the other by spices. The account of Maillet, as it is given us by the publisher of his Remarks, is indeed so very curious, that I shall set it down here at length.

“ The water of Ægypt,” says the Abbot Mascrier², “ is so delicious, that one would
 “ not wish the heat should be less, nor to be
 “ delivered from the sensation of thirst. The
 “ Turks find it so exquisitely charming, that
 “ they excite themselves to drink of it *by*
 “ *eating salt*. It is a common saying among
 “ them, that if Mohammed had drank of it,
 “ he would have begged of God not to have
 “ died, that he might always have done it.
 “ They add, that whoever has once drank
 “ of it, he ought to drink of it a second
 “ time. This is what the people of the
 “ country told me, when they saw me re-
 “ turn, after ten years absence. When the
 “ Ægyptians undertake the pilgrimage of
 “ Mecca, or go out of their country on any
 “ other account, they speak of nothing but
 “ the pleasure they shall find at their return
 “ in drinking the Nile-water. There is no-
 “ thing to be compared to this satisfaction;
 “ it surpasses in their esteem that of seeing
 “ their relations again, and their families.
 “ Agreeably to this, all those that have tasted
 “ of this water allow that they never met
 “ with the like in any other place. In truth,

² Let. I. p. 15, 16.

“ when one drinks of it the first time, it
 “ seems to be some water *prepared by art.*
 “ It has something in it inexpressibly agree-
 “ able and pleasing to the taste; and we
 “ ought to give it perhaps the same rank
 “ among waters, which Champagne has
 “ among wines. I must confess however it
 “ has, to my taste, too much sweetness. But
 “ its most valuable quality is, that it is in-
 “ finitely salutary. Drink it in what quan-
 “ tities you will, it never in the least in-
 “ commodes you. This is so true, that it
 “ is no uncommon thing to see some per-
 “ sons drink *three buckets of it in a day*, with-
 “ out finding the least inconvenience.
 “ When I give such encomiums to the wa-
 “ ter of Ægypt, it is right to observe, that
 “ I speak only of that of the Nile, which
 “ indeed is the *only water there which is drink-*
 “ *able.* Well-water is detestable and un-
 “ wholesome; fountains are so rare, that
 “ they are a kind of prodigy in that coun-
 “ try; and as for rain-water, it would be
 “ in vain to attempt preserving that, since
 “ scarce any falls in Ægypt.”

The embellishments of a Frenchman may be here, but the fact however in general is indubitable.

A person that never before heard of this *delicacy* of the water of the Nile, and of the *large quantities* that on that account are drank of it, will, I am very sure, find an energy in those words of Moses to Pharaoh, (Exod.

vii. 18,) “The Ægyptians shall *loath* to drink “ of the *water of the river,*’ which he never observed before. They will *loath* to drink of *that water* which they used to prefer to all the waters of the universe, *loath* to drink of that which they had been wont *eagerly to long for*; and will rather choose to drink of *well-water*, which is in their country so *detestable*. And as none of our commentators, that I know of, have observed this energy, my reader, I hope, will not be displeas’d that I have remark’d it here.

OBSERVATION II.

From this circumstance it is natural to pass on to another, mentioned in the history of this plague, in which probably there is more meaning than is commonly understood. “And the Lord spake unto Moses, say unto “ Aaron, Take thy rod, and stretch out “ thine hand upon the waters of Ægypt, “ upon their streams, upon their rivers, and “ upon their ponds, and upon all their pools “ of water, that they may become blood; “ and that there may be blood throughout “ all the land of Ægypt, both in *vessels of* “ *wood and in vessels of stone,*” Exod. vii. 19. To what purpose this *minuteness*, this corrupting the water that had been taken up into vessels before the stretching out of the fatal rod? And if vessels are mentioned at all, why

why are those of wood and stone distinguished from each other ?

But perhaps these words do not signify, that the water that *had been taken up* into their vessels, was changed into blood. The water of the Nile is known to be very thick and muddy, and they purify it either by a paste made of almonds, or by filtrating it through certain pots of *white earth*, which, it seems, is the preferable way, and therefore the possession of one of these pots is thought a great happiness¹. Now may not the meaning of this passage be, that the water of the Nile should not only look red and nauseous, like blood in the river, but in their vessels too, when taken up in small quantities ; and that no method whatever of purifying it should take place, but whether drank out of *vessels of wood*, or out of *vessels of stone*, by means of which they were wont to purge the Nile-water, it should be the same, and should appear like blood ?

Some method must have been used in very early days to clarify the water of the Nile : the mere letting it stand to settle hardly seems sufficient, especially if we consider the early elegance that obtained in Egypt. So simple an invention then as filtrating-vessels may easily be supposed to be as ancient as the time of Moses ; and to them therefore it

¹ Le Bruyn, tome 2. p. 103. Thevenot, part 1. p. 245 and 260.

seems

seems natural to suppose the threatening refers.

OBSERVATION III.

It is *common* indeed for the Nile-water to turn *red*, and to become *disagreeable*, in one part of the year; but this was of a different nature.

Dr. Pococke¹ mentions this fermentation of the Nile, and says, its water turns *red*, and sometimes *green*, as soon as the river begins to rise, which, according to him, it generally does about the eighteenth or nineteenth of June; and that this discolouring of the water continues twenty, thirty, or forty days; during which time it is very unwholesome and purging; so that in Cairo they drink at that time of water preserved in cisterns, under the houses and mosques. Maillet mentions the same fact, but with this difference, that he supposes the river begins to rise, in common, the latter end of April and beginning of May; and that he supposes there is a difference in different years as to this corruption, saying, that there are *some years* in which, from the very first increase of the Nile, the waters of this river corrupt. He adds, that then they appear greenish, sometimes reddish, and, if kept a little while in a vessel, that it breeds worms².

¹ Descr. of the East, vol. 1. p. 199. ² Lett. 2. p. 57. —
Per-

Perhaps some may be disposed from hence to imagine, that the Nile's being turned into blood was only a natural occurrence, and such a corruption of the water as these authors speak of : but besides this corruption's taking place *before* the usual time, *immediately upon the smiting* the river by Moses and Aaron, and its being followed by *other* wonders ; the *universality* of the corruption, and the *effects* it produced, shew the finger of God was there.

The *universality* of the corruption in the first place. To set forth which, a variety of words is made use of in Exod. vii. 19, nor is that variety made use of without a meaning : let us consider it with a little distinctness. The Nile was the *only* river in Ægypt, but it was divided into *branches*, and entered by different mouths into the sea ; there were numberless *canals* made by art, for the better watering their lands ; several *vast lakes* are formed by the inundations of the Nile, inhabited by fish and wild-fowl ; and many *reservoirs* are contrived for the retaining the water, either by stopping up the mouths of the smaller canals, which are derived from the greater, and preventing the return of the water, or by digging pits or cisterns for the preserving water, where there are no canals, and this for the watering their gardens and plantations, or for the having sweet water when the Nile corrupts ; all which appear in the accounts that are given us of this country

try by travellers³, and are, I think, distinctly pointed out in Exod. vii. 19. The words however in our version are not so well chosen as could be wished, nor so happily selected as those of the translation of Pagninus and Arias Montanus—“ Super flumina
 “ — rivos—paludes—omnem congregatio-
 “ nem aquarum,” that is, “ Upon their
 “ rivers, or branches of their river—their
 “ canals—their lakes, or large standing wa-
 “ ters—and all reservoirs of water of a
 “ smaller kind.” Now if it had been a natural event, the lakes and the reservoirs that had then no communication with the river, on the account of the lowness of the water at that time of the year, could not have been infected; which yet they were, according to the Mosaic history, and they were forced to dig wells, instead of having recourse to their wonted reservoirs.

The effects this corruption produced prove the same thing, in the second place. Had it been a sort of corruption that happened not unfrequently, would the *Ægyptians* have been surprized at it? or would their magicians have attempted to imitate it? Would they not rather have shewn that it was a natural event, and what often fell out? Is the corruption such as kills the fish in the Nile? That in the time of Moses

³ See Dr. Pococke in the last-cited place, and Maillet, Lett. 2. p. 60, 61, Lett. 3. p. 97, 98, and Lett. 9. p. 5. did;

did ; but nothing of a like sort appears in modern travels.

What a number of circumstances concur to determine it a miracle !

OBSERVATION IV.

The representation of the waters of Ægypt, which the translation of Exod. vii. 19. by Pagninus gives us, is certainly just, for it is conformable to all the accounts of travellers. Bishop Patrick however has unhappily departed from it in his Commentary.

He gives us the distinction with great precision and exactness, as to three of the words : but as to the fourth, he most unaccountably supposes it means places digged for the holding rain-water when it fell, as it sometimes did ; and wells perhaps dug near the river. It is certain that rain doth sometimes fall in Ægypt : Maillet, who lived sixteen years in that country, admits it, as well as other authors ; but he expressly affirms that it fell in *too small quantities* to be kept for *drinking* *. Nor have we any reason to imagine wells are meant, as the Bishop supposes ; for though they have a few wells now, (and but a very few, for their water is detestable and unwholsome, as Maillet affirms

* Je parle uniquement de l'eau du Nil, puisque c'est la seule en effet qui soit potable. L'eau du puits y est detestable & très malfaine. . . . & à l'égard de l'eau de pluie, il seroit impossible d'y en conserver, puisqu'il n'y pleut presque jamais. Lett. i. p. 16.

in the same paragraph,) and consequently might have some few anciently, yet it should seem that only their common drinking-water was designed to be affected after this manner, since, had their wells been equally corrupted, they would hardly have thought of digging others. To which ought to be added, that the original word, one would imagine, signifies places in which rushes are wont to grow, as they do in shallow lakes, (but not about wells or cisterns,) since a kindred word means a rush.

Nor is this the only passage in which there is a particular representation of the waters of Ægypt. There is another to which the distinction I have mentioned may be applied, and by such an application we may be delivered from those embarrassments which seem to have perplexed interpreters. “ The river
 “ shall be wasted and dried up. And they
 “ shall turn the rivers far away, and the
 “ brooks of defence shall be emptied and dried
 “ up, the reeds and the flags shall wither.
 “ The paper-reeds by the brooks, by the
 “ mouth of the brooks, and every thing
 “ sown by the brooks, shall wither, &c.”
 Is. xix. 5, 6, 7. This differs a little from the preceding representation, but in correspondence with it is thus, I presume, to be explained. *The river, the Nile that is, shall be wasted and dried up. The rivers, the branches of it by which its waters pass into the sea, the streams, as the word is translated in*
 I that

that passage of Exodus, shall be of no use. The brooks of defence, which word in Exodus is translated rivers, but seems to signify canals, the canals which have been drawn by Ægyptian princes from the river, and those lakes in which reeds and flags grow, both which they have formed for the defence of places, shall be emptied and dried up. The cultivated places by these canals, yea by the mouth of them, and all those things that are sown, and depend upon them, shall wither.

Dr. Shaw has taken some notice ² of that passage in Exodus which I have been illustrating, but not with all the distinctness that was wanted; and as to this of Ifaiah, he is, I think, quite silent, though it may be equally well illustrated.

The *additional* circumstances are, the mention of the Nile distinctly from its branches, the *digging these canals and lakes* for defence, and the advantage of being near the *mouth* of one of these artificial rivers. The ancients tell us, that there were large lakes to the North and West of Memphis, which made the *strength* of the place surprizing ³; and Dr. Pococke saw some near Metrahenny, which he supposes were these very lakes. Nothing then could be more natural than those words of Ezekiel ⁴, “ I am against thee, “ Pharaoh king of Ægypt, the great dragon that lieth in the *midst of his rivers,*

² P. 402. note.

³ See the notes on Norden.

⁴ Ch. 29. 3.

“ which hath said, My river is my own, “ and I have made it for myself,” if the Prophet was referring to him as residing in Memphis. Whether he was, or not, is not my business here to enquire: other cities might be guarded in the same manner⁵.

Ægypt is a very level country, but not absolutely so, which indeed is unimaginable: for though, according to Dr. Shaw, the Ægyptians make great rejoicings when the Nile rises *sixteen* cubits, yet *nineteen or twenty* are required to prepare the *whole* land for cultivation⁶; and doubtless some of it would, or might be at least, overflowed with less than sixteen cubits, though not enough to answer the demands of the country. It appears also, from another fact mentioned by the Doctor, that the land originally laid with a considerable descent to the river: for he says, the soil near the banks is sometimes more than thirty feet, whilst at the utmost extremity of the inundation it is not a quarter part of so many inches⁷; consequently if this *adventitious soil*, brought by the Nile, were removed, the land would lay with a descent to the river that would be considerable. In such a situation of things, the things that were sown near the mouths of the canals, must have been in the lowest places, and were sufficiently watered, when the higher grounds produced nothing, for

⁵ Thanis was for one in De Vitriaco's time. Vide *Gesta Dei &c.* p. 1143.

⁶ P. 384.

⁷ P. 386.

want of moisture: to say then, the things that were sown or cultivated near the mouths of the canals should wither, is describing the *utmost failure of water*, by a periphrasis sufficiently easy.

OBSERVATION V.

Some of these canals, if we may believe Maillet¹, were an hundred feet broad, and twenty deep; and made some considerable districts, that would otherwise have been absolutely barren, like the garden of the Lord².

Other countries had in like manner watering canals, though perhaps none of such enormous dimensions³. Nor was Judæa a stranger to them: the waters of the fountain of Elisha dividing themselves, as Maundrell observed⁴, into several small streams, and so rendering all the field between it and Jericho exceeding fruitful; which small streams are without doubt the effect of art, it not being natural for a spring to make itself such a number of channels.

To these canals, and the fertility produced by them in these countries, Solomon, I imagine, refers in Prov. xxi. 1, where he says, “The king’s heart is in the *band of the Lord*, as the rivers of water,” (or as wa-

¹ Lett. 2. p. 46.

² William Archbishop of Tyre gives a like account. *Gesta Dei*, p. 969.

³ Damascus

had, see Maundrell, p. 121—123.

⁴ P. 80.

tering-canals,) “ he turneth it whithersoever
 “ he will.” Commentators suppose that this
 marks out the power of the great Lord of
 lords over the hearts of princes. It doth so
 undoubtedly: but though they have given
 us the thought in general, I do not remem-
 ber to have met with any that have given us
 the *energy* of it, which seemeth to be this,
Which way soever the heart of a king turneth,
it conveys riches, just as a watering-canal doth
plenty; and let it be remembered, that the Lord
turns it whithersoever he will, and makes whom
he pleases the favourites of princes.

Northern readers have often, I dare say,
 wondered in themselves that the divine ener-
 gy upon the minds of men, which is appa-
 rently intended by the words, should be re-
 presented by a man’s turning a stream of
 water whither he pleases; which appears to
 them a work of difficulty, such difficulty
 that it is not often attempted in their coun-
 tries. They therefore are ready to be sur-
 prized, that some allusion containing the
 idea of greater ease was not made use of;
 but to an Oriental imagination the metaphor
 will appear strong, but in all respects just,
 as conveying the thought of the *ease* with
 which the power of God operates on the
 hearts of princes, and of the *enriching* effects
 of royal favour, (which is elsewhere com-
 pared to a cloud of the latter rain,) adding
 farther prosperity to those that are in afflu-
 ent circumstances, and setting beggars among

princes, just like those canals which are so common in these countries, which add very much to the fertility of a rich soil, and sometimes turn a desert into a paradise. So the province of Faoumé or Fioum, the richest province in all Ægypt, owes all its fertility, according to Maillet⁵, to a canal made by art in very ancient times, and would without it have been absolutely barren, as the want of keeping this canal with *sufficient* care has very much *injured* it.

OBSERVATION VI.

In this province grew, Maillet says, the best *vines* of Ægypt⁶: not that Ægypt is a *wine-country*, or ever was; so far from it, that they were forced to use a sort of beer for common drink, and do so to this day⁷, made of barley and some intoxicating drug. This country not producing, like other countries in the East, wine in such quantities as to be tolerably proportionate to the wants of the inhabitants; it had, however, many vines.

We may therefore perhaps wonder, that their vines should have been considered by the Psalmist as so *important* as to be singled out, along with their sycamores, from their other trees, in his account of the destruction made among them by the hail, Ps. lxxviii. 47,

⁵ Lett. 8. p. 293, &c.

⁶ Voy. la dernière citation.

⁷ Shaw, p. 407, Maillet, Lett. II. p. III, Pococke, vol. I. p. 182.

and may fancy there must have been other trees of much more consequence to them, and in particular the date, which Maillet affirms to be the most esteemed at this time in Ægypt, on account of its *profitableness*³.

But it ought to be remembered, that many trees which are now found in Ægypt, might not have been introduced in those times. Dr. Pococke supposes, that very few of the present Ægyptian trees are natives⁴, the sycamore and the vine might then at that time be very well thought the most valuable they had.

Their *sycamores* were undoubtedly very important to them, and their destruction an heavy loss. The ancient Ægyptian coffins were made of this kind of wood, as are the modern barques⁵; and consequently we may believe their ancient ones, of which they have such numbers on the Nile, and must always have stood in great need of multitudes, on account of the nature of their country. But besides these uses, they produce a sort of fig, upon which, Norden tells us⁶ the people *for the greater part* live; thinking themselves well regaled when they have a piece of bread, a couple of sycamore-figs, and a pitcher filled with water from the Nile⁷.

[The fondness for the sycamore-fruit is not peculiar to Ægyptians: Hasselquist, the Swedish

³ Lett. 9. p. 16. part 2. p. 177.

⁴ Vol. 1. p. 205.

⁵ Norden,

⁶ Part 1. p. 79, 80.

[⁷ Hasselquist tells

Swedish traveller, was greatly pleased with it; for having said, that “the fruit was “soft, watery, somewhat sweet, with something of an aromatic taste, he adds, “After “I once had tasted it, *I could scarce refrain “from eating*; and if I had thought the fresh “fruit wholesome, I should certainly have “eaten a great deal of it.”⁸ No wonder then that David had an officer to look after these trees, and that they and olive-trees should be put jointly under his inspection, 1 Chron. xxvii. 28. When this passage describes them as growing in the low plains, it reminds us of what Hasselquist tells us, of their growing at present in the *plains* and fields of *Lower Ægypt*, where he found them very common⁹. He found many olive-trees growing in a like situation, in three places, and saith, “We had fine *vales*, abounding with

tells us, that the sycamore buds in the latter end of March, and the fruit ripens in the beginning of June; and that it is wounded or cut by the inhabitants at the time it buds, as without this precaution, they say, it will not bear fruit; p. 261. Is it not this operation that Amos refers to, in those words which we translate, “Was a gatherer of sycamore-fruit?” The Septuagint seems to refer it to something done to the fruit, to hasten its ripening, it is supposed: but as the word certainly signifies sycamore-trees elsewhere, every where else, I think; as there is a sort of scarification, or something of that kind, practised upon the tree itself, according to Hasselquist; may not the words at least as well be understood to mean this? However, if the words were rendered a sycamore-tree dresser, it would include both senses, and be preferable, sure! to our present translation.]⁸ P. 261. ⁹ P. 120.

“olive-

“ olive-trees,” speaking of the road between Jaffa and Rama.]

If their vines too were as useful then as they are now, the loss of them was very great. Their *fruit* serves for a considerable part of the entertainments they give their friends: so Norden was treated by the Aga of Effuaën with coffee, and some bunches of grapes of an excellent taste¹⁰. If we may believe Maillet, they make still more of the *leaves* of their vines than they do of their fruit, using them, when young, prodigiously: for minced meat being one great part of their diet, they wrap it up in little parcels in vine-leaves, and laying thus leaf upon leaf, they season it after their mode, and so cook it, and make of it a most exquisite sort of food, and one of the most delicious that comes upon their tables¹¹. But besides these uses, they make some *wine*, which, though it is now made in very small quantities, as it is also in other Mohammedan countries, yet was anciently much more plentiful, and even exported: for though Ægypt never produced wine in such quantities as to be tolerably proportionate to the number of its inhabitants, as in other countries; yet they made so much, and that so delicious, as that it was carried to Rome, and *so much* drank there, as to be very well known in that seat of luxury, inasmuch

¹⁰ Part 2. p. 112.

¹¹ Lett. 9. p. 14.

that Maillet, who never forgets any of the excellencies of this country, tells us, it was the third in esteem of their wines¹². It was made then without doubt¹³, and in *considerable quantities*, for the use of Pharaoh and of his court, who probably could procure no such wine from abroad; nor were acquainted with such liquors as the great now drink in Ægypt; and consequently the loss of their vines must have been considerable.

As to the date-trees, which are said to be the most important now of any to the Ægyptians, and which are mentioned neither in this Psalm, nor the cvth, may we not suppose that if they were then in Ægypt which is most probable, the storm of hail did not reach them? The trees, it is certain, that produce the best dates in Ægypt grow in the deserts¹⁴, where it seems nothing else grows, and there they are in great numbers; and as hail-storms are not wont to extend very far, so there is no reason in the world to suppose this storm reached to those deserts. It was sufficient if it fell with severity before the eyes of Pharaoh, and demolished the country that was cultivated, and particularly that part that was near to him: agreeably to which we may observe, that the vineyards of Ægypt were in the country of Fium¹⁵, which, according to William of

¹² Lett. 8. p. 294.
lett. 8. p. 295.

¹³ Gen. 40. 9, &c.
¹⁵ La même page.

¹⁴ Mail-

Tyre, is but one day's journey from Cairo; and consequently less from Memphis¹⁶ the old royal city, Memphis and Fium lying both South-West from Cairo. As for the sycamore-trees, Dr. Pococke tells us¹⁷, they are planted near villages, especially about Cairo, and consequently not far from Memphis.

Upon the whole, it is no wonder that we have no account of any damage done to their date-trees, and that their sycamores and their vines are distinguished from their other trees, in the Mosaic history of this desolation.

OBSERVATION VII.

[The grapes of Ægypt, it should seem, are much smaller than those that grow in the Holy-Land.

Dandini, though an Italian, seems to have been surprized at the extraordinary size of the grapes of Mount Libanus. *They use no props*, he tells us, *to support the trees, but let them creep along the earth; the wine produced from them is delicate, and exceeding pleasant; it is a very surprizing thing to see the bigness of the grape, which is equal to a prune; and that he easily comprehended, at seeing them, why the Hebrews had so great a desire to taste them, and that they pushed forwards with so much passion the conquest of the Land of Promise, after*

¹⁶ Gesta Dei &c, p. 964.¹⁷ Vol. I. p. 205.

they

they had seen the grapes which the spies of Joshua brought back from the neighbouring countries'.

It is the *distinguishing* manner in which the grapes are spoken of in the thirteenth of Numbers, and *the pains they took* to bring a whole cluster to the camp, by hanging it on a staff borne by two men, that demonstrates the particular value the spies put on this kind of fruit, produced in the Holy-Land, rather than their *hastening* to subdue the country; which doth not very well agree with the account that is given us of the temper Israel was in at the return of the spies.

Nor is it any wonder the Israelites, born in the land of Ægypt, were so extremely struck with the grapes of Canaan, since *those of Ægypt*, it should seem, though it is so fertile a country, are very small. The setting a passage of Norden in contrast with Dandini's account, will illustrate this circumstance extremely: "Waiting on a Turkish Aga in Upper Ægypt," Norden saith, "the Aga ordered coffee to be served, and regaled me with some bunches of grapes, which were of an excellent taste, but *very small*."

D'Herbelot, in giving an account of the tragical death of one of the women of the Khalife Jezid, from a Persian historian, takes notice of the *largeness* of the grapes of Pa-

¹ Chap. 10. p. 43.

² Vol. 2. p. 112.

læstine in like manner³. As the story is memorable, it shall be given in a note below. The Ægyptian Israelites must have been pleased with the grapes of Eshcol : they that before had only seen very small bunches.]

OBSERVATION VIII.

VII.

Dr. Pococke has made a remark, which I have observed in no other traveller¹, and that is, that there is a double seed-time and harvest in Ægypt : rice, Indian wheat, and another sort that produces a large cane, and has an ear like millet, (which they call the corn of Damascus, and in Italian, *furgo rosso*,) being sown and reaped at a very different time from wheat, (which, in that country, it seems, is all bearded,) barley, and flax. “The first,” he says², “are sown
“ in March, before the Nile overflows the
“ lands, and reaped about October ; whereas

[³ P. 487. Jezid, says the historian Khondemir, being in Palæstine, which they call the country of Jordan, and diverting himself in a garden with one of his women, whom he loved to madness, he was presented with a collation of the most excellent fruits of the country : during this little repast he took a grape, which he threw to his mistress ; she took it, and put it into her mouth to eat it ; but the grape being *very large*, such as *this country produces*, getting down her throat, stopped her breath, and she was choaked in an instant.] ¹ It is to be met with in Thompson’s Travels, vol. 3. p. 308, 309 ; but it is supposed there really was no such traveller, and that the book was a mere compilation from others. ² The text says, *July*, but it appears from the errata, *March* was the month he intended.

“ the

“ the wheat and barley are sown in November and December, as soon as the Nile is gone off, and they are reaped before May ³. ”

Dr. Shaw seems not to have been aware of this, for he supposes that rice was sown at the same time with flax, wheat, and barley ⁴; yet it seems natural, that as wheat and barley are sown as soon as the inundation is over, and reaped before it returns, so likewise that those sorts of grain that require much water, should be sown before it begins, and be reaped just as it finishes. And though I have met with no direct observation of this kind ⁵; yet Norden confirms one part of it: for he tells us, that he saw a great plain covered with *Turkey-wheat* the twentieth of *November*, which began to be ripe; and that he saw the Arabs cutting their harvest in a neighbouring plain the twenty-ninth of *that month* ⁶.

If then this is fact, it will explain very determinately what is meant by the wheat and rye's being dark, or hidden, at the time of the plague of hail, *Exod. ix. 32*; for it must mean, that they were sown, but *not*

³ Vol. 1. p. 204. ⁴ P. 406, 407. [⁵ Pococke's account has since been confirmed by Hasselquist, who found the rice, about *Affotta*, about three inches high the thirtieth of May N. S. p. 54. He indeed tells us, it had been sown but eight days before; but this must certainly have been a mistake, perhaps it should have been eight weeks. He elsewhere mentions the same month that Pococke doth, as the time for reaping it, that of *October*.]

⁶ Part 2. p. 17, and p. 36.

come up, contrary to the opinion of Dr. Shaw, who supposes that the expression imports, that they were of a *dark green*, and consequently yielded without hurt, while the barley and the flax, being forwarder, were destroyed.

This will shew also what the wheat was that, being hidden in the earth, escaped: it was Indian wheat, or *furgo rosso*, which sorts of wheat with the rye⁷ escaped; while the barley, and wheat bearded like barley, and the flax, were smitten.

OBSERVATION IX.

VIII.

I do not apprehend, that it is at all necessary to suppose, that *all* the servants, and *all* the cattle of the Ægyptians, that were abroad at the time the hail fell, which Moses threatened, and which was attended with thunder and lightning, died; it is sufficient to suppose they all felt the hail-stones, and that *several of them* were killed. This was

[⁷ Or rice, according to Dr. Shaw, p. 407. Hasselquist however makes no doubt, but that the Ægyptians learned the cultivation of rice under the Califs, at which time, he says, many useful plants were brought over the Red-Sea to Ægypt, which now grow spontaneously there, and enrich the country, p. 109, 110. This may be left to the curious to examine, it being of no consequence to my design here to examine, whether rice, or the corn of Damascus, or some other plant of importance to human life, was meant; it being sufficient to observe, that some sorts of farinaceous plants were then but just sown, while others were drawing to maturity.]

enough

enough to justify the words of Moses, that it should be a grievous hail, such as had not fallen *before* in Ægypt *from its foundation*. For though it *hails* sometimes in Ægypt as well as rains, as Dr. Pococke found it *hailed* at Faiume, when he was there in February¹; and *thunders* too, as Thevenot says it did one night in December, when he was at Cairo²; yet *fatal effects* are not wont to follow in that country, as appears from what Thevenot says of this thunder, which he tells us killed a man in the castle there, *though it had never been heard before that thunder had killed any body at Cairo*. For divers people then to have been killed by the lightning and the hail, besides cattle, was an event that Moses might well say had never happened *there* before, from the time it began to be inhabited.

I will only add, that Moses, by representing this as an *extraordinary hail*, supposed that it did sometimes hail there, as it is found in fact to do, though not as in other countries³. The not raining in Ægypt, it is well known, is to be understood in the same manner.

¹ Vol. I. p. 59. ² Part I. p. 247. [³ So Dr. Perry tells us, that when he was at Cairo, there was one shower of *hail*, as well as several of rain, which first they were told had not been observed before in any man's memory, p. 255. It appears by circumstances that it was early in the Spring.]

OBSERVATION X.

[Dr. Shaw, with a multitude of other learned men, supposeth the *behemoth* of the book of Job is the hippopotamus, or *river-horse*. He also apprehends, that the Prænestine pavement, of which he has given a draught, p. 422, 423, exhibits a true, and *not a romantic* representation of the Natural History of Ægypt.

If these two suppositions be just, there is a great deal of beauty in the *ranging* the descriptions of the *behemoth* and the *leviathan*, which last, I think, is universally now allowed to be the *crocodile*.

For in that Mosaic pavement, the people of an Ægyptian barque are represented as darting *spears*, or some such weapons, at one of the river-horses; as another of them is pictured with two sticking near his shoulders. Consequently, if this piece of antiquity truly exhibits the managements of the Ægyptians, according to the supposition, it was a customary thing with the old Ægyptians thus to attack these animals. And if so, how beautiful is the arrangement! There is a most happy gradation: after a pompous, but just representation of the terribleness of the river-horse, the Almighty is represented as going on with his expostulations, something after this manner, *But dreadful as this animal is, barbed irons and spears have sometimes prevailed*

vailed against him; but what wilt thou do with the crocodile? Canst thou fill his skin with barbed irons, or his head with fish-spears? The sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold; the spear, the dart, nor the . . . He esteemeth iron as straw, and brass as rotten wood. The iron cannot make him flee: sling-stones are turned with him into stubble, darts are counted as stubble: he laugheth at the shaking of a spear, &c. What wilt thou do with this creature, O Job! This is finishing the expostulation in the strongest, in the most majestic manner.

I am not insensible several authors have described the hippopotamos as nearly invulnerable. Maillet tells us, "it's skin is two fingers thick, and that it is so much the more difficult to kill it, as there is only a small place in it's forehead, where it can be wounded". He adds, that "some Nubian servants that he had, informed him, that the skin of one of them, preserved at Sannar, would have been brought to him with difficulty by four camels." If their account could be depended upon, the skin of this animal must have weighed about as much again as that of the mighty elephant, belonging to the King of the Two Sicilies, which died in the beginning of the year 1755, and which was described by the celebrated Abbot Nollet. The skin of this elephant when taken off, we are told, weighed seventy-

^s Lett. 9. p. 31.

four stone and an half, avoirdupois weight². But as the Natural History of the hippopotamus is not sufficiently known, as Hasselquist justly remarks, on the one hand; and I am supposing the Prænestine-Mosaic pavement not romantic, on the other; we are to consider it as *vulnerable*, and pursued by the Ægyptians with *spears and barbed irons*, while nothing of that sort appears to be done there to the crocodiles, which are also figured in that pavement.

It is farther to be observed, that these river-horses appear, in this celebrated pavement, on the hillocks that are seen here and there, rising above the water, among the vegetables growing upon them: may we not believe these are the *hills*, the *mountains* as our translation renders the word, “ which bring him
“ forth food: where all the beasts of the
“ field play ?” ver. 20. It is certain the altar of God, which was only ten cubits high, and fourteen square, is called the *Mountain of God*, Ezek. xliii. 15³. The eminences then of Ægypt, which appear as the inundation of the Nile decreases, may undoubtedly be called Mountains in the *poetical* language of the book of Job. Nor is it any wonder that these animals are pictured in this pavement on these eminences, since the Turkey-wheat is what they are fond of, and this vegetable

² Annual Register for 1761.
or the margin of our translation.

³ Consult the original,

appears from time to time in these eminences. So Hasselquist tells us, that when he went to the burying-place of the Mummies, he saw, on the seventeenth of September, “the
 “ places not yet overflown, or where it had
 “ already begun to decrease, appeared cloth-
 “ ed with a charming verdure, a great part
 “ sown with *Turkey-wheat*, and some parts,
 “ though but few, with *lucern* ⁴.” And on the other hand he tells us in another place, “that the *river-horse* does much damage to the
 “ *Ægyptians*, in those places he frequents, de-
 “ stroying in a short space of time an entire
 “ field of corn or clover, not leaving the least
 “ verdure as he passes: being voracious, and re-
 “ quiring much to fill his great belly.” This agrees with Maillet’s account, who tells us, “it is incredible how pernicious he is to the
 “ productions of the earth, desolating the
 “ fields, and eating in all places through
 “ which he passes the ears of corn, especially
 “ the *Turkey wheat* ⁵.”

Hasselquist, in the first of the two last citations, goes on to inform us, that “innu-
 “ merable kinds of birds were to be seen *on*
 “ the places not under water all which
 “ excited his attention, but not so much
 “ as the crane called Ibis: I thought this
 “ most remarkable, as an incredible number
 “ covered the fields. We see *birds* accord-
 “ ingly, upon some of the hillocks of the

⁴ P. 84, 85.

⁵ Lett. 9. p. 31.

“ Prænestine pavement, and *beasts*, in great “ *variety*, upon others.” This answers that other clause in Job, “ Where *all* the beasts “ of the fields play,” or are pleased, and enjoy themselves. All the wild beasts of the countries where the elephant resides are not mountaineers ; and if they were, it would be difficult to assign a reason why that circumstance should be mentioned in a description of the terribleness of the elephant ; but *all* the quadrupeds of Ægypt are obliged to retire to these eminences, when the Nile overflows, and the coming of an hippotamus among them, and destroying all the verdure of the places of their retirement, augments our ideas of their terribleness.

A rhinoceros appears on one of these eminences, a most powerful, warlike, and *well-guarded* animal, but most probably not known in Ægypt so early as the time of Job, and therefore not taken notice of in the expostulations of God with him.]

OBSERVATION XI.

IX.

Immediately after those verses of the nineteenth of Isaiah, which I had occasion to cite under Obs. IV, mention is made of the fishers of Ægypt ; and it appears from Num. xi. 5, “ We remember the fish, which we “ did eat in Ægypt freely,” that there are great quantities of fish in that country : what therefore le Bruyn has said, and Dr.

Wells repeated from him, in vol. ii. of his *Historical Geography of the Old Testament*¹, may appear surprising to some readers; I mean that the Nile, whether from the mudiness of its waters, or the numerousness of the crocodiles in it, has not many fish. As no commentator, that I know of, has touched upon this difficulty, it is a proper subject for these papers.

In the first place then, fish might be very plentiful in Ægypt, though they do not appear in great numbers in the stream of the Nile. There are several lakes and reservoirs of water in that country, in which they may appear in great quantities, and certainly do. Le Bruyn himself would not have contested this: for speaking of a lake two Italian miles to the East of Damietta, called the Dead-sea, he says, it was *extremly full* of fish². Other lakes are, doubtless, as full. *Great quantities* are caught in that called Mœris, according to Dr. Pococke, especially when the lake is low, and carried to Faiume market, where they are sold *very cheap*³. Maillet also assures us, that there must be a prodigious number of fish in Ægypt, since there are sometimes assembled upon those lakes or ponds to which the water-game repair, an hundred thousand agobilles, a voracious kind of fowl, of which each devours at least *three or four pounds of*

¹ P. 67.
p. 576.

² Extraordinairement poissonneuse, tome I.
³ Vol. I. p. 65.

fish every day*. He adds, that the *coasts* of the Lower Ægypt are equally rich in fish, and that an infinity of fish of different sorts are taken in the Red-sea: so that fish may be extremely plentiful and cheap in Ægypt, if but few should be found directly in the Nile, which le Bruyn affirms, but which Maillet denies. Curiosity in the mean while may lead a person to endeavour to decide this difference, but the honour of the Scriptures by no means engages us to this, since they are *ponds* for fish that the Prophet speaks of, and the fishers are supposed to angle in the brooks, or canals cut from the Nile, as the word signifies.

Some fish however the Scriptures seem to suppose are in the river itself, “The fish that “ is in the river shall die,” Exod. vii. 18: which, as le Bruyn doth not deny, so Norden gives us to understand, is the fact, by his account of his finding a native of Barbary fishing at the cataract, who, by the assistance of a little hook, made Norden catch some excellent carp, which the Barbarin himself carried for him to the barque⁵; and his speaking afterwards of fish as plentiful there, when he gives an account of his return to the cataract on the eleventh of January⁶. Maillet in like manner speaks of carp in the Nile, as well as of various other kinds of fish there⁷, observing with sur-

⁴ Lett. 9. p. 21. 25.

⁵ Part 2. p. 115. 119.

⁶ P. 167.

⁷ Lett. 9. p. 25.

prize, that though there is an astonishing quantity of fish in that river, excepting eels⁸, there are hardly any of *our sorts* of river-fish to be found in it. To this he adds, as an amazing curiosity, that in the months of December, January, and February, they catch very good herrings in the neighbourhood of Cairo, but none at Rosetto, and very few at Damietta, by which they must pass in their way to Cairo; nor are they ever found in the Mediterranean.

Sandys agrees with Maillet in his account of an abundance of fish in the Nile, and of their differing much from ours in shape and quality. He says, that in going up the Nile, they often bought as much fish by the way for six-pence, as would have satisfied twenty people⁹; but informs us that, by reason of the muddy channel, they were not altogether favourable nor wholesome¹⁰. Egmont and Heyman agree with Sandys, as to the muddy taste of the fish of the Nile in general, but affirm that there are several sorts which are very palatable: they mention four sorts in particular, one of which is said to weigh between two and three hundred pounds; and two other sorts weigh near thirty pounds a fish. All which are caught, they say, at all seasons in the Nile¹¹.

⁸ To which we must add the carp, which he speaks of.
⁹ Sandys, p. 92. ¹⁰ P. 78. ¹¹ Vol. 2. p. 220.

OBSERVATION XII.

X.

The *fish* of Ægypt are eaten *in common* with pleasure by the inhabitants of that country; but in *April and May*, which is the hot season there, they scarce eat any thing else but fish, with pulse and herbs: the great heat taking away their appetite *for all sorts of meat*.

This is Dr. Pococke's account, vol. 1. p. 182. Maillet says much the same¹. Both agree that they are the months of April and May, in which they eat no flesh, and that it is owing to the great heats, which, Maillet says, are occasioned by the South-winds that then blow. Maillet farther tells us, that Mohammedans and Christians, and people of all sorts that inhabit Ægypt, adopt this custom, which is a very ancient one; and that the fish, which is eaten at this time, is of two sorts, the one fresh, the other dried in the sun, which, though it comes from the *Red-Sea*, is prepared at Damietta. That they eat also quantities of fish of another sort, prepared with nothing more than salt and water, being a kind of small muscles, very much resembling those of France. The *Great* themselves, he tells us, have no other food at this season.

Perhaps it may be imagined, that the complaint of the children of Israel in the

¹ Lett. 11. p. 109, 110.

wilderness, “ We remember the *fish* which
 “ we did eat in Ægypt freely, the cucum-
 “ bers, the melons, &c; but now our soul
 “ is *dried away*, there is nothing at all, be-
 “ sides this manna,” Num. xi. 5, 6, arose
 from the same cause, the peculiar sultriness
 of the weather, and their being accustomed
 in these hot seasons to eat fish, and such re-
 freshing vegetables, and consequently that
 they were somewhat hardly dealt with, in
 being punished with death, on account of
 this pining for the wonted diet of such times.
 But it is most probable, that the complaint
 of Israel rather proceeded from a wayward
 and perverse kind of luxuriousness, and for
 that reason drew down such a severe ani-
 madversion from heaven. So de Vitriaco
 telleth us², that some of the more delicate
 Ægyptians *pined to death*, when Damietta was
 besieged, (A. D. 1218,) *though they had a*
sufficiency of corn, for want of the food they
 were used to, *pompions*, garlick, onions, *fish*,
 birds, fruit, *berbs*, &c. It appears at least
 very clear, that the Israelites did not arrive at
 this station till the latter end of May, if be-
 fore June, from Num. x. 11; and it seems
 to have been some time after that before this
 murmuring, Num. xi. 4; so that either the
 South-winds do not blow at the same time
 in the desert, that they are wont to do in
 Ægypt, or this complaint did not arise from
 that cause.

² *Gesta Dei &c.* p. 1142.

OBSERVATION XIII.

XI.

In the Mosaic pavement at Præneste, we see a representation of those toils with which the Ægyptians were wont to catch fish. These toils, Dr. Shaw tells us, continue to be used by the Ægyptians to this day. They are made up of several hurdles of reeds, fixed in various windings and directions, and ending in a small point; into which the fish being driven, they are taken out with nets or baskets, as there represented. The same method, he had before observed, is made use of on the coast of Barbary¹.

The Doctor goes no farther; but Maillet affirms, that they make no use of *nets* at all in Ægypt. He mentions this indeed occasionally, but in such a manner as shews he was assured of the fact; for, having mentioned several methods the Ægyptians make use of for catching crocodiles, he says², “Others take this animal in a way that I can give no account of, but I am very sure it cannot be with *nets*, since *they are not in use in this country.*” And accordingly we find nothing that looks like a net in that pavement.

Nets are used in other countries in the Levant. Dr. Pococke expressly says, that they went in a boat on the lake of Tiberias,

¹ In a note on p. 424. ² Lett. 9. p. 32.

and that they diverted themselves with fishing with *casting-nets*, which *they use there*, throwing whenever they see the fish³. The not using them in Ægypt then, I should think, must be in consequence of its being an old custom not to use them in that country.

If they have never been in use in that country, in what a light must we look upon some translations of Isaiah xix. 8, 9, 10, where, though nets were not used in Ægypt, the word occurs in the singular, or plural number, no less than three times in a description of the Ægyptian fishery? Such a translation is that of Pagninus, even as corrected by Arias Montanus; and such is that of the curious Vitrunga. Fishing with an *hook* is an Ægyptian practice: in that manner the Barbarin fished, that Norden met with near the cataract; and the figure of a man in a boat, fishing after that manner, seems to appear in the Prænestine pavement. Fishing with toils is Ægyptian also, and may be supposed to be referred to in the 8th verse, where toils might have been put in the room of the word *nets*. As for the other two verses, the learned are not agreed as to the precise sense of them; and for my part, I shall take no other notice of them, than just to observe, that the Septuagint translators, who are supposed to have lived in this country, saw nothing of nets in them.

³ Vol. 2. p. 69.

It ought however to be acknowledged, that these translators seem to have been doubtful, whether a word used *in the 8th verse* might not be intended to signify *nets*, for they have expressed there both toils and nets, if I understand them right: “ And “ the fishermen shall groan, and all that “ cast an hook into the river, shall groan ; “ and they that throw nets, and they that “ set toils⁴, shall mourn.” But whether we can from hence certainly conclude, that *nets were used in Ægypt* in the days of these translators, may be questioned; as may Maillet’s account of the fishing with *nets*, in the lake at Memphis, in ancient days once in three years, *nets* at other times being only used by the Ægyptian kings of those times; for this account is taken, not from any contemporary author, but *Arabs* who wrote *long after*, and perhaps these not cited with the utmost accuracy, which certainly was not the distinguishing talent of this French writer. What he says of the not using nets in these times, is much more to be depended on, as he speaks there from *his own knowledge* of the usages of the country.

Nets are however used in Ægypt for the catching of birds, for Egmont and Heyman assure us, they saw them set among the reeds

⁴ Οι Αμφιβολεις, which word *may* signify fishermen *in general*; but here, seems to be particularly expressive of those that set toils in *various* windings and directions, which Dr. Shaw speaks of.

by the sea-side for quails, vol. 2. p. 206, 207; though they are not used, if Maillet speaks truth, in their fishing.

XII.

OBSERVATION XIV.

[There seems to be a good deal of reason to question the accuracy of our translation of Numb. xi. 5: “ We remember the fish
“ which we did eat in Ægypt freely; the
“ cucumbers, and the melons, and the *leeks*,
“ and the onions, and the *garlick*.

I am not the first that has called the justness of this translation into question; the learned and celebrated Ludolphus was not satisfied with those versions, which, like our s, represent the children of Israel as complaining for want of the *leeks* they were wont to eat in Ægypt: yet these translations are conformable to that of the Seventy, an Ægyptian work. Ludolphus, from the Arabic, has proposed to translate the third word *lettuce*, or *salads* in general¹, instead of *leeks*.

To enable us to judge of this in the fairest manner, it is requisite to consider what are the most common things that are at this time eaten in Ægypt, and which are more especially grateful on account of their cooling qualities, or least disgusting in very hot weather. It appears from a preceding Ob-

¹ See Bishop Patrick on the place. The Bishop, however, has been guilty of a little oversight, when he supposes the word Chatzir (the third word) is translated *onions*, that is the word that is translated *leeks*.

servation,

ſervation, that *fiſh* was eagerly deſired by the Ægyptians in hot weather; and theſe *vegetables* without doubt were ſuch as were wont to be eaten at ſuch times, or at leaſt were found to be cooling, and on that account pleaſurable.]

Maillet then, in deſcribing the vegetables that the Ægyptians uſe for food², tells us, that *melons*, *cucumbers*, and *onions*, are ſome of the moſt common; and concerning the laſt of theſe, he ſays, they are ſweeter than in any other place in the world; that an hundred pounds weight of them may be ſometimes purchaſed for eight or ten ſols³; and that there is ſuch an abundance of them, that they fill all the ſtreets of Cairo, where they ſell them ready prepared for eating. He obſerves, that there grows wild in the fields of Ægypt a *ſuccory*, or *endive*, a thouſand times ſweeter than that of our gardens; that it comes up *naturally in the meadows*, without any art for its improvement, but is found much more plentifully on the ſide of Matarée, than in any other part of the country: none but Franks, he farther tells us, take any pains to have it blanched; as to the common people, they take it juſt as they find it, and *half of them* ſcarce eat any thing elſe. He tells us alſo that *purſlane* is very common here; that the *Roman lettuces* begin in November, and continue to April.

² Lett. 9.

³ A ſol is not worth much more than an halfpenny.

These lettuces are all very good, but those that are sown laſt are much preferable to the others. They have a ſugar-like taſte, ſo agreeable, that they eat them without ſalt, without oil, without vinegar. “ I myſelf,” Maillet ſays, “ do the ſame, without being able to ſay whether I am led to it by example, or the nature of the thing itſelf.” Theſe, with *radishes*, *carrots*, *beans*, and the leaves of the vine, are all the things of this kind, I think, which he ſpeaks of as eaten in Ægypt, excepting a plant that grows near the mountains of that country, the pith of which the Arabs, who are ſhepherds, as the Iſraelites were, he was told, were wont to dry for food ⁴. To which we are to add, I preſume, the ancient lotus: whether we are to underſtand by it the colocaffia, which Maillet ſays is common in that country, and its root very good to eat when properly dreſſed, and which, according to Monſ. Belon, the Ægyptians actually boil with moſt of their meat ⁵; or whether we underſtand it of a plant more nearly reſembling the nymphaea, or water-lily, and which perhaps is deſcribed by du Halde in his Hiſtory of Chna ⁶. Be it the one or the other, or a vegetable

⁴ Lett. 9. p. 18.
 vels, part 2. p. 92.

⁵ See Ray's Collect. of Trav-
⁶ Aſtley's Collection of Voy-
 ages and Travels gives this account of it from du Halde,
 “ In artificial fiſh-ponds, and often in the marſhes, there
 “ grows a flower called *lyen-wba*, in much eſteem with
 “ the *Cbineſe*. By the leaves, the fruit, and ſtalk, it ap-
 “ pears

vegetable different from both, it appears in the Prænestine table, rising up every where in the waters of Ægypt, in the time of the inundation of that country⁷, and consequently we may believe, grew wild in Ægypt in the time the Israelites sojourned there, as it did at the time of making that table.

Let us now consider what are those vegetables they were most likely to wish for *in a time of great heat*, when they were wont particularly to desire fish. *Cucumbers*, every body knows, are extremely cooling and re-

“ pears to be the *nenuphar*, *nymphæa*, or *water-lily*; “ which is but little valued in Europe.” Upon which this collector observes in a note, that du Halde elsewhere says, it differs much from the water-lily, as well in the fruit, as the blossom and root. Then after having said in the text, from du Halde, that whole lakes are covered with its flowers, and that it shoots up above the top of the water, a yard, or yard and half, &c, he says, “ Its colour is either “ violet, or white, or partly red, and partly white: the “ smell is very agreeable: its fruit is of the size of an hazle- “ nut, the kernel whereof is white, and well-tasted. The “ physicians prescribe it to nourish and strengthen people “ weakened by long sickness: it is also very cooling in sum- “ mer. The leaves are long, and float on the water “ The root is knotty, like that of reeds; its pith and sub- “ stance is very white. This plant is esteemed all over “ the empire, every part of it being of use; they even “ make *meal* of it, which serves for several occasions.” Vol. 4. p. 304, 305. If *modern* describers of this Chinese plant contradict themselves, in their accounts of it, shall we wonder at some inaccuracies in the *ancient* descriptions of the lotus? The curious would do well in publishing an exact account of this Chinese plant, and in determining whether the same does not grow in Ægypt. ⁷ See the table in Shaw.

refreshing to the Eastern people in hot weather. *Melons* are the same. We may then pay that deference, I think, to the Ægyptian translation of the Seventy, as to suppose they were two of the things the Israelites longed for in the wilderness.

Maillet makes no mention of *leeks* in his catalogue of the edible vegetables of Ægypt; they then could hardly be meant. Nor are *leeks*, I think, reckoned to be of a cooling nature. But what seems to put it out of all reasonable doubt is, the same word is used to express the food of horses and mules, 1 Kings xviii. 5, which can hardly therefore be allowed to mean *leeks*, but may very well stand for such vegetables as grew *promiscuously* with grass, which the succory or endive, it seems, doth; for Maillet tells us it comes up *naturally in the meadows*. The same word then that denotes grass, may very well be supposed to include the herbs that grew among the grass, and particularly this *succory or endive*, which are mentioned by the writers on the *Materia Medica* as very cooling plants. Whether the word means *lettuce* too, and all *salads* in general, as Ludolphus supposes, is not so certain. If *half* the ancient Ægyptians eat the succory or endive, and scarce any thing else, as Maillet observes of those of modern times, this vegetable must, without doubt, be included in some of the words here made use of, most probably in the third, *we remember the cucumbers,*
the

the melons, the herbage we did eat in the land of Ægypt.

In like manner, one can hardly imagine that the fifth word means *garlick*: for though I find by *Nieubr*, that *garlick* is made use of by the modern Arabs, as a preservative against the deadly quality of their hot winds; for speaking of several that have perished immediately by the *smûm*⁸, he says, “more
“ have lived some hours; others have been
“ recovered by the refreshments the Arabs
“ generally carry with them in journeying,
“ such as *garlick* and raisins, and which they
“ make use of with success, in recalling to
“ life persons nearly stifled,” p. 8; yet we are assured by Dr. Haffelquist, p. 290, 291, that *garlick* doth not grow in Ægypt; and though it is much used, it is brought from the islands of the Archipelago. Now if in these times *garlick* continues to be imported from those islands, we cannot suppose they were things that the enslaved Israelites were much acquainted with, when residing in Ægypt in those elder times. Perhaps the roots of the colocassia might be meant, which are large, Maillet tells us, almost round, and of a reddish colour; and as being near a-kin to the nymphæa, I should suppose the colocassia is very *cooling*.

⁸ A destructive hot wind, which frequently blows in their deserts, called by Dr. Russell, in his History of Aleppo, the *fumyel*.

But be this as it may, we may suppose the Ægyptian translators of the Septuagint were right in supposing one of these five words meant *onions*: since, though they do not appear to us to possess any very cooling qualities, yet they are, and were anciently very much used for food in Ægypt; and it is to be remembered, the Ægyptian onions differ considerably from ours. So Hasselquist tells us, “Whoever has tasted onions in
 “ Ægypt, must allow that none can be
 “ had better in any part of the universe:
 “ here they are sweet, in other countries
 “ they are nauseous and strong; here they
 “ are soft, whereas in the North, and other
 “ parts, they are hard, and the coats so
 “ compact, that they are hard of digestion.
 “ Hence they cannot in any place be eaten
 “ with less prejudice, and more satisfaction,
 “ than in Ægypt.—They eat them roasted,
 “ cut into four pieces, with some bits of
 “ roasted meat, which the Turks, in Ægypt,
 “ call kebab; and with this dish they are so
 “ delighted, that I have heard them wish
 “ they might enjoy it in Paradise. They
 “ likewise make a soup of them in Ægypt,
 “ cutting the onions in small pieces: this,
 “ I think, is one of the best dishes I ever
 “ eat.” Perhaps it may not be amiss to add, that, according to Plaistead, those that travel the deserts now frequently take onions with them, along with other provisions, p. 31: if they did so anciently, these complaining
 Israelites

Israelites could hardly forget the onions of Ægypt, when in the desert they were pining for what they had enjoyed among the Ægyptians.

I would only farther add, that it was of the *fish* only that the text expressly observeth the Israelites had eaten freely, or gratis, in Ægypt; but we may believe the other things were such as they could procure with little trouble there: this was certainly true with respect to the endive or succory, and the colocassia we have been speaking of, which appear to have grown wild there; and with respect to the cucumbers, the melons, and the onions, they might be indulged with the liberty of places in which they might sow these plants, and receive the benefit of them. The wild Arabs of Ægypt now enjoy that liberty: so captain Norden found the borders of the canal of Cleopatra, near Alexandria, peopled by divers *flying-camps* of the Bedouins, or wandering Arabs⁹, in June or July¹⁰, about which time Egmont and Heyman found the same canal almost dry, and in it vast numbers of cucumbers, of which they eat some, and found them very palatable¹¹.

OBSERVATION XV.

XIII.

It is no wonder to find *birds*, in de Vitriaco's catalogue of the things that the

⁹ Vol. 1. p. 17.
ch. 8.

¹⁰ Preface, p. 19.

¹¹ Vol. 2.

people of delicacy pined for, when besieged in Damiata, there are several of exquisite taste in Ægypt. Norden, who differs extremely in his notions of this country from Maillet, its perpetual encomiast, and speaks of Ægypt with the same freedom, that the ingenious author of the voyage of lord Anson round the world doth of the celebrated empire of China, yet allows this in more places than one, as appears by the following extracts.

“ NOVEMBER 21.

“ —Our people fired upon abundance of pigeons, and killed some; but they were *out of season*, and so hard that we could not eat them.

“ They found their account better in killing a sort of *partridge*, that was *delicious*, and of the size of our red partridges. They had feathers like those of the Guinea hens, and the tail like a swallow. Their flesh has an aromatic taste, and a great deal of flavour. There was no one in our barque that knew them.

“ NOVEMBER 29.

“ —They killed, however, a *goose of the Nile*, and whose plumage was extremely beautiful. But what was still better, it was of an *exquisite aromatic taste*, smelt
“ of

“ of ginger, and had a great deal of flavour¹.”

“ NOVEMBER 30.

“ —Our people had that day good success in game. They brought, amongst other things, three *coramanes*, a sort of bird of the size of a woodcock, of a *delicious taste*; but still more esteemed on account of its fine note.”

It is no wonder that the Ægyptians of Damietta pined for birds when shut up there, since there are so many extremely delicious in that country; their young house-pigeons must in consequence be very excellent, since Maillet assures us², they are highly esteemed there, and that they are indeed one of the best eatables that they have in that country. When therefore Thevenot tells us, that they catch *wild-turtles* in Ægypt, which are *very good*, but that the *house-pigeons* are *good for nothing*³, he is no otherwise to be reconciled with Maillet, than by supposing, as captain Norden doth, that at some times they are out of season, and that Thevenot happened to eat them at such a time. They were grown *old*.

It should seem however from Thevenot, that at the very time that house-pigeons are so very indifferent, turtles are very good. And for this reason I suppose it was, that

¹ They killed a dozen of these geese of the Nile, Feb. 1st; and some, Dec. 14. ² Lett. 9. p. 22. ³ Part 1. p. 247.

the law of Moses ordered them to offer on particular occasions two pigeons, or two turtles; not merely according to the pleasure of the offerer, but according as they were in season: pigeons being sometimes quite hard and unfit for eating, *at which time* turtles are very good in Ægypt, and, as we may suppose, in the Holy-Land.

Agreeably to this we find that Moses expressly enjoined *young* pigeons, and with reason, since the sacrifices of God were to be of the best; and these creatures grow very disagreeable as they grow old. There is not the same restraint as to turtle-doves: they are birds of passage, and are very good, it seems, when they appear in these countries, in which point Maillet expressly ⁴ agrees with Thevenot. The Jewish doctors however have put their limitations upon these birds ⁵, *young* turtle-doves being, according to them, unlawful, as pigeons are, when *old*, and are not allowable, if they are in the right, until after they wax golden-coloured. Whether this is any more than a fancy derived from the words of the Psalmist, Psalm lxxviii. 13, or whether turtle-doves are really not so good to eat until they are thus coloured, which can be the only just reason to suppose them unlawful, does not appear from any thing I have met with in reading, so far as I can recollect. The silence of Moses

⁴ Lett. 9. p. 21.

⁵ See Ainsworth on Lev. i. 14.

upon the point is but unfavourable to those that fit in his chair.

The number of pigeon-houses is extremely great in Ægypt, *each* habitation being terminated at the top by a pigeon-house, above three quarters of the way from the first cataract to Cairo⁶; they are numerous also in Lower-Ægypt⁷. Maundrell found them as plentiful in some parts of Syria⁸; and there is reason to suppose, that in the time that the Jews were in their own country, they were as numerous there⁹. Pigeons however do not seem to have bred as early in Palæstine as in Ægypt, since it appears by a citation in Lightfoot¹⁰, that their not being fledged, and fit for use, was one cause anciently of intercalating the year: young pigeons then were not to be commonly had in Judæa till the Passover, that is till April or May; but we find there are young ones in Ægypt, at least in the Upper Ægypt, much earlier, for Dr. Pococke had a present of twelve pigeons made him in January or February¹¹.

As for the other delicious birds that Norden speaks of, the swallow-tailed partridges, the coramanes, and the geese of the Nile, it does not appear whether their Jew that attended them eat of them. But surely one

⁶ Norden, p. 20. vol. 2. ⁷ Le Bruyn, tom 1.
 p. 588. ⁸ P. 3. ⁹ See ch. 3. Obi. 27. ¹⁰ Vol. 2.
 p. 185. ¹¹ Vol. 1. p. 116.

of that nation of a scrupulous conscience must be uneasy, lest he should eat one or other of those birds which were forbidden by the law of Moses, when travelling in these countries, since they cannot now be ascertained: one sure evidence, among others as striking, that this dispensation must be ended, which gives leave to those that are under it, to catch birds, and to eat them, after having poured out their blood, but forbids the eating of some species, which cannot now be distinguished from the rest, at least many of them. A divine dispensation could never be intended to outlive the knowledge necessary to the observing its precepts.

It is not perfectly satisfying to the mind to suppose, that the law could not intend to refer to birds which probably were not known in the Jewish country, for those ceremonial injunctions, it is most likely, had *some* relation to *Ægyptian* affairs; but what is more, some of the delicious birds of *Ægypt* were found also in *Palæstine*: so Egmont and Heyman found a bird in *Ægypt* about the size of a thrush, but of a green colour, whose flesh was remarkably palatable, which they affirm are very common in *Palæstine*.
Vol. ii. p. 112.

XIV.

OBSERVATION XVI.

Though Maillet tells us that olive-trees thrive to a wonder in this country, and produce

duce fruit very commonly as large as walnuts¹, yet Bishop Pococke assures us, that the country about Arsinoë was the only part of Ægypt that *naturally* produced the olive, and that it was cultivated by *art* in the gardens of Alexandria², which he seems to mention as a wonder, because the olive-tree flourishes in the South of France.

Whatever then a few cultivated trees might produce, Ægypt could not be a country remarkable for oil of olives, which yet is one great comfort of life in the Eastern countries, being very much used there for food. At the same time oil was wanted for lights which must not only have been very numerous *necessarily* in such a thick-peopled country; but was used by the ancient Ægyptians in great quantities for *illuminations*, (which are still very frequent in these countries,) and especially in those months in which the Nile overflows, of which Maillet gives a most amusing description³, and which we may suppose more or less even in the Prophetic times. To which also is to be added the custom that obtains universally in this country; of keeping lamps burning during the night, in all the apartments of an house that are made use of; which occasions Maillet to say, that perhaps there is no country in the world in which so much oil is consumed as in Ægypt⁴.

¹ Lett. 9. p. 16.
p. 80.

² Vol. 1. p. 57.

³ Lett. 2.

⁴ Lett. 9. p. 10.

This

This great consumption of oil occasioned them anciently to draw it from other vegetables, as well as olives, and occasions them to do it still. A plant in particular called *cirika*, which a good deal resembles wild fucory, furnishes them with a good deal of oil; but as its smell is very disagreeable, and its light not so good as that of olive-oil, it is not burnt by people of condition, or those that would be thought to be such⁵.

Syria, on the contrary, was a land of oil⁶, and it was produced in great quantities in that part of it which the Jews inhabited⁷; it is no wonder then, that when the Jews wanted to court the *Ægyptians*, they sent them a present of oil, which the Prophet Hosea upbraided them with, ch. xii. 1: it was what their country produced in large quantities, and it is what was highly acceptable in *Ægypt*.

XV.

OBSERVATION XVII.

If oil was so welcome to *Ægypt*, the *Ægyptian horses* were equally acceptable to the *Syrian Princes*, who, it seems, had them brought out of that country, by the means of King Solomon, as we read 1 Kings x. 28, 29, and 2 Chron. i. 16, 17, at a considerable expence.

⁵ La même, p. 10, 11. ⁶ Ch. 8. Obf. 2. ⁷ See Deut. 8. 8, 2 Kings 18. 32, and Dr. Shaw, p. 339.

What

What it was that made them prize the Ægyptian horses so highly, is not a point easy to be determined. It cannot be imagined that they were animals peculiar to Ægypt, or not known in that part of Asia, which made them so desirous to transplant such an useful exotic creature into their countries: for we read of great numbers of them in Syria before the time of Solomon¹. They might be supposed however to be *much stronger* than the Syrian horses, and consequently much more useful in war; to which the Prophet Isaiah may possibly refer, when he tells the Israelites, that *the Ægyptians were men, and not God, and their horses were flesh, and not spirit*, Is. xxxi. 3. For it is well known, that they are much *larger* than other Eastern horses, as well as more *beautiful*². Or they might be chosen on the account of their stateliness, and their being more proper for the use of those who desired to appear in great pomp and dignity.

But however this was, it seems to have been a proof of the great respect that was paid to Solomon by the neighbouring Princes, and among the rest by those of Ægypt, which the Scripture speaks of, but which has not, that I know of, been remarked by commen-

¹ See 1 Sam. 13. 5, where we read of six thousand *horsemen*, and thirty thousand chariots, which were drawn, I presume it will be allowed, by *horses*, and consequently sixty-six thousand horses were in this army. See also 2 Sam. x. 18.

² Shaw, p. 166, Maillet, Lett. 9.

tators, as pointed out in these passages, though they are very clear proofs of it, if the present Ægyptian usages are derived from remote antiquity in this point, as they are in most other things: for in Mons. Maillet's last letter but one, he gives a long account of the *difficulty* of conveying horses out of Ægypt, which is so great, he says, that excepting those that are designed for 'Turks of high distinction at Constantinople, it cannot be overcome. Maillet himself, though Consul-General of France in Ægypt, and though he had powerful connexions with the great men there, could never obtain this liberty; and he spends above two pages in proposing projects for doing that by *subtilty*, which he despaired of effecting by *any other means*. It is most probable the like difficulty subsisted in the time of Solomon, as the customs of Ægypt are so very ancient, and consequently his bringing horses out of this country for himself, and for other Princes, at his pleasure, ought to be looked upon as a proof of the respect with which he was treated; as the fondness of the present great men of the East for the horses of Ægypt, may account for the desire the Kings of the Hittites and of Syria had to obtain them.

XVI.

OBSERVATION XVIII.

As for the linen-yarn, mentioned in these Scriptures, it is still, according to Norden,
one

one of the principal of their merchandises, and is sent away in prodigious quantities¹, along with unmanufactured flax, and cotton spun. To which I would add this remark of Sanutus², who lived about four hundred years ago, that though Christian countries abounded in his time in flax, yet the goodness of the Ægyptian was such, that it was dispersed all about, even into the West; for the same reason, without doubt, the Jews, Hittites, and Syrians, anciently purchased the linen yarn of this country, though they had flax growing in their own.

OBSERVATION XIX.

[Our version having more than once mentioned the *fine linen* of Ægypt, numbers of people have been ready to imagine their linen manufactures were of the most delicate kind, whereas in truth they were but *coarse*.

Maillet is willing to suppose, their present works are not equal to those of former times: “There is still,” he observes, “a considerable quantity of *cloths* made there, and of all kinds, manufactures of silk and cotton, silk and gold, and even velvets. But I must acknowledge, very few that are perfectly beautiful; and that they are far short of the riches and perfection of

¹ Vol. I. p. 70.

² *Gesta Dei* &c, tome 2. p. 24.

³ Lett. 13. p. 193.

“those

“ those that were formerly brought from
 “ Ægypt.”

With respect, however, to their *linen cloth*, it incontestably appears, by examining that in which their embalmed bodies are found wrapped up, that their ancient linen fabrics were but coarse. Dr. Hadley found it to be so, upon inspecting a mummy in the year 1763². In like manner, Haffelquist, speaking of this matter, says, “ Their flax is
 “ soft and good, but not better than the
 “ European. They make to this day cloth
 “ of it in Ægypt, which is *coarse*, and of
 “ *little value*, when compared to what is
 “ made in Europe; however, the Turks
 “ purchase it, as do the Europeans, on ac-
 “ count of its cheapness. By what we can
 “ see by the linen wrapped round the mum-
 “ mies, the *famous linen of the ancient Ægypt-*
 “ *tians* was not better than what is made at
 “ present in this country. But it was then
 “ the best, as Ægypt alone possessed the art
 “ of cultivating and manufacturing flax. The
 “ Ægyptian linen is not so thick as the Eu-
 “ ropean, being softer, and of a looser tex-
 “ ture; for which reason it lasts longer,

² See the Philosophical Transactions for 1764. Those curious Gentlemen, who were engaged in a very nice examination, tell us, they found the upper filletting of a degree of fineness hardly equal to what is sold at the shops for two shillings and four pence a yard, under the name of long lawn, woven something after the manner of Russia sheeting. The inner filletting was in general, they tell us, coarser, as well as more irregularly laid on.

“ and does not wear out so soon as ours,
 “ &c³.” He mentions the same subject again
 elsewhere, and confirms the preceding ac-
 count: “ *All Ægyptian linen* is coarse, and
 “ much of the same fineness with ten or
 “ twelve-penny Irish linen; but with this
 “ difference, that the Ægyptian is thin,
 “ and the Irish close. . . . The ancients talk
 “ much of the linen of Ægypt, and many
 “ of our learned men imagine that it was so
 “ *fine and precious*, that we have even lost
 “ the art, and cannot make it so good.
 “ They have been induced to think so, by
 “ the commendations the Greeks have la-
 “ vished on the Ægyptian linen. They had
 “ good reason for doing it; for they had no
 “ flax themselves, and were unacquainted
 “ with the art of weaving: but were we to
 “ compare a piece of Holland linen, with
 “ the linen in which the Mummies were
 “ laid, and which is of the oldest and best
 “ manufacture of Ægypt, we should find
 “ that the fine linen of Ægypt is very coarse
 “ in comparison of what is now made. The
 “ Ægyptian linen was fine, and sought af-
 “ ter by kings and princes, when Ægypt
 “ was the only country that cultivated flax,
 “ and knew how to use it⁴.”

Hasselquist had the greatest reason to sup-
 pose the linen in which the Mummies were
 wrapped, was the finest at that time in

³ P. 244, 245.

⁴ P. 398, 399.

Ægypt; for those that were so embalmed were persons of great distinction, and about whom they spared no expense.

The celebrity then of the Ægyptian linen was owing to the great imperfection of works of this kind in those early ages: no other in those times being equally good, for that linen cloth was made in ancient times in other countries, contrary to the opinion of Hasselquist, seems to be sufficiently evident, from the story of Rahab, Josh. ii. 6; and the elogium of a notable Jewish matron, Prov. xxxi. 13, 24.

After all, there is no adjective in the original of the Old or the New Testament answering the word *fine*; there is only a noun substantive which has been *imagined* to involve in it that idea.

But if it was so coarse, why is it represented as such a piece of magnificence, Ezek. xxvii. 7, for the ships of Tyre to have their sails of the linen of Ægypt? Certainly because though coarse, in our eyes, it was thought to be very valuable, when used even for *clothing*; and if *matting* was then commonly used for sails, *sails of linen* must have been thought extremely magnificent.

OBSER-

^s The sails in the Prænestine pavement seem to have been of matting, consequently the sails of that time in Ægypt, famous for its pomp. Sails of matting are still used by the Arab vessels on the Red sea, as we are assured by Niebuhr, in his description of that country, p. 188. It appears by Lord Anson's voyage, that the same usage obtains

OBSERVATION XX.

As the linen of Ægypt was anciently very much celebrated, so there is reason to think, there were *various sorts* of linen cloth in the days of antiquity: for, little copious as the Hebrew language is, there are no fewer than four different words, at least, which have been rendered linen, or fine linen, by our translators. This would hardly have been, had they not had different kinds.

Our translators have been unfortunate in this article, I think, in supposing that one of the words might signify *silks*, and in forgetting cloth made of *cotton*.

When Joseph was arrayed in the land of Ægypt, as viceroy of that country, they represent him as clothed with vestures of fine linen, Gen. xli. 42; but being dubious of the meaning of the word there, they render it *silks* in the margin. This was very unhappy: for they not only translate the word (Shesh) linen, in a multitude of other places, but certainly, whatever the word signifies, it cannot mean *silks*, which was not used, we have reason to think, in those parts of the world, any more than in these more Western countries, till long after the time of Joseph.

obtains in some East-Indian vessels, b. 3 ch. 5. Probably then it was the common practice in the first ages, which has not yet been deviated from in these countries.

They have gone farther, for they make the word *silk* the textual translation of the Hebrew term *Shefh*, in Prov. xxxi. 22, which verse describes the happy effects of female Jewish industry: “ She maketh herself coverings of tapestry, her clothing is *silk* and purple.” They suppose then, that the Jewish women of *not the highest rank*, in the time of Solomon, were clothed with vestments made of a material so precious in former times, we are told, as to be sold for its *weight in gold*; for which reason, it is said, the emperor *Aurelian* refused his empress a garment of it, though she very importunately desired one¹—Aurelian a prince, who reigned over all Syria and Ægypt, the countries we are here speaking about, and the rest of the mighty Roman empire, and who lived almost one thousand three hundred years later than Solomon, and nearer these times in which silk is become so common. This seems very strange!

If they have introduced *silk* improperly, as hesitating sometimes about the meaning of a word rendered in common, linen; their omission of cloth made of *cotton* seems to have been as remarkable, on the other hand: since cotton grows in great quantities in Ægypt and Syria now, and makes one considerable branch of their commerce².

¹ Lemery, Dict. des Drogues, art Bombyx. ² See Norden with respect to Ægypt, vol. 1. p. 70; and le Bruyn as to Syria, tom. 2. p. 151.

It is very possible, however, that the growing of cotton in *Syria* is not of the highest antiquity. I am persuaded the *pishtah* of *Rabab*, in particular, doth not mean *cotton*, but *flax*, as our translators have rendered the word, Josh. ii. 6. It will be right for me to give my reasons. *Rabab*, the sacred historian telleth us, hid the Israelitish spies under the stalks of the *pishtah*, which she had laid in order on the roof of her house. This must have been in the month of *March*, or thereabouts. For the spies were sent out by Joshua, as the leader of Israel, and consequently after the death of Moses: Moses died, according to the *Jewish account*, in the beginning of their twelfth month, that is, some time in our February or March; and he *certainly* was alive the first day of the eleventh month, Deut. i. 3, in *January*. Agreeably to this we find, that hiding themselves three days, the spies returned to Joshua on the other side Jordan; that, in consequence of the report they made, Joshua removed from Shittim to Jordan; that after three days they passed over the Jordan, which was done on the tenth day of the first month. All these particulars appear in the beginning of the book of Joshua: the spies were hidden under the stalks of this vegetable then, about the beginning of the first sacred Jewish month, that is, some time in March, or in the first part of April. It could not therefore be *cotton*, for that is not sown till after

the Jewish Passover, and is ripe in Autumn : so Mr. Maundrell, who had been at Jerusalem to celebrate Easter in 1697, which festival every body knows is a little later than the Jewish Passover, and fell that year on the fourth of April, found the country people every where at plough in the fields, at his return in the middle of April, in order to sow cotton³ ; and as cotton is sown about *April*, Dr. Russell says that at Aleppo it is gathered in October⁴ ; and we know, from what has been remarked in the first chapter, that vegetables are in about the same forwardness at Aleppo as in Judæa⁵. The *pishtbab* then of *Rahab* could not be *cotton*.

But it may without difficulty be believed to have been *flax*. I do not at present recollect any account, in the volumes of Travels into the East that I have consulted, of the time in which they were wont to sow *flax* in Syria ; but I remember to have seen an extract⁶ from a Memoir relating to the Cultivation of Flax, said to be written by an understanding man, who had lived long in *Holland*, where it is a considerable branch of trade. In this curious Memoir concern-

³ P. 110. ⁴ P. 18. ⁵ Dr. Pococke's account is not very different : he says, it is sown the beginning of May, and is not ripe till September. He adds, that they turn up the ground so lightly, that he saw the stalks of the last year's cotton remaining : consequently the stalks of this vegetable cannot be supposed to have been brought home to Rahab's. ⁶ In the Appendix to the 10th volume of the Monthly Review.

ing Flax, in which he tells us *the soil must be fat and moist, he observes that the seed may be committed to the ground in March, if the season be favourable; that if sown thus early, it will be ripe at the end of June, or the beginning of July at farthest; that the flax being pulled, it is laid softly upon the ground in large handfulls, and several handfulls are put one over another, until the heap is a foot and half high, if the weather is uncertain; if dry, it is laid thinner; that if the season is favourable, twelve or fourteen days are sufficient to make it perfectly dry; if wet, they are sometimes obliged to leave it in little heaps eighteen or twenty days.* From this account it appears, that it is sown about the same time with barley here in the West, and that it is ripe about a month or six weeks sooner than that grain: now barley begins to ripen in those Eastern countries about the time of the Passover⁷, or soon after, and consequently flax there might very well be laid a drying when the spies came to Jericho. In Holland they dry the flax-stalks in the field; but in the East they use the roofs of their houses for curing their figs and raisins⁸, for drying the blossoms of the safflower used in dying⁹, &c; and therefore Rahab may very well be supposed to dry her flax there, especially in a time of apprehen-

⁷ Hasselquist, however, I have since observed, says, it flowers in winter, p. 245. ⁸ Shaw, p. 211. ⁹ Hasselquist, p. 253

sion from the approach of enemies, as that undoubtedly was, Joshua ii. 11. Wherever then we meet with the word *pishtbab*, we may conclude, I believe, that flax is what is meant.

If *cotton* was not originally a production of Syria¹⁰, any more than *silk*, yet it has been planted there, we may believe, many ages; and before they began to cultivate it, they might be, and doubtless were, acquainted with manufactures of cotton, brought from places farther to the East. Calicoes and muslins are still brought from thence to Syria¹¹; and as, according to the very ingenious editor of the Ruins of Palmyra, the East India trade was as ancient at least as the days of Solomon¹², and Palmyra built on account of that commerce, some of these fine cotton manufactures were probably brought by the caravans then, and are what is meant by the Hebrew word *butz*. There are but seven places, I think, in which the word *butz* occurs in the Old Testament. The first mention that is made of it is David's wearing a robe of *butz*, when he removed the ark from the house of Obed-edom to Zion, 1 Chron. xv. 27; two other places

¹⁰ Silk as well as cotton is produced now in large quantities in Syria, and makes a very principal part of the riches of that country. Voyage de Syrie, par de la Roque, p. 8.

¹¹ Rauwolff, p. 84. They are brought, in like manner, from the East Indies to Ægypt. Norden, vol. 1. p. 70. Maillet, Lett. 13. p. 194, 195. ¹² P. 18.

refer to the ornaments of Solomon's temple, a fourth to the dress of the Levites, a fifth describes it as one of the merchandises Syria carried to Tyre, and the other two relate to the court of Ahasuerus King of Persia. How natural to understand all these places of East Indian manufactures, *muslins, or fine calicoes!*

Solomon's making the dress of the Levites the same with what his father David wore on an high solemnity, and with what was worn by the greatest men in the most superb courts of the East, agrees with the other accounts that are given of him, particularly his making *silver* in Jerusalem as stones, and *cedars* as those trees that in the vale are remarkable for abundance, 1 Kings x. 27.

I leave it to the virtuosi to determine what the other two words mean. Perhaps we shall not be very far distant from their future decisions, if we should suppose, that the word *sheesh* means linen cloth, bleached to a *whiteness resembling marble*, since the word sometimes signifies marble; and that *bad* is a generic term, which signifies *vegetable* clothing of all kinds, in opposition to that made of materials taken from animals—sheep, goats, or other living creatures. None of the words, I presume, mean *hempen* cloth: that, I should imagine, was as little known to the ancient Jewish writers, as the *nettle cloth* of Leipfic, or that made from *hop-binds* in Sweden are to us.

As for the word *sadin*, which they have twice translated fine linen, Prov. xxxi. 24, and If. iii. 23, it evidently signifies a particular vestment; and another word which they have also translated fine linen, in Prov. vii. 16, is believed to signify a cord or thread, which, joined with the preceding word, should seem to mean *beautifully stitched*: “With
 “ornaments have I ornamented my bed,
 “with *works* beautified with the thread of
 “of Ægypt.” Words which, possibly, may be illustrated by the account d’Arvieux gives of the coverlets the Arab Princes make use of for their beds. “They have,” he says, “coverlets of all sorts: some are very
 “beautiful, stitched with gold and silk, *with*
 “cotton; others are of silk, with flowers of
 “gold and silver, &c.¹³”

I would only add, in order to illustrate what may be supposed to be the meaning of the words *sheesh* and *bad*, that the clothing of the common people of Ægypt is linen only, but dyed *blue* with indigo, according to Hasselquist¹⁴. Such kind of linen may well be thought to be distinguished, upon some occasions, from that whitened like Holland; some of the Ægyptian linen also, if I do not misremember, is striped, blue and white: such differences might make a generic word very requisite.

¹³ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 177.

¹⁴ P. 244, 245.

OBSERVATION XXI.

There is a passage in Deuteronomy xxi, about the sense of which our translators appear to have been extremely uncertain: translating one clause of the twelfth verse, "and pare her nails," in the text; and in the margin giving the clause a quite *opposite* sense, "suffer to grow." So that, according to them, the words signify, that the captived woman should be obliged, in the case referred to by Moses, to *pare* her nails, or to *suffer them to grow*, but they could not tell which of these two contradictory things the Jewish legislator required; and it should seem the Jewish doctors are, in like manner, divided in their opinion on this subject¹.

To me it seems very plain, that it was not a management of affliction and mourning that was enjoined: such an interpretation agrees not with the putting off the raiment of her captivity; but then I very much question, whether the paring her nails takes in the whole of the intention of Moses.

The precept of the law was, that she should *make her nails*: so the Hebrew words literally signify. *Making her nails* signify, making her nails neat, beautifying them, making them agreeable to the sight, or something of that sort; dressing them is

¹ Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

the word our translators have chosen, according to the margin. The 2 Sam. xix. 24, which the critics have cited on this occasion, plainly proves this: “ Mephibosheth, the
 “ son of Saul, came down to meet the King,
 “ and had neither *made* his feet, nor *made*
 “ his beard, nor washed his clothes, from
 “ the day the King departed, until the day
 “ he came again in peace.” It is the same word with that in the text, and our translators have rendered it in one clause *dressed*, as in the margin of Deut. xxi, “ dressed his
 “ feet;” and in the other *trimmed*, “ nor
 “ trimmed his beard.” *Making the feet* seems here to mean *washing the feet, paring their nails*², perhaps *anointing*, or otherwise *perfuming* them, as he was a Prince, see Luke vii. 46. As making his beard may mean *comb-
 ing, curling, perfuming* it; every thing, in a word, that those that were people of distinction, and in a state of joy, were wont to do.

Making her nails undoubtedly means paring them; but it must mean too every thing else relating to them, that was wont to be done for the beautifying them, and rendering them agreeable. We have scarce any notion of any thing else but *paring* them; but the modern Eastern women have—they *stain them* with the leaves of an odoriferous plant,

² Sir J. Chardin, in his MS. note on this place, tells us, *that it is customary in the East to have as much care of the feet as of the hands; and that their barbers cut and adjust the nails with a proper instrument, because they often go bare-foot.*

which

which they call Al-henna, of a *red*, or, as others express it, a *tawny saffron* colour. But it may be thought, that is only a *modern* mode of adorning their nails: Hasselquist, however, assures us, it was an ancient Oriental practice³. “The Al-henna,” he tells us, “grows in India, and in Upper and Lower Ægypt, flowering from May to August. The leaves are pulverized, and made into a paste with water: they bind this paste on the *nails* of their hands and feet, and keep it on all night. This gives them a deep yellow, which is greatly admired by the Eastern nations. The colour lasts for three or four weeks, before there is occasion to renew it. The custom is *so ancient* in Ægypt, that I have seen the *nails of mummies* dyed in this manner. The powder is exported in large quantities yearly, and may be reckoned a valuable commodity.” It appears by this to be a very ancient practice; and since mummies were before the time of Moses⁴, this custom of dying the nails might be as ancient too; though we do not suppose the mummies Hasselquist saw, *with their nails thus coloured*, were so old as his time⁵.

³ P. 246.

⁴ Gen. 50. 2, 26.

⁵ The nails of the toes of the mummy inspected at London in 1763, of which an account is published in the Philosophical Transactions for the year 1764, seem to have been tinged after the same manner; for those curious gentlemen observed that some of them retained a reddish hue, *as if they had been painted*,

If it was practised in Ægypt before the law was given, we may believe the Israelites adopted it, since it appears to be a most *universal* custom now in the Eastern countries: Dr. Shaw observing that *all the African* ladies that can purchase it, make use of it, reckoning it a great beauty⁶; as we learn from Rauwolff, it appears also to the *Asiatic* females⁷. I cannot but think it most probable then, that making the nails signifies *tinging* as well as *paring* them. *Paring alone*, one would imagine, too trifling a circumstance to be intended here. No commentator, however, that I know of, has taken any notice of ornamenting the nails by *colouring* them.

As for *shaving the head*, which is joined with *making the nails*, it was a rite of cleansing, as appears from Lev. xiv. 8, 9, and Numb. vi. 9; and used by those who, after having been in an afflicted and squalid state, appeared before persons to whom they desired to render themselves acceptable, and who were also wont to change their raiment on the same occasion, See Gen. xli. 14: but this is not the point I am considering under this Observation.]

XVII.

OBSERVATION XXII.

The *plenty* and *various agreeablenesses* of the land of Ægypt attach its inhabitants so to it,

⁶ P. 114.⁷ P. 54.

that,

that, according to Maillet, there is no getting any of them out of their native country.

This, he thinks, sufficiently appeared in the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-nine, when he received an order from the court of France, to send three Copti children thither, to be brought up in that country, as some of other Eastern nations were. He used all his efforts, and all the stratagems the Roman Catholic missionaries could contrive; **but in vain.** His attempts, on the contrary, **well-nigh** produced a commotion. The **endeavours** of the Italian Fathers of the congregation de propaganda fide, to send five or six to Rome, in obedience to the orders of that congregation, were, he observes, as unsuccessful. This he ascribes to several reasons, but above all to one peculiar to themselves—the infinite attachment they have to their own country¹.

But though there is no such thing as getting the Ægyptians out of their own country now, numbers of them anciently, we find, lived as servants in other lands. Hagar was an Ægyptian, Gen. xvi. 1; Jarha, who belonged to Sheshan, was an Ægyptian, 1 Chron. ii. 34; that servant to an Amalekite, that conducted David and his troops to the company that had destroyed Ziklag, was an Ægyptian, 1 Sam. xxx. 11. I believe, it will not be easy to pick out, from

¹ Lett. 11. p. 136.

the Old Testament accounts, an equal number of servants of *other* countries that lived in foreign lands, mentioned there.

How different the views that Maillet and the Old Testament give us of the state of the Ægyptians, as to residence in their native country! What is this difference owing to, a less strong attachment to their country anciently, or the fate of war? To the last, no doubt of it: for the country was then extremely fruitful, as it is now², possessed the same delightful water of the Nile, the same exquisite pleasantness, and the same *peculiarities of pleasure* it may be that it has done since; but *wars*, without question, led many of it's inhabitants into this state of servitude.

C H A P. X.

Miscellaneous Observations.

OBSERVATION I.

PITTS says¹, the Algerines never take either apprentices or *hired servants*, but “such as have occasion for servants, do buy
“ slaves², and bring them up to their household-
“ hold-

² Gen. 12. 10. ¹ P. 68. [² Sir John Chardin observes, in his MS. note on Gen. 29. 24, *that none but very poor people marry a daughter, in the East, without giving*

“ hold-work, as our *servant-maids* are here
 “ in England; who, as soon as they have
 “ done up all their work in the house, are
 “ usually allowed the liberty to go abroad,
 “ and visit their country-men, commonly
 “ bearing each a child with them; and if
 “ the child be a *boy*, it rides on the slave’s
 “ *shoulders*.” Sandys makes a like remark,
 as to the manner of carrying children in the
 East, saying, that as we bear ours in our
 arms, they carry theirs astride on their shoul-
 ders³.

Was the custom anciently the reverse of
 this? So it might be imagined from Is. xlix.
 22: “ They shall bring thy *sons* in their
 “ *arms*, and thy *daughters* shall be carried
 “ upon their *shoulders*.” Nevertheless, I am
 persuaded this is not true; but if they an-
 ciently made a difference in the manner of
 carrying children, as the Algerines seem to
 do now, the same custom obtained also then.
 Nor do these words of Isaiah contradict this.
 The Algerine manner of carrying the *boys*,
 may be well enough expressed by “ they
 “ shall bring thy *sons* in their *bosoms*,” as the
 word is translated in the margin, *their legs*

*giving her a female slave for a chamber-maid; there being
 no hired servants there, as in Europe.* He says much the
 same in another note on Tobit 10. 10. Agreeably to this
 we find Laban, upon marrying his daughters, gave each of
 them a female slave. So Solomon supposes they were *ex-
 tremely* poor that had not a servant, Prov. 12. 9. An at-
 tention to this circumstance is requisite to enter into the
 strength of that passage.] ³ P. 54

hanging

hanging down in their bosoms; and if the Prophet designed to represent their daughters as carried in the way children usually are with us, he might express himself in the manner he doth, children so carried often looking over the shoulder, and leaning their arms upon it.

This observation of Pitts will enable us to form a judgment on Vitringa's comment on this passage, who is in general a very accurate writer. "Not," says he, "that they were carried properly on the shoulders, which would be very incommoding to the person carrying, and to those that were carried: but they are said to be carried on the shoulders, because they are supported by the arms which hang from the shoulders, in which also their strength lies." It is evident, from the practice at Algiers, that the posture in question is not so incommoding to a slave in the Levant, as the reading this explanation would be.

OBSERVATION II.

These slaves, according to Pitts, do the work of maid-servants. The labour, enjoined the Gibeonites, was also what females were wont to perform, and do to this day.

Shaw mentions¹, the going out of the women in the evening to fetch water, as still

¹ P. 241.

the custom of the Arabs of Barbary; and cites Gen. xxiv. 11. to prove it was the custom anciently; to which he might have added 1 Sam. ix. 11, John iv. 7. The author of the history of the Piratical States of Barbary assures us also, that *they* cut the fuel. “The care of the cattle,” speaking of the Arabs of the kingdom of Algiers, “belongs to the *women* and children; *they* also provide food for the family, cut *fuel*, fetch *water*, and, when their domestic affairs allow them, tend their silk-worms².” D’Arvieux in like manner represents the *daughters* of the Turk-men of Palæstina, as fetching *wood* as well as *water*³.

As the *women* of these countries cut *fuel* now, as well as fetch *water*, we may believe they did so *formerly*, and that they are both *equally* ancient customs. This supposition is confirmed very much by Jer. vii. 18, and Lam. v. 13, which speak of the childrens fetching *wood*—The *young* women.

The bitterness then of the doom of the Gibeonites, doth not seem to have consisted in the *laboriousness* of the service enjoined them, which has been *commonly* understood to be the case; for it was usual for the women and children to perform what was required of the Gibeonites; but its *degrading* them from the *characteristic employment* of men, that of bearing *arms*, and condemning them,

² P. 47. ³ Voy. dans la Pal. par la Roque, p. 230.

and their *posterity for ever*, to the employment of *females*. The not receiving them as *allies* was bitter; the disarming them who had been warriors, and condemning them to the employment of *females*, was worse; but the *extending this degradation to their posterity* bitterness of all. It is no wonder, that in these circumstances they are said to have been cursed, Josh. ix. 23.

OBSERVATION III.

The usages of the East differ very much from those of the West, with relation to the more than kind treatment of their servants; but they perfectly agree with those that are referred to in the Scriptures. How far these have been taken notice of in explaining passages of Holy Writ I do not know; but I believe the gathering up together, and presenting them in one view to my reader, will be a *sort of novelty*.

They marry their *slaves* frequently to their *daughters*, and that when they have no male issue, and those daughters are what we call *great fortunes*. That Haffan, of whom Maillet gives a long account in his eleventh letter, and who was Kiaia of the Afaphs of Cairo, that is to say, the Colonel of four or five thousand men who go under that name, was the slave of a predecessor in that office, the famous Kamel, and married his daughter: “for Kamel,” says he, “according to
“ *the*

“ *the custom of the country*, gave him one of
 “ his daughters in marriage, and left him, at
 “ his death, one part of the *great riches* he
 “ had amassed together in the course of a
 “ long and prosperous life ¹.” What She-
 shan then did, was perhaps not so extraor-
 dinary as we may have imagined, but per-
 fectly conformable to *old Eastern* customs, if
 not to the arrangements of Moses ²; at least
 it is, we see, just the same with what is now
 practised: “ Now Sheshan had *no sons*, but
 “ *daughters*: and Sheshan had a servant an
 “ *Ægyptian*, whose name was Jarha, and
 “ Sheshan *gave his daughter to Jarha his*
 “ *servant to wife*, and she bare him Attai.”
 1 Chron. ii. 34, 35.

If they have no children at all, the rich
 people of Barbary purchase young slaves,
 educate them in their own *faith*, and some-
 times *adapt* them for their own children, ac-
 cording to the author of the History of the
 Piratical States of that country ³. Relations
 among us would think this a *cruel hardship*,
 would often pronounce it unjust; but the
 people of the East seem always to have had
 these ideas: “ One born in mine house is
 “ mine *heir*,” said Abraham ⁴, speaking of
 a slave that he had, born of some female
 slave, though he had brother's children and

¹ Lett. II. p. 118. ² Num. 36. see us not to favour
 this practice. ³ P. 70, 71. ⁴ Gen. 15. 3.

grand-children, if not a brother, in Mesopotamia, Gen. xxii. 20-24.

Young slaves, under twelve years of age, according to the author of the History of the Piratical States, are the only objects of their masters *religious care*; and he contradicts the stories of their compelling Christian slaves to turn Mohammedans; but as to these young slaves, he acknowledges that they value themselves highly on making *such* good Mussulmen, and consider it as a most meritorious act in the sight of God⁵: and every one that is conversant with the affairs of the Levant, knows how *successful* these cares prove; scarce any but what by this means have been fixed in their faith. Even where a master's religion *differs* from that which is established in a country, this way of educating their slaves has a great effect upon them. Thus Maillet tells us, the Jews, as well as Christians, are permitted in Ægypt to have black slaves, but not to carry them out of the country, lest they should oblige their slaves to change their religion; but notwithstanding this precaution, he informs us, that the greatest part of these blacks follow, though in secret, the religion of their masters⁶. On the same principle—the efficacy of education, Abraham, who professed a religion different from that of the people among whom he dwelt, was directed to circumcise his *servants*, as

⁵ P. 71.

⁶ Lett. 12. p. 175.

well as his *children*; and baptism was afterwards administered with the same latitude, and we have reason to think on the same principle.

In the same letter Maillet speaks of the rising of these slaves sometimes to the highest posts in the state; and that there was an eunuch at Cairo, when he resided there, who had made three *Beys*, three of the Princes of that country that is, from among his slaves; and he gives an account of another Bey, who had had at one time *five* or *six* of his slaves *Beys* like himself. What is more, the greatest men of the Ottoman empire are well known to have been originally *slaves*, brought up in the seraglio⁷. This may appear very strange to us Europeans, and more so to our *American settlers*. Our governments there have sometimes received great services from their slaves, but they never thought of any thing more than giving them their *freedom*, and some little *pecuniary gratifications*, and believed them amply repaid. Nevertheless, these facts are incontestable; and the most *incredible* accounts of Scripture relating to this Subject, such as the advancement of Joseph to be Viceroy of Ægypt, and Daniel, another Hebrew slave, to be a Chief Minister of State in Babylon, have nothing in them dissonant from the modern usages of the East. What is more than any thing men-

⁷ Thevenot, part 1. p. 25.

tioned in Holy-Writ, the Mameluke *Kings* of Ægypt *themselves* are well known to have been originally slaves, as amply appears in the Collections of Monf. d'Herbelot.

OBSERVATION IV.

[Considered as slaves are in the East, they are sometimes purchased at a *very low price*.

The Prophet Joel complains of the contemptuous cheapness in which the Israelites were held by those that made them captives, ch. iii. 3, "They have cast lots for my people, and have given a boy *for an harlot*, and "sold a girl *for wine, that they might drink*."

The illustration the MS. C. gives of this passage has something painfully amusing in it, and my readers will not, perhaps, be displeas'd with me for communicating it to them. *The Tartars, Turks, and Cosaques, sell the children sometimes as cheap which they take. Not only has this been done in Asia, where examples of it are frequent; our Europe has seen such desolations. When the Tartars came into Poland, they carried off all they were able; this was in opposition to the King of Sweden, Gustavus the Second. I went thither some years after. Many persons of the court assured me that the Tartars, perceiving that they would no more redeem those that they had carried off, sold them for a crown, and that they had purchased them for that sum. In Mingrelia they sell them for provisions and for wine: this is most true.*

How

How terrible these ravages—the tearing children from their parents, and selling these dear objects of parental affection for a crown a piece, for a little victuals, or a little wine, and separating them from their parents for ever! How just the expression of the divine displeasure against such contemptuous treatment of a people sacred to Jehovah!

OBSERVATION V.

As there appear remains in the East of the most ancient way in which people were *shod*, so it should seem the most magnificent modern coverings of the foot there are of great antiquity.

According to Rauwolff, the *Arabs* of the Desert, when they “are not able to buy “*shoes*, take instead of them necks of *undressed* “*skins*, and put them about their feet with “the hair outwards, and so tie or lace them “up’.” People could not be *shod*, I think, in a more simple manner than this; and consequently we may believe it to be the most ancient way of all.

Not very remote from this is Sir J. Chardin’s account in his MS, who, after describing *sandals* in a note on Acts xii. 8, adds, *Poor people of the East go shod after this manner*. How different the treatment of St. Peter’s feet, from that of the *toes* of his imaginary successors!

[¹ P. 157.

Rich people in those countries wear *sock* and *slippers* of red or yellow Morocco. They are red, or yellow, according to their quality, if Thevenot's account be just². And as *yellow* is the common colour³, the *red* must be their most magnificent covering for the feet⁴. Agreeably to this, we find Bishop Pococke making a present of a pair of *red shoes, such as they wear*, with some other things, to the Great Sheik of Cous⁵; and in another place he mentions *red shoes*, as one species of goods he prepared for making presents, when he designed going into Upper Ægypt⁶.

Dying leather appears to have been in use in the time of Moses⁷. And since what we translate *badger's skins* are mentioned by the Prophet Ezekiel, as a most magnificent covering for the feet, ch. xvi. 10, and red Morocco leather seems to be understood to be such now, I should suppose *beautiful red leather* was what Ezekiel meant there, whether

² Part I. p. 30. ³ D'Arvieux mentions *yellow* leather only, in his account of the socks, slippers, and boots of the Arabs. Voy. dans la Pal. chap. 16. ⁴ Unless we suppose Lady M. W. Montague's description of her dress forms an exception, who tells us her shoes were of *white kid leather, embroidered with gold*. Lett. v. 2. p. 28. Whether this was a peculiarity, or used by other Ladies in the East now, I am not able to say: all other accounts which I have seen, so far as I at present remember, speak of nothing used by the Eastern people more magnificent than *red Morocco shoes*. ⁵ Vol. I. p. 90. ⁶ P. 68. ⁷ Exod. 25. 5, &c.

made of the skin of a badger, or of some other quadruped.

I do not recollect the having read any account in modern travellers of badgers found in Ægypt, or in the adjoining countries, from whence we might suppose their skins brought to Ægypt. Dr. Shaw, I remember, expressly tells us he could not hear of any found in Barbary^s. Their skins are however sometimes tanned in England; and a gentleman of considerable fortune in that way of business has informed me, *they use them for the upper and more pliable part of shoes, and, so far as he knows, for no other purpose; that this leather is not so liable, when exposed to wet and dry, to harden and crack in the grain as some other kinds, and is more durable than any other leather of the same substance that we tan.* To which he unexpectedly added, *that the grain of the skin resembles the Turkey leather used about books.*

It appears by an account of the process for preparing red and yellow Morocco skins, communicated by an *Asiatic* to the society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, and published in the first volume of Doffie's Memoirs, that the skins they make use of are grained on a board prepared for that purpose, which I suppose must have been at first done, to make these skins resemble the more *uncommon* skins which were highest in esteem, and which *naturally* ap-

^s P. 174.

peared with such a kind of grain. I cannot otherwise account for the invention.

This substitution of more common skins, for the more valuable skins of this other animal, seems to have been very ancient, since Moses speaks⁹ of ram-skins dyed red, as those which we translate badger-skins, I presume, also were; and these less valuable skins were ordered, I should imagine, as it was not to be expected a sufficient number of the other, to make the whole covering for the tabernacle, was to be found in the camp of Israel.

Whether the skin of the dubbah, or *hyæna*, is naturally grained like Turkey-leather, I am not able to say; but Dr. Shaw informs us that it is of the badger-kind, and that it inhabits those countries¹⁰. But whatever skin Moses refers to, it was, I am ready to persuade myself, a kind that was naturally grained, and of which the red Morocco leather is an imitation.

OBSERVATION VI.

The *necessity* for washing the feet in the East has been attributed to their wearing *sandals*; but it is very requisite, according to Sir John Chardin¹, let the covering of the feet be of *what kind it will*.

Those that travel in the hot countries of the East, he tells us, *such as Arabia is, begin, at*

⁹ Exod. 25. 5, &c. ¹⁰ P. 173, 174. ¹ MS. vol. 6.

their arriving at the end of their journey, with pulling off the coverings of their feet. The sweat, and the dust, which penetrates all sorts of coverings for the feet, produce a filth there, which excites a very troublesome itching. And though the Eastern people are extremely careful to preserve the body neat, it is more for refreshment than cleanliness, that they wash their feet at the close of their journey.

According to d'Arvieux, the little yellow Morocco boots, worn by the Arabs, which are made very light, so as that they may walk in them afoot, and even run in them, are yet so tight as not to be penetrated by water²; but none of the Eastern coverings for the foot, it seems, can guard against the dust; consequently this custom of washing the feet is not to be merely ascribed to their use of sandals: a circumstance that has not, I think, been attended to, and which therefore claims a place in these papers.]

OBSERVATION VII.

IV.

Dr. Shaw has given us an account, at considerable length, of the *dress* of the Moorish ladies¹; there are some things however he has passed over in silence, which appear to me worth setting down; and as I have had no opportunity of introducing them before, I will give them a place here.

² Voy. dans la Pal. p. 209.]¹ P. 228.

The

The first thing I would take notice of, relating to this matter, is the *great costliness* of the Eastern female dress of persons of distinction. Maillet tells us, that the dress of the Ægyptian ladies is much more rich and magnificent, than any thing of that kind among us. That it consists of a quantity of pearls, precious stones, costly furs, and other things of value. That their shifts *alone* come to six or seven pistoles. In one word, that three young ladies of France, might be handsomely dressed for the same sum that a *common habit* comes to in Ægypt².

Few people, I fancy, look upon the *costly array* of the Levant, mentioned by St. Paul, 1 Tim. ii. 9, in so strong a light as this author has set it; though the Apostle doth mention pearls, as well as Maillet.

One would hardly have expected, that the vanity we generally ascribe to the French, would have suffered one of that nation to allow this superiority of Eastern dress, in point of *richness*, to that of his own country-women; but what is more, he seems to allow it to be better *fancied*. “ Their apparel has always something grand and majestic,” (he had been speaking of two kinds of it in use there, one the Ægyptian properly speaking, the other the Turkish, the women making use of the one, or the other, as best suited their views, and making their choice with great judgment,) “ their head-

²Lett. II. p. 112.

“ dress

“ dress is noble and enchanting ; in a word,
 “ there is nothing more free and engaging,
 “ than the slight dress in which they often
 “ appear³.”

This is not the only author of *that country*, I believe, that has discovered how deeply he has been struck with the habits of the Levant. If I do not misremember, Tournefort talks in something of the same strain, when he is describing the dress of the ladies in some of the islands of the Archipelago. If we cannot trust our own invention, and must *servilely* copy after other nations, would it not be right for the British ladies, rather to fetch their models from the East than from Paris ? It certainly would, *if any deference is due in these matters to the judgment of the French.*

OBSERVATION VIII.

V.

There is one particular the Apostle mentions in this passage, which requires a distinct consideration—the *plaiting the hair*, which Dr. Shaw, from 1 Pet. iii. 3, roundly supposes, is disapproved of in the Scriptures¹; but which I cannot believe the Apostle designed absolutely to prohibit, though I am disposed to pay great deference to the opinion of the Doctor.

It is a way of adorning themselves that was practised in the East anciently, and still continues to be the common usage of those

³ P. 113.¹ P. 228.

countries.

countries. Shaw speaks of it as used now in Barbary, and says the Moorish ladies *all* affect this way of disposing of their hair. The editor of the Ruins of Palmyra found that it anciently obtained there, for they discovered, with great surprize, Mummies in the Palmyrene sepulchres embalmed after the ancient Ægyptian manner, by which means the bodies were in such a state of preservation, that among other fragments they carried off with them, was the *hair of a female, plaited* exactly after the manner *commonly* used by the Arabian women *at this time*². It is now then universally used among the Moorish women; it is the Arab way of adorning themselves; and it seems to have been as common anciently, from what was found in the sepulchres of Palmyra, and from the way in which St. Peter and St. Paul³ have mentioned this circumstance. It was a *general* way of ornamenting themselves, and at the same time, one would think, as little contradictory to the laws of *decency and frugality*, as any thing belonging to female adorning, and therefore as little liable to an apostolic prohibition. Would not the prohibition then, the *absolute* prohibition, of a practice so general, and at the same time so innocent, favour more of the spirit of superstition than of an Apostle?

² P. 22, 23.³ 1 Tim. 2. 9.

The passage in St. Peter, which the Doctor cites, will admit an easy interpretation—that the female disciples of Christ should make their adorning consist in a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great value, *rather* than in *plaiting the hair*, wearing of gold, or putting on any of the ornaments of Eastern dress: for there is no *absolute* prohibition of these external ornaments. But the other passage, that of St. Paul, *seems* to be otherwise, though interpreters are willing to understand it in the same sense. “ I *will* therefore that men pray every where, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting. In *like manner*, that women adorn themselves *not* with *broidered hair*, or gold, or pearls, or costly array.” The *absurdity* of supposing the Apostle absolutely forbid them the plaiting their hair, and wearing of gold, not only the Moorish beautiful Sarmah⁴, but the least particle of gold in any form whatsoever⁵, has forced them into this, but they have not shewn, so satisfactorily as could have been wished, how the wearing these things is consistent with the words of the Apostle.

The solution of the difficulty must arise, I apprehend, from the applying the words,

⁴ See Shaw, p. 229. ⁵ Consequences that Dr. Shaw certainly did not attend to, when he supposed the Scriptures disapproved this braiding of the hair. Had he been the Apostle of the Palmyrenes, he would, without doubt, have thought more maturely about it.

“ In

“ In like manner also,” not to the “ I will,” of the Apostle—*In like manner I will that women adorn not themselves with broided hair, &c ;* but to the latter part of the verse, that is, to *the mens praying without wrath and disputing*, as the word signifies, and as it is translated Phil. ii. 14. St. Paul charging them, I apprehend, not to have any anger or dispute, about the *honour* of being placed in the *chief seats* in their religious assemblies⁺; in like manner he willed and enjoined, that the women should behave there so as not to occasion wrath and disputing, not adorning themselves, so as to *vye* with each other in dress, or distinguishing themselves by a *pert asking of questions*, but with great humility, learning in silence, and dressing themselves as the most moderate people of their rank were wont to do, making good works their glory.

VI.

OBSERVATION IX.

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to give a sure explanation of all the female ornaments mentioned in the third of *Isaiab*. The present dress of the Eastern ladies will not perfectly determine it: we cannot tell what changes have happened; and some of them are equivocal.

Rauwolff, in particular, tells us that the Arab women, whom he saw in his going

⁺ James 2. 1—4. Matt. 23. 6.

down the Euphrates, wore rings about their legs and hands, and sometimes a good many together, which in their stepping slipped up and down, and so made a great noise⁵. One might have imagined, these were the tinkling ornaments mentioned by the Prophet; but Pitts, observing that the women of pleasure at Cairo wore their hair in tresses behind, reaching down to their very heels, with little bells, or some such things, at the end, which swung against their heels, and made a tinkling sound as they went, was naturally enough led to think of this passage, and to imagine that Isaiah might refer to them⁶. Some of them then are indeterminate, and their descriptions *equivocal*.

Every part, however, of the 24th verse is not equally uncertain: and Maillet's observation, *That the Ægyptian women carry their delicacy so far, that, to prevent sweat, and the contracting ill smells thereby, they wear no-*

⁵ P. 157. [Sir J. Chardin's account in one of his manuscripts differs a little: he supposes they have actually little bells fastened to those rings which they wear about their legs, and which make a tinkling sound. *In Persia*, he says, *and in Arabia*, and in very hot countries where they go in common without stockings, (and they go so in the Indies,) and only in shoes, they wear rings about their ancles, which are full of little bells. Children and young girls take a particular pleasure in giving them motion: with this view they walk quick. The tinkling sound of little bells could not be thought meanly of among the Israelitish women, whether they were in fact used by them, or not, since little bells were fastened to a part of the dress of the High-Priest of God himself.]

⁶ P. 99, 100.

thing in their houses, and often in the streets, but their shifts and a pair of linen drawers; besides which care, none use baths, odoriferous waters, and perfumes, more frequently than they do, or time the application of these things better⁷, explains with the utmost clearness the first clause, “ Instead of *sweet smell*, there “ shall be *stink*.” The fatigues they shall undergo, shall produce copious sweats, and they shall have no means to remove their disagreeable effects: for though Maillet is speaking of Ægyptian women, and the Prophet of Israelitish, the methods of preserving neatness, and rendering themselves agreeable, were, without doubt, in general much the same.

Vitringa⁸ indeed explains this clause of a medicinal balsam, that was of an *healing* nature, instead of which he supposes the Prophet threatens they should labour under a *corruption* of the flesh; but when my reader considers that Isaiah is not speaking of the *precious drugs* they were able to command, in their prosperous state, to cure diseases, but of their *arts of allurements*, he will find, I believe, no great difficulty in determining which is the most natural explanation.

Women, in the deep mourning of captivity, anciently *shaved* off their hair, Deut. xxi. 12, 13.⁹ At least in distress it was dishevelled: in which manner the weep-

⁷ Lett. II. p. 112.
to some interpreters. See Ainsworth's Commentary on the passage.

⁸ In loc.

⁹ According

ing penitent seems to have presented herself unto our Lord, Luke vii. 38, 44. Something like this still obtains among the Eastern women: in Ægypt, in particular, Maillet tells us, that the women that attend a corpse to the grave, generally have their hair hanging loose about their ears¹⁰. On the contrary, we find by Dr. Shaw, when they would adorn themselves, they collect their hair into one lock, binding and plaiting it with ribbands; and if nature has been less liberal to them, they supply the defect by art, and interweave foreign hair¹¹. As the first observations will account for the *baldness* Isaiah ascribes to the *captived* daughters of Zion; so the last will explain, I imagine, their contrary appearance in the days of their prosperity, which our translator of this passage renders *well-set hair*; but the original word signifies something that is *solid* or *heavy*, and therefore must here signify *hair made heavy* or *solid*, which is now done by interweaving it with *ribbands* and *foreign hair*.

But whether this be allowed or not, the word, when applied to the Cherubs over the Mercy-seat, and to the Candlestick in the Tabernacle, apparently signifies, as Oleaster understands it¹², heavy, or solid, not overlaid with gold that is, but of solid gold, and perhaps not hollowed in the least. And I

¹⁰ Lett. 10. p. 89.
Poli Syn. in Exod. 25. 18.

¹¹ P. 228, 229.

¹² Vide

am at a loss to account for it, I confess, how it should come to be translated *beaten gold*, as if they were to be formed by the hammer alone into the prescribed shape, in an age that understood the art of making images of metal by *moulds*.

It may not be amiss to add, that it is another Hebrew word that is translated *beaten*, 1 Kings x. 16, 2 Chron. ix. 15, where our version speaks of targets and shields of beaten gold.

As to the thought of Vitringa, who supposed it refers to the powdering their hair with *gold-dust*, I cannot help looking upon it to be a little extravagant. The practice of some of the most *expensive* of the *Roman Emperors*, can hardly be admitted to be a proper illustration of *Eastern* finery, and especially of the manner in which *private* persons, of a kingdom not very *opulent*, adorned themselves.

OBSERVATION X.

[I began the last Observation with taking notice how difficult it must be, if not impossible, to determine the several particulars of the finery of old of the Eastern Ladies: Sir J. Chardin, however, seems to have determined one point about which commentators have been very dubious, and that is, that *nose-jewels* are much more probably referred to in some of the sacred writings, than *jewels for the forehead*.

The

The Cambridge Concordance marks out only one place in which nose-jewels are *expressly* mentioned, which is If. iii. 21.

How it came to be translated *nose-jewel* there I do not know, since our translators seem carefully to have avoided, elsewhere, the exciting the idea of an ornament worn in the nose: thus they have rendered Ezek. xvi. 12, "And I put a jewel on thy *forehead*," instead of on thy nose; and Gen. xxiv. 47, "I put the ear-ring upon her face," instead of, I put the ring on her nose. In the twenty-second verse they had rendered it ear-ring, but, apprehensive that might be wrong, they translate it in the margin, "jewel for the forehead."

Nezems (for the Hebrew word is *Nezem*) were certainly worn in the *ears*, as appears from Gen. xxxv. 4, Exod. xxxii. 2, 3; they were also worn upon the face, either *the nose*, or *elsewhere*. By being worn in the ears, one would imagine them to have been *rings*, or something of that kind; if they were, they do not seem naturally applicable to any part of the face, but the *nostril*: this however is so remote from the imagination of males as well as females in Europe, that the learned are disposed to imagine the *nezem*, when not worn in the *ear*, was worn somehow on the *forehead*, and perhaps hung down over the *nose*. "A golden ear-ring, or rather, (as the margin hath it) a jewel for the forehead," says Bishop

Patrick on Gen. xxiv. 22. — “For such ornaments were used in those times and countries, hanging down between the eye-brows, over the nose.”

Let us now see what the notions of the East are, of which Sir J. Chardin has given a large account in vol. 6. of his MSS. *The import of the Vulgar Latin translation* (says this gentleman) *is, I have put ear-rings upon her to adorn her face. The modern Bibles, such as that of Diodati and others, translate it, (conformably to the Arabic and Persian versions,) I put the ring upon her nose. It is the custom, in almost all the East, for the women to wear rings in their noses, in the left¹ nostril, which is bored low down in the middle. These rings are of gold², and have commonly two pearls and one ruby between, placed in the ring. I never saw a girl, or young woman, in Arabia³, or in all Persia, who did not wear a ring after this manner in her nostril. It is without doubt of such a ring that we are to understand what is said in this verse⁴, and not of those Diodorus speaks of, and which he says the women attached to their foreheads, and let them hang down upon*

¹ Sir Thomas Roe's Chaplain gives the same account, of it's being the *left* nostril in which the nose-jewels are worn in the East-Indies, p. 412. ² *Made*, he tells us, in the margin, *of gold-wire, a little thicker than that of the ear-rings worn in France.* ³ It is to be observed this writer uses the name Arabia in a very large sense, comprehending in it, at least sometimes, Judæa, besides other countries not usually included in that term. ⁴ Gen.

their noses. I have never seen or heard speak of any such thing in all Asia. *The women of condition there, indeed, wear jewels on their foreheads, but it is a crotchet like those worn in France in the beginning of the seventeenth century, to which they hung on three or five bobs; but these jewels do not descend lower than the forehead.* I have many times seen at Babylon, and in the neighbouring countries, women with their ornaments, and have always seen these rings in their nostrils. I have seen some of them with pearls from . . . to twenty-four grains, among the jewels of the greatest Princesses of Persia; but nothing like the rings mentioned by Diodorus. We ought also to understand *Is. iii. 21,* and *Ezek. xvi. 12,* of these nose-jewels; and to look upon this custom of boring the nostrils of the women as one of the most ancient in the world.

The learned and ingenious Mr. Lowth, in his Commentary on *Isaiah*⁵, appears to be of a different opinion from Bishop Patrick. He supposes the word there rendered nose-jewels *might* be translated jewels for the face or forehead, but that the same phrase is used *Prov. xi. 22,* where it certainly signifies a nose-jewel; and then cites St. Austin, to prove that it was the custom of the women in Mauritania to hang jewels in the nose; and Harris's Collection of Travels, to assure us the same custom is still observed in Persia and Arabia, and other countries.

⁵ Ch. 3. 21.

This is very sensible : the mind, notwithstanding, may have been held in suspense between these two sentiments ; but the authority of Sir J. Chardin determines it at once, as far as such a thing can be determined : he every where saw *nose-jewels*, never *rings for the forehead*, or any thing like them.

He has given us the satisfaction of knowing what they now commonly are—a ring of gold, with a ruby between two pearls. He has shewn us how it is worn upon the nose—it is done by piercing the nostril. And he has taught us why a *single* ornament of this kind is spoken of, when there are *two nostrils*, for he informs us that they only wear it in *one*, and that is the *left* nostril⁶.

The authority of Sir J. Chardin is the more decisive, as he had large concerns in the jewel way, and therefore was more led to observe matters of this kind than other travellers. There will remain, I imagine, after this, no doubt of the nature of the

⁶ Dr. Russell describes the women of some of the villages about Aleppo, and all the Arabs and Chinganas, (a sort of gypsies,) as wearing a *large* ring of silver or gold, through the external cartilage of their right nostril, p. 104. Only in *one* nostril then, though, according to him, the *right*. Egmont and Heyman, in like manner, describe this ring as worn by the Ægyptian women in their *right* nostril ; and say it is a *small* one, vol. 2. p. 85. Whether it is worn in the *left* nostril in some places of the East, and in the *right* in others ; or whether there is some inaccuracy in the observers ; I am not able to say : happily it is of no importance. Instead of a ruby, it was a piece of coral, which these last-mentioned travellers saw used in the nose-jewels of Ægypt.

jewel of half a shekel given to Rebecca, or what we are to understand by those passages of Ifaiah, Ezekiel, and the Proverbs, which have been mentioned under this Observation. Other writers have mentioned this ornament, but none so determinately, or with such exact description, as Sir John.

OBSERVATION XI.

There are two words used in the Scriptures which apparently signify 'ear-rings, *nezem* and *gnagil*; and Sir J. Chardin observed two sorts of ear-rings worn at this time in the East, whose account, therefore, may furnish us with some idea what these different words *might* mean, perhaps what they actually do mean.

Some of the Eastern ear-rings, he tells us¹, are small, and go so close to the ear, as that there is no vacuity between them; others are so large that you may put the forefinger between, adorned with a ruby and a pearl on each side of it, strung on the ring. The women wear ear-rings and pendants of divers sorts; and I have seen some, the diameter of whose round was four fingers, and almost two fingers thick, made of several kinds of metals, wood, and horn, according to the quality of people. There is nothing more disagreeable to the eyes of those that are unaccustomed to the sight; for these pendants,

¹ Both are expressly described as ornaments belonging to the ear, the first in Exod. 32. 2, and the second Ezek. 16. 12.

² MS. vol. 6. Gen. 35. 4.

by their weight, widen so extremely the hole of the ear, that one might put in two fingers, and stretch it more, than one that never saw it would imagine. I have seen some of these ear-rings with figures upon them, and strange characters, which, I believe, may be talismans, or charms, or perhaps nothing but the amusement of old women. The Indians say they are preservatives against enchantments. Perhaps the ear-rings of Jacob's family were of this kind.

This paragraph not only gives us reason to think, the nezems of antiquity were those small rings worn in the ear and the nostril, and the gnagils the larger and more shewy rings, with pendants, worn only in the ear; but it gives us an Eastern *probable* explanation, what kind of ear-rings they were that Jacob buried with the strange gods of his family, Gen. xxxv. 4.

It serves also to make the translation of a third word, which is rendered ear-rings, If. iii. 20, very probable: for though there is not any passage to be found, I believe, which describes them as put upon or into the ears, yet the word apparently signifies an ornament that was supposed to have some talismanic power; and some of the Indian ear-rings are now supposed to be endowed with a like virtue. And though Jacob seems to have buried such ear-rings as idolatrous, there is no reason to believe his female descendants, threatened by the Prophet Isaiah, were equally cautious.

OBSERVATION XII.

Several writers take notice of the curious wrought *bandkerchiefs* of the East, which, it seems, are used by the men as well as women there: they might be in use too anciently among the Jews, but I am persuaded the *pasbil* of Judah, mentioned Gen. xxxviii. 18, does not mean such an *bandkerchief*.

Yet Sir J. Chardin supposes this in the sixth MS. volume; and as his account is curious, though improperly applied I apprehend, I will here set down the substance of it. After having observed, that it is the custom of the East to wear their seals in rings on their fingers, which is sufficiently well known, he adds, *It is also the custom almost every where to carry a staff in their hand; the mode of wrought bandkerchiefs is also general in Arabia, in Syria, in Palæstine, and generally in all the Turkish empire. They are wrought with a needle, and it is the amusement of the fair sex there, as among us, the making tapestry and lace. The young women make them for their fathers, their brothers, and by way of preparation before-hand for their spouses, bestowing them as favours on their lovers. They have them almost constantly in their hands in those warm countries, to wipe off sweat. I am persuaded that Judah also had his in his hand; and that Tamar, seeing it to be singular as to its work, as well as the staff, demanded them of Judah for her hire, as*
well

well as the ring, as appears by ver. 25. One may understand then the words "in thine hand" not only as relative to the staff, but also to the handkerchief and the ring, since it is evident Judah had them all in his hand.

Lady M. W. Montague speaks of her being presented with embroidered handkerchiefs, by great Turkish Ladies: they are presented to men also, according to Sir J. Chardin, and used for wiping off sweat. Such handkerchiefs are not adorned, I imagine, with flowers of various colours, wrought with silk and gold and silver thread, which, I think, is what is commonly meant by the term embroidered, but wrought only with thread or cotton, as being much the most proper for being applied to the face, as well as for the imbibing sweat.

Sir John is not the only person that has supposed an handkerchief is meant here; but I know not how to adopt the sentiment. Not to say that the word doth not appear in that catalogue of female ornaments which is given us in the third of Isaiah, where, surely, the word signifying handkerchiefs must appear, if they were in half the request among the Israelitish Ladies, that they are now in among the Eastern people; I would say this Gentleman's own account is very unfavourable to such a supposition, since he supposes they are in *continual want* of an handkerchief to wipe away the sweat, and have them almost perpetually in their hands for that purpose:

purpose. Would Tamar have demanded a thing which was wanted almost every minute? The things she demanded were doubtless of some value, and such as would determine who the owner was; not such as he could not be well without till the kid was brought.

I cannot however think it was a bracelet, according to our version. The word never signifies any thing like that in other places where it occurs; and other terms are used for the ornament worn on the arm and hand, and which signify what we call bracelets, or something like them. What just foundation can there be for such a translation then?

Setting myself upon this to think what could be well spared by Judah; answer the general meaning of the word, which signifies a ribband, a lace, something twisted, &c; and was sufficiently particular to prove him the father of the child; I could think of nothing more likely than the fillet or wreath worn about his head: which Dr. Shaw tells us is all that many of the Arabs wear at this day about their heads; while the Moors and Turks, and some of the principal Arabs, wear a small hemispherical cap of scarlet cloth, with a long narrow web of linen, silk, or muslin, folded round the bottom of these caps'. Judah could very well spare such a trifling covering to his head as a very small wreath; and being the son of the head of a considerable clan of the people that lived in

' P. 226.

tents, it is to be supposed it was much more ornamented than what were commonly worn.

This occurred to my mind upon reading Dr. Shaw upon their dress, without finding this interpretation in any author: but it is no new thought as I perceived afterwards, for I had the pleasure to find Arias Montanus translated the word in like manner *tænia*, which signifies a wreath; and some other authors also. But what I have been saying may be of some service to assist in forming a judgement what is most probably the meaning of the word.

OBSERVATION XIII.

The Eastern Ladies are remarkable for the length, and the great number of the tresses of their hair: the men there, on the contrary, wear very little hair on their heads now, but they do not seem always to have done so.

That the Eastern women now are remarkable for the quantity of the hair of their heads, and their pride in adorning it, appears from the quotation from Dr. Shaw under a preceding Observation. Lady Mary Wortley Montague abundantly confirms it: their “hair hangs at full length behind,” she tells us, “divided into tresses, braided with
“pearl or ribbon, which is always in great
“quantity. I never saw in my life so many
“fine heads of hair. In one Lady’s I have
“counted

“ counted an hundred and ten of the tresses,
 “ all natural; but it must be owned that
 “ every kind of beauty is more common
 “ here than with us’.”

The men there, on the contrary, shave all the hair off their heads, excepting one lock; and those that wear their hair are thought effeminate. I have met with both these particulars in Sir J. Chardin’s MS. As to the last, he says in his note on 1 Cor. xi. 14, that what the Apostle mentions there is *the custom of the East: the men are shaved, the women nourish their hair with great fondness², which they lengthen by tresses and tufts of silk down to the heels. The young men who wear their hair in the East, are looked upon as effeminate and infamous.*

It appears from this passage of the Corinthians, that in the days of St. Paul the women wore their hair *long*, the men *short*, and that the Apostle thought this a natural distinction. It doth not however appear it was always thought so, or, at least, that the wearing long hair by the men was thought *infamous*, since it was esteemed a beauty in Absalom, 2 Sam. xiv. 26.

That passage is curious, and requires some attention, as being attended with some difficulties; and, I am afraid, somewhat improperly explained.

¹ Vol. 2. p. 31.
 he makes use of.

² Amoureuement is the word

The *weight* of the hair, which seems to be enormously great, is the first thing that occurs to the mind. Two hundred shekels, at two hundred and nineteen grains each, make forty-three thousand and eight hundred grains. This is rather more than one hundred ounces avoirdupois, for four hundred and thirty-seven grains and an half are equal to such an ounce. It is a very good English head of hair, I am told, that weighs five ounces : if Absalom's then weighed one hundred ounces, it was very extraordinary. Some very learned men, I think, have believed a royal shekel was but half the weight of the sacred shekel : be it so; yet fifty ounces, ten times the weight of a good British head of hair, seems to be too great an allowance. To suppose, as some have done, that adventitious matters, united with the hair, are to be taken in to make up the weight, seems to me not a little idle : what proof would this have been of his possessing an extraordinary fine head of hair, since it would be possible to attach to the hair of a man *half-bald*, substances that should weigh one hundred ounces ? Commentators then should by no means talk of the *oil*, the *fragrant substances*, the *gold-dust*, with which they suppose the hair might be powdered, as making up this weight ; they might as well have added *ornaments of gold*, *ribbands*, (or what answered them) *artificial tresses* of hair, and all the matters that are now in different methods

methods fastened to the hair : but would not this have been ridiculous ? It is more reasonable to say, the present reading may be faulty, as in other cases there have frequently been mistakes in numbers ; or that we are not sure what number of grains two hundred shekels, after the King's weight, was equal to ; than to attempt to remove the difficulty by such an incompetent method. It was an uncommonly fine head of hair, of very unusual weight ; which is all that we know *with certainty* about it.

The *shaving off all this hair*, for so the original word signifies, is a second thing that seems very strange. It was this thought, I should imagine, that led our translators to render the word by the English term polled, or cut short : for it seems very unaccountable, that a prince that prided himself so much in the quantity of his hair, should annually shave it off quite close ; and for what purpose ? would not the shortening of it have relieved him from it's excessive weight ? not to say, that the hair of *one* year's growth can, in the common course of things, be of no great length, or weigh very much. The word elsewhere signifies to shave off all the hair ; is opposed to polling, or trimming the hair a little by shortening it ; and was necessary in order to gain the knowledge of the true weight of the hair.

Mourners shaved themselves, Job i. 20 ; and *those that had been in a state of bitterness*

when they presented themselves before kings, as appears from what is related of Joseph, Gen. xli. 14; if then “from the end of “days,” which is the original expression, may be understood to mean *at the end of the time of his returning to his own house, and not seeing the king’s face*, instead of *at the end of the year*, then the shaving himself may be thought to express one single action, and to describe, in part, the manner in which he presented himself before the king. This would make the prophetic account very natural.

But then the word translated *heavy* must be understood in another sense, a sense in which it is sometimes used, (if we have no regard to the Masoretic points,) namely, as signifying *glory*, or *honour*, or something of that sort³. And so the general meaning of the passage will be, *And when he shaved his head (and it was in the end of the days, of the days of his disgrace that is, at the time in which he was to shave, because it was a glory upon him,) and he shaved himself, and weighed the hair of his head, two hundred shekels after the king’s weight.*

But doth not St. Paul suppose, that nature teaches us, that if a man hath long hair, it is *shame* unto him, 1 Cor. xi. 14? He doth certainly; Absalom’s hair however is evidently spoken of in the book of Samuel, as what was thought to be part of his beau-

³ See in particular Prov. 26. 1.

ty, 2 Sam. xiv. 25: whether it was that they had different notions on this point in the age of David; or that they thought it rather *effeminate*, but however *a beauty*.

OBSERVATION XIV.

The Oriental women are *kept at home*, much more than wives are with us, on the account of jealousy.

Dr. Ruffell informs us, that “ the Turks
 “ of Aleppo, being *very jealous*, keep their
 “ women as much at home as they can; so
 “ that it is but seldom they are allowed to
 “ visit each other. Necessity however ob-
 “ ligeth the husband to suffer them to go
 “ often to the bagnio, and *Mondays and*
 “ *Thursdays* are a sort of licensed days for
 “ them to visit the tombs of their deceased
 “ relations; which furnishing them with an
 “ opportunity of walking abroad in the gar-
 “ dens or fields¹, they have so contrived,
 “ that almost every Thursday in the Spring
 “ bears the name of some particular Sheih²,
 “ whose tomb they must visit on that day.
 “ By this means the greatest part of the
 “ Turkish women of the city get abroad to
 “ breathe the fresh air at such seasons, un-
 “ less confined (as is not uncommon) to
 “ their houses *by order of the Bashaw*, and so
 “ deprived even of that little freedom which

¹ Their cœmeteries and their gardens are out of their cities, at least in common. ² Or Saint, commonly expressed by the word *Sheik*.

“ custom had procured them from their husbands³.” And in the next paragraph he tells us, that “ though necessity obliges many of the inferior people to trust their wives out of doors, yet some are locked up till the husbands return.”

Here we see great confinement, and the most innocent amusements, such as waiking to the gardens, frequently forbidden; and this when *devotion itself* is united with pleasure, or professed to be united, in these excursions.

The prohibitions of the Bashaws are designed, or pretended to be designed at least, without doubt, to prevent the bad effects, in respect to the chastity of the fair sex, which those liberties of going abroad might be supposed to draw after them. For the same reason we may believe, St. Paul joins the being *chaste and keepers at home* together, in his Epistle to Titus⁴, where he directs that Evangelist, to engage the elder Christian women, to teach the young women “ to be discreet, *chaste, keepers at home,*” &c. Titus seems to have been then in *Crete*, and the Apostle, with something really of the solicitude a modern Bashaw affects, appears to have given this direction to Titus.

I do not suppose the words of St. Paul, bind European ladies to that *severe* retirement and keeping at home, that prudence requires an Eastern female Christian to ob-

³ P. 113, 114.

⁴ Titus 2. 5.

serve, and which St. Paul might intend with respect to those of Crete; but certainly the *spirit* of that injunction requires them to avoid every needless quitting their homes, that may excite the jealousy of an husband, or the suspicions of the world: whether every British female, that calls herself a Christian, attends either to the letter or the spirit of this order, is another point; that they *ought* to consider themselves under an obligation to preserve it's *spirit and intention*, cannot be doubted.

OBSERVATION XV.

Several authors, and Lady M. W. Montague in particular¹, have taken notice of the custom, that has obtained from time immemorial among the *Eastern women*, of *tinging the eyes* with a powder, which, at a distance, or by candle-light, adds very much to the *blackness* of them.

The ancients call the mineral substance with which this was done, *stibium*, that is, *antimony*; but Dr. Shaw tells us², it is a rich *lead ore*, which, according to the description of naturalists, looks very much like antimony. Those that are unacquainted with that substance, may form a tolerable idea of it, by being told it is not very unlike the black-lead of which pencils are made; that are in every body's hands.

¹ Letters, vol. 2. p. 32.² P. 229.

Many passages of Scripture are *known* to refer to this custom; but it has been *unobserved*, I think, and for that reason makes an article in these papers, that it is most probable the *redness of the eyes*, according to our version, which the dying Patriarch mentions in blessing Judah, is to be explained by this usage.

The original word occurs but twice in the Scriptures: in both places it evidently expresses *a consequence of drinking wine*; but in one, it signifies an agreeable, and in the other, a reproachful effect of it. Gen. xlix. 12, and Prov. xxiii. 29, are the two places. I do not know that *redness of the eyes*, strictly speaking, is occasioned by *drinking*: that arises from other causes. If we change the expression a little, and, instead of *redness of the eyes*, read *redness of the countenance*, as some commentators are disposed to do, it is certain such an effect is produced by the drinking of wine, but it is however another word that expresses *redness* in general, that expresses *ruddiness of complexion* in particular³; nor did the *Seventy* understand the word to signify *redness*, but a *kind of blackness*, for so they translate Prov. xxiii. 29, whose eyes are *μελιθνοι*? a word which expresses the colour which arises from bruising the flesh, and which is marked out in English by two words joined together—*black*

³ See 1 Sam. 16. 12, ch. 17. 42, &c.

and blue. The Syriac and Arabic are said to translate it in the same manner⁴: and is it not more natural to explain it in this passage, which speaks of woe, of sorrow, of wounds, after this manner, than of a *red face*?

If the word is understood in this sense, in this passage of the Proverbs, it cannot be agreeable to give it, unnecessarily, another sense, when we read the predictions of Jacob; and it is certain there is no difficulty in understanding it of *blackness of the eyes* there. The *blackness* that is communicated to the eyes by this lead ore, reduced to an impalpable powder, is expressly said by Dr. Shaw, to be thought to add a wonderful *gracefulness* to persons of all complexions: Lady Wortley Montague, in her lively way, says the same thing; for she supposes our English ladies would be *overjoyed* to know this secret; and what is it that is the great beauty of the eye, but *sprightliness and life*? And certainly, as sorrow *deadens* the eye, or makes it dim, in the language of Job; wine *adds to it's vivacity*: as therefore it produces a similar effect with the Eastern powder, it is no wonder a term belonging to this drug, is translated in the language of prediction, which is known to be frequently a-kin to the language of poetry, to express what follows the drinking of wine: *His eyes shall be*

⁴ Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

blackened with wine; enlivened, that is, by wine, *as if blackened by lead ore*. Agreeably to this, though not with the same precision, the Seventy make use of a term in translating the word in this place, which signifies the joyousness of the eyes, as do also many of the Fathers ⁵.

St. Austin, however, is sometimes an exception, translating the word in some places indeed, *glistening*, (*fulgentes*,) but in others, *yellow* or *tawney*, (*fulvi*.) What the good Bishop of Hippo understood, by the *eyes* of the people of the tribe of Judah's being made *yellow* by wine; or, if you please to understand it rather of their *countenances*, what by their being made *tawney* by the juice of the grape, I leave to others to enquire; some devout mystic sense may doubtless be put on such a translation; but great must be the absurdity of such a version, if understood literally: the English translation, "His eyes shall be red with wine," is as ill-founded, I believe; but if understood of the countenance in general, by no means so absurd.

In truth, the *colours* which are mentioned in Scripture, solicit the cares of the Learned, as well as the *vegetables* and the *animals*, which have been more commonly thought of: what I have been saying proves it; as, I am afraid, a passage of the *very curious Michaelis* also doth. That ingenious and in-

⁵ Vide Scholia in Sac. Bib. Græc. ex vers. 70 Inter. Lond. 1653.

quisitive author tells us, in a note on the twenty-eighth question proposed by him to the Danish Academicians, that *he was ready to believe, that the word אדמדם, which is translated red, (in the account that is given by Moses of the Leprosy,) comprehends in it the yellow, as it evidently does, he says, Gen. xxv. 30, as well as in the Arabic*⁶. How evidently this appears, by that passage in Genesis, all will be sensible, that read that place of Dr. Shaw, in which he describes this pottage, which, according to him, still continues to be made in the East, of lentils, and is of a *chocolate* colour, p. 140. This Hebrew word in short, which expresses the colour of *blood*, as appears from 2 Kings iii. 22; and of red wine, II. lxiii. 2; is used for a *dark brownish red*, and such a colour as that of a limon, too much differs, I should think, to be denoted by one word.

There are other *reds*, much brighter than the colour of blood: with respect to which our translators jumble and confound things strangely, translating three different Hebrew words *crimson*, and rendering one of them sometimes *crimson*, and sometimes *scarlet*. Of these, *shani*, I think, must undoubtedly

⁶ Et je croirois presque que le mot אדמדם, que l'on traduit par *roussâtre*, comprend encore la couleur *jaune*, comme il le fait évidemment Genes. 25. 30, aussi bien que dans la langue Arabe, p. 75. It may be right to add, the expression is softened, in a copy of these questions joined to Niebuhr's description of Arabia, but the supposition is not retracted.

mean a *bright red*, for it describes the colour of beautiful lips, Cant. iv. 3. That *tholang* means a red in general, is evident from If. i. 18; and as it is used with *shani* to denote one colour, Exod. xxxix. 3, they should both mean the same colour, one of them expressing the colour itself, and the other the *materials, or manner of dying it*, somewhat answering our term *engrained*. As for *carmil*, the other word translated *crimson*, 2 Chron. iii. 14, and in two or three other places, I am extremely dubious about its meaning, but am rather inclined to believe it doth not signify any particular colour, but means *flowery*, or something of that kind.

Laban certainly means *white*, for it describes the colour of *milk*, Gen. xlix. 12; *shackor*, on the contrary, *black*, for it is the colour of the *raven*, Cant. v. 11; *chum* is the colour that sometimes, but not commonly, appears among *sheep*, and therefore signifies *brown*, Gen. xxx. 32; and *jerek* certainly means *green*, Exod. x. 15.

Other words are translated *blue* and *purple*. We may believe those bright and lively colours were in use in the days of Moses, in their *painting* and *dying* both, but the determining the words that signify each must depend on lexicographers, there being nothing in the texts in which they occur so circumstantial, I think, as to determine this matter. So Capt. Norden mentions *ultramarine*, as used with other lively colours, in painting those
remains

remains of very remote antiquity the Ægyptian hieroglyphics⁷.

OBSERVATION XVI.

The MS.C, in a note on Ecclesiasticus xii. 11, tells us the Eastern mirrors are of polished *steel*, and for the most part *convex*.

The world has been so often told that the mirrors of the Israelitish women were of metal, on occasion of what is said Exod. xxxviii. 8, that few people of reading are unapprized of it; but the two circumstances mentioned here are, I confess, new to me—the making them of *steel*, and the making them *convex*¹.

If they were made of the same material, and in the same form, in the country of *Elibu*, the image made use of by him must be more lively than if we suppose them made of *brass*, and *flat*: “Hast thou with him
“ spread out the sky, which is strong, and
“ as a molten looking-glass,” Job xxxvii. 18. A serene sky is much more of the colour of steel than of brass; and a piece of this metal formed into a concavo-convex shape, must much more strongly have affected the imagination of an Arab, thinking of the visible appearance of the atmosphere, than a plain piece of metal.

⁷ Part 2. p. 75, 76.

¹ I have since observed, that Sir Thomas Roe's Chaplain has mentioned both these circumstances in his Description of the East Indies, p. 376.

Whether

Whether this kind of mirror was in use in the days of Moses cannot be determined : but such a curiosity, (to most, if not all my readers, a novelty,) I thought ought not to be suppressed ; and especially as it gives such life and energy to the image used by Elihu. Those mirrors that were brought out of Ægypt by the Israelitish women were, it seems, of *brass*. Perhaps it may seem strange, that either *steel or brass*, which are so apt to *rust or canker*, should be employed in the construction of a sacred vessel for the holding of water, and which must be liable to be often besprinkled on the outside by those that washed. The apocryphal writer himself, that speaks of those speculums, supposes they were liable to *rust* : “ Thou shalt
 “ be unto him as if thou hadst wiped a
 “ looking-glass, and thou shalt know that
 “ his *rust* hath not been altogether wiped
 “ away.” And brass is liable to verdegris, as iron to rust.

Perhaps it may not be disagreeable to observe, that, according to Dr. Perry, pipes of fountains, figures that spout out water, and basons designed for the reception of it, in some of the palaces of the Grand Signior, are in like manner of *brass*. They appear indeed to have been *gilt*, which must greatly preserve them from cankering ; the laver of Moses might be *gilt* too. If the Turkish Sultan, who could so easily have commanded *silver*, or who might have confined himself
 to

to *marble*, for these works, has made use of *brass*, is it any wonder Moses made use of this metal for his laver?

“ Each window,” says Dr. Perry², “ in
 “ the lower range, has a serpent’s head (of)
 “ *brass gilt*, on each side of it, spouting
 “ water into a receiver *of the same kind*.—
 “ A small cascade rushes down a neat piece
 “ of gilded shell-work, cut in marble on
 “ each side of the walls; and discharges it-
 “ self at the mouths of eight *brazen* serpents
 “ rising at the foot of it, into a square
 “ marble basin, which has a cluster of little
 “ pipes in the middle of it, and a double-
 “ headed serpent at each corner spouting
 “ the water into a cup of the same metal.—
 “ All those things are richly adorned and
 “ embellished with *fine gilding*, and the whole
 “ structure exhibits an air truly majestic.

OBSERVATION XVII.

The last word of those paragraphs which describe the imports of Solomon’s navy from Tarshish, is somewhat dubious: some of the learned have thought it means *parrots*, the greatest number, *peacocks*¹.

What led some of the curious to imagine *parrots* were meant, I do not well know; but there is a passage in Hasselquist² which

² P. 26. ¹ Pavones, vel juxta quosdam, Psittaci, says Buxtorff, in his Epit. Rad. Heb. ² P. 298.

strongly inclines me to adopt their sentiment : describing the commerce of the people of Ethiopia, he says, *The Abyssinians make a journey every year to Cairo, to sell the products of their country, slaves, gold, elephants, drugs, monkeys, parrots, &c.* As Solomon's navy is said to have brought gold and silver, elephants teeth, and apes, and peacocks³, and this by way of the Red-Sea, 1 Kings ix. 26, which washes the East of Abyssinia, one would imagine, as many of the other particulars tally with each other, that instead of *peacocks*, the true translation of the last word is *parrots*.

Religion indeed is not at all concerned in this uncertainty ; but it is a matter of *curiosity*, and as such may, with great propriety, be taken notice of in these papers.]

VII.

OBSERVATION XVIII.

Herodotus, it seems, thought the Ægyptian women's carrying on commerce was a *curiosity* that deserved to be inserted in his history : it can hardly then be thought an impropriety, to take notice of this circumstance in a collection of papers tending to illustrate the Scriptures, and especially in a country where the *women* indeed *spin*, but the *men* not only *buy* and *sell*, but *weave*, and do almost every thing else relating to manufactures.

³ 1 Kings 20. 22, 2 Chron. 9. 21.

The commerce mentioned by Herodotus is lost, according to Maillet, from among the women of Ægypt in general, being only retained by the Arabs of that country who live in the mountains. The Arabian historians say¹, that the women used to deal in buying and selling of things woven of silk gold and silver, of pure silk, of cotton, of cotton and thread, or simple linen-cloth, whether made in the country or imported; the men in wheat, barley, rice, and other productions of the earth. Maillet, in giving an account of the alteration in this respect in Ægypt, affirms, that this usage still continues among the Arabs to this day who live in the mountains, and consequently he must be understood to affirm, that the things that are woven among the Arabs and sold, are sold by the women, who are indeed the persons that weave the mens hykes in Barbary, according to Dr. Shaw², and doubtless weave in Ægypt.

Now this is precisely what the book of Proverbs supposeth the Israelitish women, that were industrious, anciently did: “ She *maketh* fine linen, and *selleth* it, and delivereth *girdles* unto the merchants³.” However dissonant this may be to our manners, it is what perfectly agreed with the simplicity of the most ancient times, and is ac-

¹ Maillet, lett. II. p. 134. ² P. 224, 240. ³ Prov. 31. 24.

cordingly retained by the Arabs, who are noted for the keeping to old usages.

VIII.

OBSERVATION XIX.

It is customary for the Turks and Moors, according to Dr. Shaw, to wear *shirts* of linen, or cotton, or gauze, under their tunics; but the Arabs *wear nothing but woollen*¹. This is frequently the case also with the Arabs of Palæstine, it should seem, though d'Arvieux gives a contrary account of the Arabs of the camp of the Grand Emir whom he visited²: for Egmont and Heyman assure us³, that they saw several *Arabian* inhabitants of Jaffa⁴ going along almost naked, the *greatest part* of them without so much as a *shirt* or a pair of breeches, though some wore a kind of mantle; as for the children there, they ran about almost as naked as they were born, though they had all little chains about their legs as an ornament, and some of silver.

The reason of the difference between these authors is, without doubt, d'Arvieux's describing those of the camp of the Grand Emir, who were many of them persons of consequence; and Egmont and Heyman's giving an account of the poorer sort of Arabs. However, it is visible from this last book, that many of the poorer people of

¹ P. 228.

² Voy. dans la Pal. par la Roque,

ch. 16.

³ Vol. I. p. 298.

⁴ Called Joppa in the New Testament.

Palæstine, as well as in Barbary, wear no *shirts*, while those in easier circumstances do; which wearing of linen next them cannot but be a peculiar agreeableness in those hot climates.

May we not then suppose that many of the poorer inhabitants of Judæa, in ancient times, shifted as the Arabs of this country do now? And may not this explain the proposal made by Samson, to give not only thirty changes of garments, but thirty other things, confirming the supposition of the margin of our Bibles, which reads thirty *shirts*, if they could decypher the difficulty he proposed to them, and they to give him the same, if they could not? It cannot easily be imagined that they were what we mean by *sheets*, for Samson might have slain thirty Philistines near Ashkelon, and not have met with one sheet; or if he slew such as were carrying their bedding with them in their travels, as they often do now, the destroying fifteen would have been sufficient, the people of the East using an upper and an under-sheet as we do⁵; but he slew just thirty, in order to acquire thirty Sedinim, thirty *shirts* that is, or at least not thirty *sheets* in the common sense of the word.

The supposing them to be thirty *shirts* is not pretended to be a new thought: I have

⁵ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 177.

expressly observed that our marginal reading translates the Hebrew word thus; but I do not know that it has been remarked by any body that this circumstance, if it be allowed to be fact, points out the *bitterness* of this slaughter to the Philistines, since it shews that they were not thirty common people of that nation that he slew, but thirty persons of figure and consequence.

This observation may equally take place, if we should suppose it signifies some other sort of vestment, not so near the skin: for, in this case, those he slew had two different things upon them, whereas the poorer sort of people of Palæstine have only a kind of mantle on them; not to say that it appears, from *Is. iii. 23*, that whatever it was, it signifies an high part of dress, a consideration which seems to put the matter quite out of all doubt, as to their being persons of rank that he destroyed⁶.

IX.

OBSERVATION XX.

Bishop Pococke observes, in describing the *dresses* of the people of Ægypt, that “ it is
 “ almost a general custom among the Arabs
 “ and Mohammedan natives of the country,
 “ to wear a large blanket, either white or

[⁶ Sir John Chardin, in his MS, supposes the word signifies *drawers*. If understood after this manner, it may point out their being persons of some distinction, many of the poorer Arabs wearing none.]

“ brown, and in summer a blue and white
 “ cotton *sbeet*, which the Christians con-
 “ stantly use in the country; putting one
 “ corner before over the left shoulder, they
 “ bring it behind, and under the right arm,
 “ and so over their bodies, throwing it be-
 “ hind over the left shoulder, and so the
 “ right arm is left bare for action. When
 “ it is hot, and they are on horseback, they
 “ let it fall down on the saddle round them;
 “ and about Faiume I particularly observed,
 “ that young people especially, and the
 “ poorer sort, had *nothing on whatever* but
 “ this blanket; and it is *probable* the young
 “ man was clothed in this manner, who fol-
 “ lowed our Saviour when he was taken,
 “ having a *linen cloth* cast about his *naked*
 “ body; and when the young men laid hold
 “ on him, he left the linen cloth, and fled
 “ from them *naked*’.”

I am very much disposed to think as the
 Bishop does upon this point; and as he has
 made this observation, I should not have
 thought of introducing it into these papers,
 had I not apprehended some additional re-
 marks might not be altogether useless.

This account relates to Ægypt; but it
 appears from that passage of Egmont and
 Heyman, which I cited under the last Ob-
 servation, that many of the inhabitants of
 Palæstine are as slightly clothed now as these

’ Descript. of the East, vol. 1. p. 190.

Ægyptians, and we may believe were so anciently.

The ancients, or at least many of them, supposed that the young man in question, who is mentioned Mark xiv. 51, 52, was one of the Apostles. Grotius² wonders how they could think of such a thing; and supposes it was some youth, who lodged in a country-house near to the garden of Gethsemané, who ran out in a hurry to see what was the matter in his night-vestment, or *in his shirt*, as we should express it. But the word that is used to express what he had upon him, expresses also such a cloth as they wrapped up the dead in, and occurs in no other sense in the New Testament; but the Eastern people do not lay like corpses wrapped up in a winding-sheet, but in drawers and one or two waistcoats at Aleppo³; and those that go without drawers, (as the Arabs of Barbary do, according to Dr. Shaw⁴, and many of those of the Holy-Land, if we may believe Egmont and Heyman,) sleep in their raiment, and their hyke which they wear *by day*, serves them for a bed and covering *by night*⁵. It might as well then be an Apostle in his day-dress, as an ordinary youth wrapped up in that in which he lay; and it is rather to be understood of an Apostle in his common

² In loc.

³ See Russell, p. 89, 90.

⁴ P. 224.

⁵ See Shaw in the last cited place. Voyez aussi le Voy. dans la Pal. par la Roque, p. 176.

clothing,

clothing, than a person of figure in his drawers and waistcoat, in which such persons now lay, and which we may believe Dionysius Alexandrinus meant, by the *εν λινω εσθηματι* of his epistle, which Grotius quotes.

A later commentator takes notice, that though this youth is said to fly naked away, upon his leaving the linen cloth in the hands of those that seized him, yet it is by no means necessary to suppose he was absolutely naked: which is indeed very true; but is not this precisely the thing however that the Evangelist designs to intimate, in order to mark out the extreme fear of this young man, who rather chose to quit his hyke, than run the risque of being made a prisoner? though, by doing this, he became entirely exposed, which, in those countries, is looked on in a much more disagreeable light than among us; infomuch, that the *very children* have been observed to have had *drawers* on, when they *swim*⁶: and probably the modesty of the Jews of those times was equal to that of the modern Arabs⁷.

Dr.

⁶ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 177, 178. [⁷ This account of d'Arvieux has been thought not to agree very well with Egmont and Heyman's, cited under the preceding Observation. I do not reckon myself obliged to reconcile all the contrarieties that may occur, in the authors I have occasion to cite; but as to this seeming-contradiction, I would observe, that persons may be extremely well covered without wearing drawers, as in the case of the Arabs of Barbary; and that as to children, those that are *very young*, may, in the apprehensions of the Eastern people,

Dr. Lightfoot supposes, as I do, that he had nothing on under this linen cloth; but he is ready to attribute this to mortification, and a superstitious austerity: but if he was not an Apostle, as the Doctor doth not suppose he was, yet he must be understood to have been a disciple of Jesus, or he need not have been afraid; and we know, that though the disciples of John followed a rigorous institute, those of Christ did not, “Why do the disciples of John and of the Pharisees *fast*, but thy disciples fast not?” Mark ii. 18.

OBSERVATION XXI.

[When Elijah fled for his life from Jezebel, we are told that he went a day’s journey into the wilderness of Beerfheba, and that sitting down under a *juniper-tree*, tired with his journey, and oppressed with grief,

ple, be left absolutely naked, without breaking the rules of modesty, while those that approach nearer a state of maturity, may put on drawers when they swim, a care that is seldom taken, by any in our own country. It is certain that Norden represents the young children of the generous Barbarin, whose cottage he visited in Ægypt, as running about there *quite naked*, vol. 2. p. 119; whereas Egmont and Heyman only describe them as *almost* naked: on the other hand, d’Arvieux, without doubt, saw some youths swimming with drawers on, which he happened to mention in particular, as, in general, he found them observing the rules of decency with great exactness. *Very young* children are, in most nations, treated with much less scrupulous care than those farther advanced.]

he

he fell asleep, after having requested of God that he might die.

A writer, who is with great justness extremely celebrated¹, supposes that this resting under a *juniper-tree* expressed great *carelessness about his health*, and cites a passage from Virgil², as a proof that the shadow of this tree was noxious. One can hardly read this without thinking of that wantonness, in applying their learning, which we see oftentimes in the works of eminent men, but of which we are unwilling to suppose a person of such distinction as Grotius would be guilty, and especially in a commentary on Scripture.

The passage in Virgil does not prove what it is cited for: taking the whole two lines, they signify that the shade in general, to those that sung, was, *at that time of the year*, supposed to be noxious, if long continued in; that it was then injurious to the fruits themselves. The shade of the juniper-tree is distinctly mentioned, apparently for no other reason, but because being an ever-green, and it's leaves growing very close, it's shade must be more chilly then, and damp, than of several other trees. That it's shade is not noxious, at least not thought to be so by the people of the East, is sufficiently plain from a passage in Dr. Shaw, who tells us,

¹ Grotius. Valetudinis incuriosus.

²———Solet esse gravis cantantibus umbra :

Juniperi gravis umbra : nocent & fragibus umbræ.

Ecl. 10. 75, 6.

that a city of Barbary, famous for remains of ancient magnificence, is “pleasantly situated upon a rising-ground, shaded *all over* “with juniper-trees³.” Would they have raised such noble edifices anciently, or would they now dwell under the shade of such a grove, if it’s effluvia were *deadly*, or if trees of that species were thought to be *injurious* to health?

Another commentator⁴ of considerable name, though not of equal celebrity with Grotius, supposes, on the contrary, that he reposed himself under a juniper-tree, for the *more effectual preservation of his health*, it’s shade being *a protection from serpents*; and that it was the *custom* of the people of that country to guard themselves by such precautions. This is, I doubt, equally visionary. Travellers have sometimes mentioned their sitting under trees in that hot country; some of them⁵, their enjoying that pleasure in that very desert of which this wilderness of Beer-sheba is a part; but not one word of their guides choosing out juniper-trees as defensive against venomous animals; and indeed, according to Dioscorides, they were the *embers* of juniper-wood, not the shade of the living tree, that possessed the power of driving away serpents⁶.

The truth seems to be, that Elijah flying into a wilderness in the south of Judæa, to

³ P. 119.

⁴ Pet. Martyr. Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

⁵ Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2. p. 151. ⁶ Lib. 1. p. 103.

escape the rage of Jezebel, found himself extremely oppressed with heat, and was glad to find a tree to shade him. Trees do not grow very commonly there, but there are some. He found, it seems, a juniper-tree in particular, which was extremely welcome to him on account of its thick shade, without any apprehension of its possessing any *deleterious*, or, on the contrary, any *alexipharmic* quality; he repaired to it merely for its shade, and there he fell asleep, and was awakened by a merciful angelic vision, after some time, which must greatly have comforted him.—Can any thing now be more impertinent than an imagination, that the prophet repaired thither with an intention *verging* towards *self-destruction*?

Dioscorides was a native of Cilicia: if we may suppose that the *Eastern* notion of the age of Dioscorides, who was contemporary with the Apostles, was some hundreds of years older than his time; if it was in particular as old as the time of David; it is *not impossible* that the Psalmist might refer to this supposed quality of the embers of the juniper-tree, in those words of the one hundred and twentieth psalm, “What shall be done unto thee, thou *false* tongue? Sharp arrows of the mighty, with coals of juniper.”

It is difficult to say, with determinateness, why the coals of juniper are particularly mentioned. Some interpreters have ascribed to them the power of *long preserving* fire;

fire ; some have mentioned the *fragrance* of the wood ; but these explanations are not very satisfactory : and as to the first property, St. Jerome's account of those embers keeping fire, when covered up with ashes, a *whole twelvemonth*, will hardly obtain credit, notwithstanding his *canonization*.

But if coals of juniper were thought, in the days of the Psalmist, to have possessed the power of driving away venomous animals, the thought might, possibly, be this : *Ob what shall be done to thee that possesseth a tongue of falsehood? Thou shalt be given up to the arrows of the mighty, which shall pierce through thee with deadly force, after thou shalt be made to appear in thy true light, as poisonous animals are forced out of their lurking-holes, and brought into view by the energy of coals of juniper, and then destroyed.*

It is certain malignant spirits are in Scripture compared to *venomous serpents*, Pf. cxl. 3 ; and that Bishop Pocke mentions a species of the juniper-tree, in his catalogue of the *plants of Palestine* ; but he doth not tell us whether he found it growing in the *deserts*, or elsewhere.

After all, it is very uncertain whether the *juniper* is meant by the original word. *Broom* grows in those wildernesses, according to travellers⁷ ; and some very learned men have supposed that was the plant that was meant.

⁷ Thevenot, part I. p. 163.

Our broom indeed is *so low* a plant, that it would hardly have been sufficient to cover Elijah from the heat; but there is a species of broom which it is said grows to an height sufficient to have shaded him; and it's Spanish name, supposed to have been brought thither from the East, agrees very well with the Hebrew word.

Nor is it very difficult, to assign a reason why the Psalmist should mention the coals of broom, in the passage we have been referring to. He was then *in the tents of Kedar*⁸, or among the *Arabs*. In those deserts they frequently are obliged to use dried⁹ dung of camels, by way of fuel. This fuel must be extremely faint in comparison of wood. And *broom* being the wood the Arabs among whom he dwelt chiefly used, nothing was more natural for him, than to tell the lying tongue, it should feel anguish like that of *fire*¹⁰, the most *vigorous fire* that he saw employed in those deserts.

Indeed the *root* neither of the juniper, nor of the broom, seems to be *eatable*, and consequently it may be thought that Job xxx. 4. proves, that the word *Rothem*, the original word which some suppose signifies juniper, and

⁸ V. 5. ⁹ Shaw, pref. p. 12. ¹⁰ Hariri describes the heart as having fierce burning coals deposited upon it, when he would signify the great anxiety under which it laboured, which the note tells us is a *proverbial* form of speech. See *Six Assemblies*, &c, by Chappelow, p. 106.

others broom, means neither of them. But it is possible, the same word, or nearly the same word, may signify very different vegetables. The word *plantain* signifies an herb, that grows very commonly in grass-plats; and it signifies also a large American tree, which our voyagers frequently mention. So the word *aloes* denotes certain foreign herbs, remarkably succulent; and it means a tree also, whose wood is extremely fragrant and precious. A kindred Arabian word to that which occurs in these texts, and which is rendered juniper in our version, means, it seemeth, a sort of broom; and the same, or a similar word, appears to signify a sort of herb, which grows in the Arabian deserts. "We reached," say Egmont and Heyman, speaking of their journey to Mount Sinai, "the valley of Rethame: This valley, called in the Hebrew *Rethame*, and commonly *Ritma*, derives it's name from a yellow flower called *Rettem*, with which the valley is enamelled." This plant was evidently a very different thing from a tree sufficient to shade Elijah, while he took some repose: whether it's root is ever used for food by any poor starving Arabians, we are not told by them, or any other traveller that I have read, so far as I can remember. How happy would a more perfect knowledge of the natural history of the East be!]

" Vol. 2. p. 154.

OBSERVATION XXII.

X.

Captain Norden, among other particulars he thought worthy of notice, has given some account¹ of the *lamps* and *lanterns* that they make use of commonly at Cairo. “The lamp,” he tells us, “is of the palm-tree wood, of the height of twenty-three inches, and made in a very gross manner. The glass, that hangs in the middle, is half filled with water, and has oil on the top, about three fingers in depth. The wick is preserved dry at the bottom of the glass, where they have contrived a place for it, and ascends through a pipe. These lamps do not give *much light*; yet they are very commodious, because they are *transported easily* from one place to another.

“With regard to the *lanterns*, they have pretty nearly the figure of a cage, and are made of *reeds*. It is a *collection of five or six glasses*, like to that of the lamp, which has been just described. They suspend them by cords in the middle of the streets, when there is any great festival at Cairo, and they put painted paper in the place of the reeds.”

Were these the *lanterns* that those that came to take Jesus made use of? or were

¹ Part I. p. 83.

they

they such *lamps* as these that Christ referred to in the parable of the virgins? or are we rather to suppose that these *lanterns* are appropriated to the Ægyptian illuminations, and that Dr. Pococke's account, of the lanterns of this country, will give us a better idea of the lanterns that were anciently made use of at Jerusalem?

“By night,” says that author², speaking of the travelling of the people of Ægypt, “they rarely make use of tents, but lie in the open air, having *large lanterns*, made like a pocket paper lantern, the bottom and top being of copper, tinned over: and instead of paper, they are made with linen, which is extended by hoops of wire, so that when it is put together, it serves as a candlestick, &c. . . . and they have a contrivance to hang it up abroad, by means of three staves.”

It appears from travellers, that lamps, wax-candles, torches, lanterns, and cresset-lights³, are all made use of among the Eastern people⁴. I think also, that there are only three words in the New Testament to express these things by, of which, *λυχνος* seems to signify the *common lamps* that are used in ordinary life, (see Luke xv. 8,) which, according to Norden, afford but little light: *λαμπας*, which is one of the words which is

² Vol. 1. Descript. of the East. ³ A kind of moveable beacons. ⁴ Thevenot, part 2. p. 35 and 37, Norden, part 1. p. 124, Hanway.

made use of John xviii. 3, seems to mean any sort of light that shines brighter than common, whether torches, blazing resinous pieces of wood, or lamps that are supplied with more than ordinary quantities of oil, or other unctuous substances; such as that mentioned by Hanway in his Travels⁵, which stood in the court-yard of a person of some distinction in Persia, was supplied with tallow, and was sufficient to enlighten the whole place, as a single wax-candle served for the illumination of the room where he was entertained: and such I presume were the lamps our Lord speaks of in the parable of the virgins, which were something of the nature of common lamps, for they were supplied with oil, but then were supposed to be sufficient for enlightening the company they went to meet, on a very joyful occasion, which required the most vigorous lights⁶.

The other word, which occurs in John xviii. 3, is no where else to be found in the New Testament; and whether it precisely

⁵ Vol. I. p. 223. [⁶ Sir J. Chardin, in his MS. note on Mat. 25. 44, informs us, *that in many parts of the East, and in particular in the Indies, instead of torches and flambeaux, they carry a pot of oil in one hand, and a lamp full of oily rags in the other.* This seems to be a very happy illustration of this part of the parable. He observes, in another of the MSS, that they seldom make use of candles in the East, especially among the Great; candles casting but little light, and they sitting at a considerable distance from them. Ezek. I. 18. represents the light of lamps accordingly as very lively.]

means lanterns, as our translators render the word, I do not certainly know. If it doth, I conclude, without much hesitation, that it signifies such *linen lanterns* as Dr. Pococke gives an account of, rather than those mentioned by Norden, which seem rather to be machines proper for illuminations than for common use; and if so, the Evangelist perhaps means, that they came with such *lanterns* as people were wont to make use of when abroad in the night; but lest the weakness of the light should give an opportunity to Jesus to escape, many of them had *torches*, or such *large and bright burning lamps* as were made use of on nuptial solemnities, the more effectually to secure him. Such was the treachery of Judas, and the zeal of his attendants!

OBSERVATION XXIII.

[Dandini telleth us, that “ in Mount Libanus *they never use spades to their vineyards, but they cultivate them with their oxen; for they are planted with strait rows of trees, far enough one from another*”.]

As the usages of the East so seldom change, it is very probable a *spade* was not commonly used in the time of our Lord in their vineyards. We find the Prophet Isaiah using a term², which our translators indeed render by the English word *digging*, but which

¹ Chap. 10. p. 43.

² Is. 5. 6, &c, chap. 7. 25.

differs

differs from that which expresses the digging of wells, of graves, &c, in other places; and is the same with that used to signify keeping in rank, 1 Chron. xii. 33, 38. When then Jesus represents the vine-dresser as saying to his lord, Luke xiii. 8, "Let it alone this year also, till I shall dig about it and dung it," it should seem we are not to understand the *digging with a spade* about the fig-tree, planted in a vineyard according to their customs³; but the turning up the ground, between the rows of trees, with an instrument proper for the purpose drawn by oxen — ploughing about it, in other words.]

OBSERVATION XXIV.

XI.

Whether the *garden* of Gethsemané had any *water* in it, doth not appear by the Evangelic history; but water is not only a *great addition* to a garden in those hot climates, (it is so in ours,) it is even necessary: without it every thing in the summer would be parched up. *All* the gardens of Aleppo, according to Dr. Russell, are on the banks of the river that runs by that city, or on the sides of the rill that supplies their aqueduct;

³ "The rising-grounds above the gardens, to which the water cannot be conveyed, are in some places laid out in *vineyards*, interspersed with olive, *fig*, and pistachio-trees, as are also many spots to the Eastward." Russell's Nat. Hist. of Aleppo, p. 9.

and all the rest of the country he represents as perfectly burnt up in the summer-months, the gardens only retaining their verdure, on account of the moistness of the situation.

I do not know that the *necessity* of water to their gardens has been remarked, but it is requisite to attend to this circumstance, if we would enter into the energy of *If. i. 30* : “Ye shall be as an oak, whose leaf fadeth ;” and *as a garden that hath no water.*”

It is not however to be imagined, that every garden in the East is by the side of a river, or perennial brook : Gethsemané is not so situated, nor is this an argument, that is valid, to prove that the place now shewn for it was not a garden in the time of our Lord ; since it is by Kedron, which, though dry in summer, ran in winter, and might fill a reservoir of water sufficient for all the summer-months. Receptacles of this kind might be, and doubtless often were, filled by the rains too ; but water, in one way or other, is, and was, absolutely necessary to an Eastern garden.

XII.

OBSERVATION XXV.

Dr. Russell tells us, that the English at Aleppo generally live at the gardens near Babbalah, during the month of April, and part of May¹. This I have had occasion to mention elsewhere², on another account ;

¹ P. 135.² Ch. I.

but

but I would here observe, that if the sacred writer refers to such a sort of retirement in the close of the seventh chapter of Canticles, the word *fruits* should not, I doubt, have been introduced there: “Come, my
 “beloved, let us go forth into the field:
 “let us lodge in the villages. Let us get
 “up early to the vineyards; let us see if the
 “vine flourish, whether the tender grape
 “appear, and the pomegranates bud forth:
 “there will I give thee my loves. The
 “mandrakes give a smell, and at our gates
 “are all manner of *pleasant fruits*, new and
 “old, which I have laid up for thee, O my
 “beloved.”

The budding of the pomegranates, &c, seems to determine their going into the field to *this time of the year*: but though there might be *old* fruits indeed, at that time, in plenty, such as currants, raisins, dried apricots, pistaches, which Russell mentions, p. 106, 107, to which I might add figs and almonds, of which things several, though probably not all³, were known before the age of Solomon; yet hardly any *new* fruits could then be found, none being mentioned by Russell, as produced at Aleppo by that time.

Migdanoth, a word very nearly related to the word *Megadim* used here, apparently signifies precious things of a very different kind from the fruits of a garden, in Gen. xxiv.

³ See Shaw, p. 145. and 341.

53, 2 Chron. xxi. 3, ch. xxxii, 23, Ezra i. 6⁶; but they cannot be things of the nature of those referred to there that are here meant, as appears from the invitation to go into the *field*, the *villages*, to enjoy them.

If then they are neither fruits, nor jewels of gold, that are here meant, why may we not understand the word as signifying precious plants in general, *herbs* and *flowers*, *shrubs* and *trees*? So the *new and old* megadim that were treasured up, will signify a delightful mixture of *new* plants, with those desirable ones that had been *wont* to grow in the gardens of Judæa.

Great additions of precious flowers, shrubs, and trees, have been made to the gardens of Europe. Exotic plants have been introduced also into those of the East. Ruffell tells us, that the Ladies of Aleppo are very fond of several European flowers that have been introduced into their gardens. A *Baskaw* of Ægypt took great pains to preserve the balm of Matareah⁵; *Cambyfes* carried the peach into Egypt⁶; and it is thought to be out of doubt, that the cassia, the orange and lemon-kind, apricot, mofeh, (a delicious fruit, but which cannot be kept,) the pomegranate,

[⁴ How strange then is the explanation of this word, Migdanoth, by Buxtorf, in his Epitome Rad. Heb.—Ees pretiosæ, sed de fructibus terræ tantum dicitur, who, immediately after this interpretation, cites Gen. 24. 53, Ezra i. 6, 2 Chron. 32. 23, in proof of the justness of it; passages that rather prove the contrary of what he had said!] ⁵ Maillet, Let. 3. p. 111. ⁶ Let 9. p. 15.

the cōus, or cream-tree, are none of them natives of that country⁷. And can it be imagined then, that when novelties have been in all ages introduced into gardens, and that in the East as well as the West, there should not be *many such* in the days of a Prince, who not only planted trees of all kinds of fruit for pleasure, Eccles. ii. 5, but who also distinguished himself by the study of natural history, and of vegetables in particular, 1 Kings iv. 33? What is more, Josephus expressly tells us, it was the tradition, that the balsam for which Judæa was so famous, came from the queen of Sheba, who presented a root of it to Solomon⁸.

Nothing, in this view, could be more natural, than for the spouse to invite the bridegroom into a royal garden, among whose *ancient* precious productions she had taken care to mingle some *new* plants of the most curious kind, which he might enjoy in the most perfect manner by going thither: *at our gates*, or, as it is elsewhere translated, *at our doors*, at hand that is, *will you there find all* manner of precious plants.

The words, understood in this sense, are by no means unnatural, if they are, on the other hand, supposed to be those of the bridegroom.

⁷ Pococke's Desc. of the East, vol. i. p. 205. ⁸ Antiq. lib. 8. c. 6.

XIII.

OBSERVATION XXVI.

Whether Solomon, who amused himself with the study of plants, took also the diversion of hunting, we are not told; but there are various sorts of creatures in the Holy-Land proper for this purpose: wild-boars, antelopes, hares, &c, are in considerable numbers there, and one of the *Christian kings* of Jerusalem lost his life, we are told¹, in pursuing one of the last-mentioned animals. But what I mention this for, is to introduce a circumstance relating to the creatures *with* which they hunt, that I do not remember to have seen mentioned in any of the commentators, but to which a Prophet seems to refer, when he observes that the horses of the Chaldeans would be found swifter than *leopards*, Hab. i. 8: for *leopards* tamed, and taught to hunt, are, it is said, made use of in that country for hunting, and seize the prey with surprizing agility.

So le Bruyn tells us, that he had often seen the Bashaw of Gaza go to hunt jackalls, which are in that country in *great numbers*, and which he took by means of a *leopard* trained to it from it's youth. The hunter, he says, is wont to keep it before him upon his horse, and when he meets with a jackall, the *leopard* leaps down, and creeps along, till he thinks himself within reach of the

¹ Gesta Dei &c, p. 887, 888.

beast; when with *incredible agility* he leaps upon it, throwing himself seventeen or eighteen feet at a time ².

If we suppose that this way of hunting was in use in the time of the Prophet Habakkuk, the image was sufficiently familiar to the common people, who might be supposed to be ignorant of what was done by the *wild leopards in the deserts*, and must be very striking.

OBSERVATION XXVII,

XIV.

From hunting let us pass on to fowling. The famous Ludolphus, and after him Bishop Patrick, and the late Bishop of Clogher, believed that they were *locusts*, and not *quails*, that the children of Israel eat in the wilderness. Dr. Shaw strongly argues the contrary ¹; but he takes no notice of the difficulties which induced Patrick to suppose they were locusts, and which he gives an account of in his comment on Num. xi. 31, 32. They are these—Their coming with a *wind*; their *immense quantities*, covering a circle of thirty or forty miles diameter two cubits thick; their being spread in the sun for drying, which, he says, would have been preposterous if they had been quails, for it would have made them stink the sooner, interpreters therefore, he thinks, pass over this circumstance in silence, where-

² Tome 2. p. 154.¹ P. 189.

as all authors say that this is the principal way of preparing locusts, to keep for a month or more, when they are boiled, or otherwise dressed.

These difficulties appear pressing; or at least the two last: nevertheless, I have met with several passages in books of Travels, which I shall here give an account of, that may soften them; perhaps my reader may think *they do more*.

No interpreters, the Bishop complains, supposing they were quails, account for the spreading them out in the sun. Perhaps they have not. Let me then translate a passage of Maillet², which relates to a little island that covers one of the ports of Alexandria. “ It is on this island, which lies farther into the sea than the main-land of Ægypt, that the birds annually alight, which come hither for refuge in autumn, in order to avoid the severity of the cold of our winters in Europe. There is so large a quantity of all sorts taken there, that after these little birds have been stripped of their feathers, and *buried in the burning sands* for about half a quarter of an hour, they are worth but two sols the pound. The crews of those vessels, which in that season lay in the harbour of Alexandria, have no other meat allowed them.” Among other *refugees* of that time, Maillet elsewhere³ expressly mentions

² Let. 4. p. 130.

³ Let. 9. p. 21.

quails,

quails, which are therefore, I suppose, treated after this manner. This passage then does what, according to the Bishop, no commentator has done; it explains the design of spreading these creatures, supposing they were quails, round about the camp—it was to dry them in the burning sands, in order to preserve them for use. So Maillet tells us of their drying fish in the sun in Ægypt, as well as of their preserving others by means of pickle⁴. Other authors speak of some of the Arabs drying camels flesh in the sun and wind, which, though it be not at all salted, will, if kept dry, remain good a long while, and which oftentimes, to save themselves the trouble of dressing, they will eat raw⁵. This is what St. Jerome may be supposed to refer to, when he calls the food of the Arabs *carnes semi-crudæ*⁶.

This drying then of flesh in the sun is not so preposterous as the Bishop imagined. On the other hand, none of the authors I have met with, that speak of their way of preserving locusts in the East, so far as I at present recollect, give any account of drying them in the sun. They are, according to Pellow, first purged with water and salt, boiled in new pickle, and then laid up in dry salt⁷. So Dr. Russell says the Arabs eat these insects when fresh, and also *salt them up* as a delicacy⁸.

⁴ Let. II. p. 110. ⁵ Adventures of Thomas Pellow, p. 124. ⁶ In Vita Malchi Monachi. ⁷ P. 333. ⁸ P. 62.

Their *immense quantities* also forbid the Bishop's believing they were quails. And in truth, he represents this difficulty in all its force, perhaps too forcibly. A circle of forty miles in diameter, all covered with quails, to the depth of more than forty-three inches, without doubt is a startling representation of this matter; and I would beg leave to add, that the like quantity of locusts would have been *very extraordinary*. But then this is not the representation of Scripture. It doth not even agree with it: for such a quantity of either quails or locusts would have made the clearing places for the spreading them out, and the passing of Israel up and down in the neighbourhood of the camp, very fatiguing; which is not supposed.

Josephus supposed they were quails, which, he says⁹, are in *greater numbers* thereabouts than any other kind of bird; and that having crossed the sea to the camp of Israel, they, who in common fly nearer the ground than most other birds, flew so low, through the fatigue of their passage, as to be within reach of the Israelites. This explains what he thought was meant by *the two cubits from the face of the earth*—their flying within three or four feet of the ground.

And when I read Dr. Shaw's account of the way in which the Arabs *frequently* catch birds that they have tired, that is, by running in upon them, and knocking them down

⁹ Antiq. lib. 3. cap. 1.

with their *zerwattys*, or bludgeons, as we should call them¹⁰, I think I almost see the Israelites before me, pursuing the poor fatigued and languid quails.

This is indeed a laborious method of catching these birds, and not that which is now used in Ægypt; for Egmont and Heyman tell us, that in a walk on the shore of Ægypt they saw a sandy plain, several leagues in extent, and covered with reeds, without the least verdure, between which reeds they saw many *nets* placed for catching *quails*, which come over in large flights from Europe, during the month of September¹¹. If the ancient Ægyptians made use of the same method of catching quails that they now practise on those shores, yet Israel in the wilderness, without these conveniences, must of course make use of that more inartificial and laborious way of catching them. The Arabs of Barbary, who have not many conveniences, do the same thing still.

Bishop Patrick supposes a day's journey to be sixteen or twenty miles, and thence draws his circle with a radius of that length; but Dr. Shaw, on another occasion, makes a day's journey but ten miles¹², which would make a circle but of twenty miles diameter; and as the text evidently designs to express

¹⁰ P. 236. In which account the Doctor mentions the quail along with the woodcock, the rhaad, the kitawiah, and the partridge. ¹¹ Vol. 2. p. 206, 207. ¹² P. 319.

it very indeterminately, *as it were a day's journey*, it might be much less.

But it doth not appear to me at all necessary to suppose the text intended their covering a circular, or nearly a circular spot of ground, but only that these creatures appeared on *both sides* of the camp of Israel, about a day's journey. The same word is used Exod. vii. 24, where round about can mean only *on each side* of the Nile. And so it may be a *little* illustrated by what Dr. Shaw tells us, of the three flights of storks which he saw when at anchor under Mount Carmel, some of which were more scattered, others more compact and close, each of which took up *more than three hours* in passing, and extended itself *more than half a mile* in breadth¹³. Had this flight of quails been no greater than these, it might have been thought, like them, to have been accidental; but so unusual a flock as to extend *fifteen or twenty miles in breadth*, and to be *two days and one night in passing*, and this, in consequence of the declaration of Moses, plainly determined that the finger of God was there.

A third thing which was a difficulty with the Bishop, was their being brought with a *wind*. An hot southerly wind, it is supposed, brings the locusts; and why quails might not be brought by the instrumentality of a like wind, or what difficulty there is in that supposition, I cannot

¹³ P. 409.

imagine.

imagine. As soon as the *cold* is felt in Europe, Maillet tells us¹⁴, turtles, quails, and other birds, come to Ægypt in great numbers; but he observed that their numbers were not so large in those years in which the winters were favourable in Europe; from whence he conjectured, that it is rather necessity than habit which causes them to change their climate: if so, it should seem that it is the *increasing heat* that causes their return, and consequently that the *hot* sultry winds from the South must have a great effect upon them, to direct their flight Northwards.

It is certain, that it is about the time that the South-wind *begins* to blow in Ægypt, which is in April¹⁵, that many of these migratory birds return. Maillet, who joins quails and turtles together, and says that they appear in Ægypt when the cold begins to be felt in Europe, doth not indeed tell us when they return; but Thevenot may be said to do it, for after he had told his reader that they catch snipes in Ægypt from January to March, he adds, that in May they catch turtles, which turtles return again in September¹⁶: now as they go together Southward in September, we may believe they return again Northward much about the same time. Agreeably to which Ruffell tells us,

¹⁴ Let. 9. p. 21.
Let. 11. p. 109, 110.

¹⁵ Maillet, Let. 2. p. 57, and
¹⁶ Part 1. p. 247.

that

that quails appear in abundance about Aleppo in *spring* and *autumn* ¹⁷.

If Natural History were more perfect, we might speak to this point with greater distinctness; at present, however, it is so far from being an objection to their being quails *that their coming was caused by a wind*, that nothing is more natural. The same wind would, in course, occasion sickness and mortality among the Israelites, at least it doth so in *Ægypt* ¹⁸. The miraculoufness then in this story doth not lie in their dying, but the Prophet's *foretelling with exactness* the coming of that wind; and in the *prodigious* numbers of the quails that came with it; together with the unufualness of the place, perhaps, where they alighted ¹⁹.

Nothing more remains to be considered, but the gathering so large a quantity as ten Homers by those that gathered fewest. But till that quantity is more precisely ascertain- ed, it is sufficient to remark, that this is only affirmed of those *eager* and expert sportf- men among the people, who pursued the game *two whole days and one whole night with- out intermission*; and of them, and of them only, I presume it is to be understood, that he that gathered fewest, gathered ten ho- mers ²⁰.

O E S E R -

¹⁷ P. 64. ¹⁸ Maillet, Lett. 2. p. 57, Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2. p. 62. ¹⁹ Shaw, p. 449.

[²⁰ Hasselquist, who frequently expresses himself in the most dubious manner in relation to these animals, at other times is

OBSERVATION XXVIII.

XV.

Israel had been visited before this by a flock of quails¹, though not near so numerous at that at Kibroth-Hattaavah: this fell out in the wilderness of Sin, about a month after their coming out of Ægypt, until which time it seems the *dough*, or *corn*, which they brought with them, lasted. This leads us to some other remarks.

The dough, we are told, which the Israelites had prepared for baking, and on which it should seem they subsisted after they left Ægypt for a month, was carried away by them in their *kneading-troughs* on their shoulders, Exod. xii. 34. Now an honest thoughtful countryman, who knows how *cumberfome* our kneading-troughs are, and how much *less important* they are than many other uten-

is very positive, that if they were *birds* at all, they were a species of the quail *different from ours*, which he describes as very much resembling “the red partridge, but as not “being larger than the turtle-dove.” To this he adds, that the Arabians carry *thousands* of them to Jerusalem about Whitsuntide, to sell there, p. 442. In another place he tells us, it is found in Judæa, as well as Arabia Petræa; and that he found it betwixt Jordan and Jericho, p. 203. One would imagine, that Hasselquist means the *kata*, which is described by Dr. Russell, p. 64, 65, and which he represents as brought to market at Aleppo in great numbers, in May and June, though they are to be met with in all seasons. An whole ass-load of them, he informs us, has often been taken at once shutting a clasp-net, in the above-mentioned months, they are in such plenty.]¹ Exod. 16. 1, 8, 13.

fils,

fil, may be ready to wonder at this, and find a difficulty in accounting for it. But this wonder perhaps may cease, when he comes to understand, that the vessels which the Arabs of that country make use of, for kneading the unleavened cakes they prepare for those that travel in this very desert, are only small wooden bowls²; and that they seem to use no other in their own tents³ for that purpose, or any other, these bowls being used by them for kneading their bread, and afterwards serving up their provisions when cooked⁴: for then it will appear, that nothing could be more convenient than kneading-troughs of this sort for the Israelites, in their journey.

I am, however, a little doubtful, whether these were the things that Moses meant by that word which our version renders kneading-troughs; since it seems to me, that the Israelites had made a provision of corn sufficient for their consumption for about a month, and that they were preparing to bake *all* this at once: now their own little wooden bowls, in which they were wont to knead the bread they wanted for a *single day*, could not contain all this dough, nor could they well carry a *number* of these things, borrowed of the Ægyptians for the present occasion, with them.

² See Shaw's Pref. p. 11, 12.

³ Shaw, p. 231.

⁴ Shaw's Pref. p. 12.

That they had furnished themselves with corn sufficient for a *month*, appears from their not wanting bread till they came into the wilderness of Sin; that the Eastern people commonly bake their bread *daily*, as they want it, appears from an Observation I made in the fourth Chapter, and from the history of the Patriarch Abraham; and that they were preparing to bake bread sufficient for this purpose at once, seems most probable, from the *universal bustle* they were in, and from the *much greater conveniences* for baking in Ægypt than in the wilderness, which are such, that though Dr. Shaw's attendants sometimes baked in the desert, he thought fit, notwithstanding, to carry biscuit with him⁵, and Thevenot the same⁶.

They could not then *well* carry such a quantity of *dough* in those *wooden bowls*, which they used for kneading their bread in common. What is more, Dr. Pococke tells us⁷, that the Arabs *actually carry their dough in something else*: for, after having spoken of their copper dishes put one within another, and their wooden bowls, in which they make their bread, and which make up all the kitchen-furniture of an Arab, even where he is settled; he gives us a description of a round leather coverlid, which they lay on the ground, and serves them to eat off, which,

⁵ Pref. p. 11. ⁶ Part 1. p. 178. ⁷ In his account of the diet and utensils of the inhabitants of Ægypt, vol. 1. p. 182, &c.

he says, has rings round it, by which it is drawn together with a chain, that has a hook to it to hang it by. This is drawn together, he says, and sometimes they carry in it their *meal made into dough*; and in this manner they bring it full of bread, and, when the repast is over, carry it away at once, with all that is left.

Whether *this utensil* is rather to be understood by the word translated kneading-troughs, than the Arab *wooden bowl*, I leave to my reader to determine. I would only remark, that there is nothing, in the other three places in which the word occurs, to contradict this explanation. These places are Exod. viii. 3, Deut. xxviii. 5, 17, in the two last of which places it is translated store.

It is more than a little astonishing to find Grotius, in his comment on Exod. xii. 39, explaining that verse as signifying that they baked no bread in their departing from Ægypt, but stayed till they came to Succoth, because they had not time to stay till it was leavened in Ægypt; when it is certain they were so hurried out of Ægypt, as to be desired not to stay to bake even *unleavened* bread; nor can we imagine they would stay till leaven put into it at Succoth had produced its effect in their dough, since travellers now in that desert often eat unleavened bread, and the precepts of Moses, relating to the *commemoration* of their going out of Ægypt,

gypt, suppose they eat unleavened bread for some time.

Succoth, the first station then of the Israelites, which Dr. Shaw supposes³ was nothing more than some considerable incampment of Arabs, must have been a place where there was a *considerable quantity of broom, or other fuel*, which is not to be found in that desert every where.

OBSERVATION XXIX.

[The Prophet Ezekiel represents an eagle as flying to the cedars of Lebanon¹; and it should seem there is a foundation *in nature* for the joining this bird and these trees together.

It is not to be expected that the visionary representations made to the Prophets should *always* coincide with Natural History, but it seems this doth. “We employed the rest “of the day,” says la Roque, in speaking of the spot where the cedars of Lebanon grow, “in attentively surveying the beauties “of this place, and of its neighbourhood, “in measuring some of the cedars, and in “cutting off many of their branches, with “their cones, which we sent to Biciarraï, “with a number of large *eagle’s feathers*, “which were found in the same place².”]

³ P. 308. ¹ Ezek. 17. 3. ² Voy. de Syrie & du Mont-Liban. p. 88.

XVI.

OBSERVATION XXX.

Dr. Shaw tells us¹, that in Barbary, when the grain is winnowed, they lodge it in *mattamores*, or *subterraneous repositories*; two or three hundred of which are sometimes together, the smallest holding four hundred bushels. These are very common in other parts of the East, and are in particular mentioned by Dr. Russell², as being in great numbers near Aleppo, about the villages, which makes travelling there in the night very dangerous, the entry into them being often left open when they are empty.

The like method, it should seem, of keeping corn obtains in the Holy-Land: for le Bruyn speaks of deep pits at Rama, which he was told were designed for corn³; and Rauwolff talks of three very large vaults at Joppa, actually used for the laying up grain when he was there⁴. The treasures *in the field* of *wheat*, and of *barley*, of *oil*, and of *honey*, which the ten men proposed to Ishmael as a ransom for their lives, Jer. xli. 8, were doubtless laid up in the same kind of repositories.

Dr. Shaw only speaks of the Arabs hiding *corn* in these *mattamores*; but as these ten Jews mentioned their having honey and oil in these repositories, so the author of the History of the Piratical States of Barbary tells us⁵, that it is *usual* with the Arabs,

¹ P. 139.² P. 18.³ Vol. 2. p. 149, 150.⁴ Tome 1. p. 227.⁵ P. 57.

when

when they expect the armies of Algiers, to secure their corn *and other effects that are not portable*, in subterraneous repositories, wandering about with their flocks, till the troops are returned to their quarters.

After this, the remark on this passage of Jeremiah in the Assembly's annotations must extremely hurt a reader, and the more when we consider it as the note of so considerable a man as Gataker. "I cannot assent to
 " that learned interpreter, who rendereth the
 " word, We have treasures hidden in a cer-
 " tain field: for howsoever the term
 " here used springs from a root that signifies
 " to hide, and treasures are said sometimes
 " to be hidden, Esay xlv. 3; yet the word
 " in general signifies treasures, or stores,
 " whether hidden or other, Gen. xliii. 23.
 " Nor is it probable that such stores as these, of
 " so many sorts, should be hidden under ground
 " in some one part of a field; and much less
 " that all ten should so bestow their stores in
 " any one place."

He objects to the hiding *under ground*, when these subterraneous repositories are so common; to the laying up there *so many sorts* of things, when every thing *not portable* is wont to be put into them; he cannot think that *ten* men should so bestow their goods, in any one place, when it appears from Shaw that two or three hundred mattamores are sometimes together; in one word, Gataker, the *very learned* Gataker, supposed

that to be *highly* improbable, which was perfectly according to the custom of the East ⁶, and *especially* in a time of difficulty and deprecation, as that most certainly was. A striking proof this, sure! of the importance of attending to the remaining customs of Eastern antiquity, in a commentator on the Scriptures.

Pitts, who mentions these subterraneous barns, telleth us, that they put *straw at the bottom and sides* of these places; nevertheless, he gives us to understand, that though by this artful concealment of it their corn is preserved, when they are put to flight by the Bey, it is much *damned*, being kept in so damp a place instead of a barn ⁷.

Be it so: the danger of being robbed by the roving troops of people that scoured the country at that time, was a sufficient cause to induce these ten men to hide their wheat, their barley, their oil, and their honey, in the ground. Dr. Shaw, however, doth not acquiesce in this as the cause of this management, though Hirtius long ago supposed it was, but thought it more probable that they were contrived in those earlier ages, as they continue to be used to this day, for the greater ease and convenience of the inhabitants; for

[⁶ So Sir J. Chardin tells us, in a note on Jer. 41. 8, that *the Eastern people in many places hide their corn thus, as I have seen in an hundred places of Turkey. In many they also bury their wine. This is done in the neighbourhood of the villages, and designed both to prevent their enemies finding these things, and also their Great People that might pass that way, who would not pay them [for what they took.]* ? P. 34.

it cannot be supposed, he says, that either the ancient Nomades, or the present Arabs, would be at the expense of erecting store-houses of stone, when they could, at a much cheaper rate, and at every station, where they are encamped to gather in their harvest, be served with these⁸.

This reasoning from the expense being less, would certainly be conclusive, were it not for the account of Pitts, relating to the injury the corn is wont to receive by being buried, of which Shaw takes no notice. Perhaps then to account for the use of these subterraneous barns in times or places of safety, we are to have recourse to what some travellers assure us is fact—that the corn of those countries is subject to be eaten by *worms* if kept in the open air⁹, which, with the cheapness of making these repositories, may be thought a sufficient balance against the injury it receives by being buried,

OBSERVATION XXXI.

XVII.

Bats, and other vermin, haunt old ruined places. So Thevenot, describing the open pyramid, tells us, there were a great many bats in it, which sometimes put out

⁸ P. 139, 140. ⁹ See Sandys, p. 117. Fulcherius Carnotensis mentions the same thing. *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 427.

the candles which are made use of in examining that most ancient building; that a particular hole which he describes had a great quantity of their dung in it; and that they so swarmed there, that a Scotch gentleman, who was in the company, and seems alone to have had the courage to go down into it, was afraid he should have been eaten up by them ¹.

Egmont and Heyman mention the same circumstance, but enrich their account with the addition of owls, *snakes*, and other reptiles; for which reason they thought it necessary to fire off some pistols before they ventured into the pyramid, these creatures being by that means frightened away to their lurking places ².

I don't know how accurate they are in mentioning snakes in the pyramid; but it is certain, in buildings more ruined than that, such dangerous kinds of reptiles are very common; so that Rauwolff in his account of Babylon tells us, some of its ruins are so full of vermin, that have *bored holes* through them, that one may not come near them within half a mile, but only two months in the winter, when they come not out of their *holes* ³.

Are we not rather to understand the words of the Prophet Isaiah, ch. ii. 20, which seem to signify *diggers of holes*, of this sort of ani-

¹ Part I. p. 132. 133.
Travels, tome I. p. 165.

² Vol. 2. p. 87.

³ Ray's

mals rather than of moles, which a single Hebrew term is supposed to express, Lev. xi. 30, and which have no connexion, that I know of, with ruins? For the thought of the Prophet seems to me to be, that the inhabitants of that country were to go into the holes of the rocks, and into the caves of the earth, to hide themselves from the vengeance of the Lord, to be executed by hostile armies⁺, leaving their temples with their idols in them to be demolished by their hands; in which state of desolation these idols should long lay, companions of those animals that are wont to bore holes in ruins, and also of bats, the frequenters of such destroyed places, not that they were to carry their idols into caves and holes of the earth to secrete them from their enemies.

OBSERVATION XXXII.

XVIII.

The birds pillage the granary of Joseph extremely, where the corn of Ægypt is deposited that is paid as a tax to the Grand Signior, for it is quite uncovered at the top, there being little or no rain in that country; its doors however are kept carefully *sealed*, but its inspectors do not make use of wax upon this occasion, but put their seal upon an handful of clay, with which they cover the lock of the door[†]. This serves instead

⁺ 1 Sam. 13. 6. [†] Norden, part 1. p. 72. Dr. Pococke gives a similar account, only says the corn is covered with matting, vol. 1. p. 26.

of wax ; and it is visible, things of the greatest value might be safely sealed up in the same manner.

Had Junius known this circumstance, or had he at least reflected on it, he would not perhaps have explained Job xxxviii. 14, “ It “ is turned as clay to the seal,” of the potters adorning clay with various paintings, or *various embossings*² ; especially had he considered, that the productions of the wheel of the potter, in the age and the country of Job, were, in all probability, very clumsy, unadorned things, since even still in Ægypt, the ancient source of arts, the ewer, which is made, according to Norden³, very clumsy, is one of the best pieces of earthen ware that they have there, all the art of the potter, in that country, consisting in an ability to make some *vile* pots or dishes, without varnish.

XIX.

OBSERVATION XXXIII.

As they use not wax in sealing up doors, but clay, so they use *ink*, not wax, in sealing their writings in the East. So d'Arvieux tells us¹, that “ the Arabs of the desert, “ when they want a favour of their Emir, “ get his Secretary to write an order agree- “ able to their desire, as if the favour was “ granted : this they carry to the Prince,

² Vide Poli Syn. in loc. dans la Pal. p. 154.

³ Part 1. p. 82.

¹ Voy,

“ who,

“ who, after having read it, sets his seal
 “ to it with *ink*, if he grants it; if not,
 “ he returns the petitioner his paper torn,
 “ and dismisses him.” In another place he
 informs us, that “ these papers are without
 “ date, and have only the Emir’s flourish
 “ or cypher at the bottom, signifying, *The*
 “ *poor, the abject Mehemet, son of Turabeye*².”

Two things appear in these passages. The one, that the Arab seals have no figure engraven on them, but a simple inscription, formed, with some art, into a kind of cypher; the other, that when they seal, they do not make an impression on wax, but stamp letters of ink on the paper.

The modern inhabitants of Ægypt appear to make use of *ink* in their sealing, as well as the Arabs of the desert, who may be supposed not to have such conveniences as those that live in such a place as Ægypt: for Dr. Pococke saith³, that “ they make the
 “ impression of their name with their seal,
 “ generally of cornelian, which they wear
 “ on their finger, and which is blacked
 “ when they have occasion to seal with it.”

This may serve to shew us, that there is a closer connexion between the vision of St. John, Rev. vii. 2, and that of Ezekiel, ch. ix. 2, than commentators appear to have apprehended. They must be joined, I imagine, to have a compleat view of either,

² P. 61.

³ Vol. I. p. 186, Notes.

St. John saw an Angel with the *seal* of the living God, and therewith multitudes were sealed in their *foreheads*; but to understand *what sort of mark* was made there, you must have recourse to the *inkhorn* of Ezekiel. On the other hand, Ezekiel saw a person equipped with an *inkhorn*, who was to mark the servants of God on their foreheads, with *ink* that is, but how the ink was to be *applied* is not expressed; nor was there any need that it should, if in those times ink was applied with a seal: a seal being in the one case plainly supposed; as in the Apocalypse, the mention of a seal made it needless to take any notice of an inkhorn by his side.

This *position* of the inkhorn of Ezekiel's writer may appear somewhat odd to an European reader, but the custom of placing it by the side continues in the East to this day. Olearius, who takes notice⁴ of a way that they have of thickening their ink with a sort of paste they make, or with sticks of Indian ink, which is the best paste of all, a circumstance favourable to their sealing with ink, observes⁵, that the Persians carry about with them, by means of their girdles, a dagger, a knife, an handkerchief, and their money; and those that follow the profession of writ-

⁴ Voy. en Moscovie &c, p. 857. ⁵ P. 817. Dr. Shaw also speaks of their writers suspending their inkhorns by their side. I should not therefore have taken any notice of this circumstance, had not the account of Olearius led us to something farther.

ing out books, their *inkhorn*, their penknife, their whetstone to sharpen it, their letters, and every thing the Moscovites were wont *in his time* to put in their *boots*, which served them instead of pockets. The Persians, in carrying their inkhorn after this manner, seem to have retained a custom as ancient as the days of Ezekiel; while the Moscovites, whose garb was very much in the *Eastern taste* in the days of Olearius, and who had many *oriental* customs among them, carried their inkhorns and their papers in a very different manner. Whether some such variation might cause the Ægyptian translators of the Septuagint version to render the words, *a girdle of sapphire, or embroidery on the loins*, I will not take upon me to affirm; but I do not imagine our Dr. Castell would have adopted this sentiment in his Lexicon⁶, had he been aware of this Eastern custom: for with great propriety is the word *Keseth* mentioned in this chapter three times, if it signified an inkhorn, the requisite instrument for sealing those devout mourners; but no account can be given why this *Keseth* should be mentioned so often, if it only signified an embroidered girdle.

As to the other point relating to the Arab seals—their having no figures upon them, only an inscription, it is to be thought that those of the Jews were in like manner with-

⁶ See Lowth upon the place.

out any images, since they were as scrupulous as the Mohammedans can be; and from hence it will appear, that it was extremely natural for St. Paul to make a seal and an inscription equivalent terms, in 2 Tim. ii. 19: “The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, (this inscription,)” “The Lord knoweth those that are his; and” “let every one that nameth the name of” “Christ depart from iniquity.”

XX. OBSERVATION XXXIV.

We have frequently had occasion to speak of corn in the course of these papers, but I have, however, never yet taken notice of the way of reaping it, which, according to an observation made by Mr. Maundrell, in his return from Jerusalem¹, is performed in the East, by *plucking it up* by handfuls from the roots, leaving the most fruitful fields as naked as if nothing had grown there. This was their practice, he saith, in all places of the East which he had seen, and from thence he concludes that our old version of Ps. cxxix. 6, “*Which withereth afore it be plucked up,*” in which there seems to be a manifest allusion to this custom, is better than our new translation.

I cannot however, I confess, be of the opinion of this very ingenious author in this

¹ P. 144.

point: because the Hebrew word which is commonly used for reaping, doth by no means signify plucking up, but *shortening*, which is most naturally explained by *cutting*; and I have no where remarked the idea of plucking up, applied to the reaping of their corn, unless we are to understand this passage so, for the original word, used by the Psalmist, appears no where else but in the sense of *un-sheathing* a sword, and *drawing off* a shoe. I am therefore at a loss to judge on what grounds Maundrell so much prefers the old translation, unless we are to ascribe it to his being struck, at his first arrival in those countries, with their manner of reaping, and that, recollecting this old translation, he was pleased with the thought, and gave himself no trouble to examine it. The idea of the Psalmist in reality seems to be, “Which withereth before it unsheaths it’s ear.”

When Mr. Maundrell made this observation, he had seen no great part of these countries; though therefore then he had always seen them plucking up their harvest, it does not follow that it is universally their way, much less that it was so anciently. It is allowed that it is *now* very common in the East, it is not however *universal*: for though Dr. Pococke found it was plucked up in the neighbourhood of Damascus²; yet a few days after, upon his leaving Hems, (the an-

² Vol. 2. p. 130.

cient Emefa,) he found they *reaped* their corn in those parts, and he expressly remarks the difference that obtained between these two places³. So Dr. Russell, in his description of Aleppo and its neighbourhood, tells us⁴, the corn is *sometimes cut down*, though more *frequently plucked up*: “As soon as it is cut down, or rather plucked up, (for this is their more usual way,) it is carried to some neighbouring spot of hard even ground, &c.” Maundrell was Chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo, near which, according to Russell, both ways are made use of; but we are to remember his book was drawn up presently after his arrival there, and his observation therefore by no means to be opposed to Russell’s account.

Both ways then are in use in the Levant at this time; and from what has been said, we are led to conclude, the *old Jewish way* was *in common* to cut down. To which may be added, that we read of a sickle for reaping, in no fewer than four different places, Deut. xvi. 9, Ch. xxiii. 25, Jer. l. 16, Joel iii. 13, which confirms the conjecture drawn from the sense of the word used to express reaping; and when in the second of these we find an opposition made between *plucking the ears with the hand*, and *moving a sickle into a neighbour’s standing-corn*, the first permitted, and the other forbidden, just as im-

³ P. 142.⁴ P. 18.

mediately

mediately before they were permitted to eat what they pleased of the grapes of a neighbour's vineyard, but not to put any in a vessel, one can hardly imagine that reaping was ever performed in the days of Moses, in Ægypt or Canaan, by *plucking up*.

OBSERVATION XXXV.

[Dandini seems to have been surprized to see *oxen* employed to carry burdens upon their backs, like camels, mules, and asses, such as wood, and other necessaries, when he was making his observations on the customs of the East, at Tripoly of Syria, contrary to the old saying,

*Optat ephippia bos piger, optat arare caballus*¹.

And he repeats the same remarks in the close of this account².

But it appears from 1 Chron. xii. 40, that it was an ancient, as it is a modern, Eastern practice: “Moreover, they that were nigh
“ them, even unto Issachar, and Zebulon,
“ and Napthali, brought bread on asses,
“ and on camels, and on mules, and on
“ *oxen*, and meat, meal, cakes of figs, &c.”]

¹ Ch. 6. ² “We saw there (*Alexandretta* or *Scanderoon*) oxen and bufflers carry burdens upon their backs, as mules and horses do in *Italy*.”

XXI.

OBSERVATION XXXVI.

About the time that they repair to the gardens at Aleppo¹, they began to lead out the cattle to feed in the *common pastures* of Judæa, those that tended them dwelling in huts, which they erected for that purpose; for the old Jewish writers tell us, that this was done about the time of the Passover², which fell out generally some time in April.

This account agrees with that circumstance the Prophet mentions, Amos vii. 1, of the appearance of locusts which he saw, in vision, devouring the grass of the land, “in the beginning of the shooting up of the latter growth, and lo, it was the latter growth after the *king’s mowings*.” This, however, doth not immediately appear; and some mistakes relating to this text ought to be rectified.

Shaw observes³, and other authors confirm it, that hay is seldom, if ever, made in those countries. Our translators then are out, in making use of that word *hay* in some parts of their version; and, on the same ground, the term *mowings* in this text cannot be proper. The famous Mercer supposes⁴, the *latter growth* signifies the grass that sprung up after mowing, or *feeding it down*; and I presume the Hebrew word translated *mow-*

¹ See Observ. XII.

Antiq. Sac.

³ P. 138.

² Gem. Nedarim 63. apud Rel.

⁴ Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

ing, may signify feeding down, as well as cutting down with a scythe, and *doth so signify*, since it is not the usage of the East to make hay. The *king's mowings* then should be rendered the *king's feedings* in the first place.

In the next, there is reason to conjecture, from the following passage of la Roque⁵, that the time of the king's feedings was the month of *March*, or thereabouts: "The
" Arabs," he tells us, from the papers of d'Arvieux, "turn their horses out to grafs the
" month of *March*, when the grafs is pretty
" well grown; they then take care to have
" their mares covered, and they eat grafs at
" no other time in the whole year, any more
" than hay: they never give them any straw
" but to heat them, when they have been
" some time without discovering an inclina-
" tion to drink; they live wholly upon bar-
" ley."

The Arab horses are all designed for *riding* and *war*; so, there is reason to believe, were those of the kings of Israel⁶: and if the present usages of the Arabs prevailed anciently, they were turned out early in the spring, in the month of March, and at other times were nourished with barley. These things seem to determine the time of the king's

⁵ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 168.

⁶ Dr. Russell tells us the plowing of Syria is performed often by a little cow, at most with two, and sometimes only by an afs, p. 16. Carriages also were anciently drawn by cows, 1 Sam. 6. 7.

feedings to *March*, of the shooting up of the latter growth to *April*.

This last circumstance is confirmed by the *locusts*, mentioned by the Prophet, which appear in the Holy-Land in *April* and *May*⁷; for though our translators here call them grasshoppers, and green worms in the margin, the word is elsewhere by them rendered locusts, (Is. xxxiii. 4,) and it appears by the mischief they did, that *they were really* insects of that kind.

The horses of the powerful Kings of Israel were very numerous, as appears by the account we have of Solomon's. Uzziah and Jeroboam, in whose time Amos prophesied, were very powerful Princes. They appear to have been very careful of them, as we may collect from Ahab's great concern, in a time of drought, to get grass for the horses and mules, when nothing is said about his solicitude for other cattle. Where should these horses, kept for the defence of the kingdom, be put to grass, but in the common pastures, during the month of March? A prohibition to the subjects to turn in their flocks and their herds, till this time was past, was natural.

These things, put together, place the whole in a very easy light; as well as shew the extreme impropriety of the interpretation of Vatablus, who imagines this latter

⁷ *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 424. See also *Obf. XXVIII*, of *Ch. 3*.

growth refers to the springing of the grass afresh, upon the falling of the rain in *autumn*. Locusts are not wont, I think, to appear at that time; and if they had, the loss of feed would have been little or nothing to the inhabitants, according to these old Jewish writers, for they affirm, that on the falling of the first rains the herds returned home: whereas we are to suppose the vision of Amos represented to him the coming of locusts to eat up the feed, as soon as the king's horses were withdrawn, and the inhabitants hoped to enjoy the plenty of April and May, before the scorching heat of summer withered the grass, at the end of the last of these months.

OBSERVATION XXXVII.

XXII.

Jael certainly shewed her *regard* to Israel by destroying Sisera, but it is as certain that she did not do it in the most honourable manner—there was treachery in it; perhaps, in the *estimation of these people, the greatest treachery*: for among the later Arabs, *the giving a person drink*, has been thought to be the strongest assurance of their receiving them under their protection. If the same notion obtained anciently, Jael must in consequence have been considered as extremely treacherous.

D'Herbelot occasionally mentions this Arab point of honour, in p. 371; and more dis-

tinctly in the articles of Harmozan and Saladine: in the last of which he telleth us, that when Guy de Lufignan, king of Jerusalem, was taken prisoner, and was conducted before Saladine, he demanded drink, and they gave him fresh water, which he drank in Saladine's presence; but when one of his lords would have done the same, Saladine would not *suffer it*, because *he did not intend to spare his life*; on the contrary, advancing to him, after some expostulations, he cut off his head.

If this Arab custom was in use among the Kenites (who were Arabs) in Sisera's time, her giving him drink was the strongest assurance she *could* give, that she would protect him as far as she could. The custom however might *possibly* be later than her days.

XXIII.

OBSERVATION XXXVIII.

Bishop Patrick, in his commentary on 2 Sam. xviii. 17, which mentions the laying a great *heap of stones* upon Absalom, observes that thus he was, after a sort, stoned: as the law ordered a rebellious son to be. And that *Adricomius*, in his description of the Holy-Land, saith that this heap remained to his days; and that all travellers, as they went by it, were wont to throw a stone to add to the heap, in detestation of his rebellion against his father.

And

And after this manner this Eastern custom is, I think, commonly understood: but if it be true, which Egmont and Heyman tell us, that all the Mohammedans that go in pilgrimage to Mount Sinai, never fail to visit the place where there is the print of a camel's foot on the rock, supposed to be that of Mohammed, on which account they, *by way of respect*, bring with them a stone, which has occasioned a great *heap of stones* near that spot¹, it is evident that these heaps are considered by the Eastern people merely as monuments to keep up the memory of certain events, *good* as well as *bad*; and that the adding a stone to them, by every one that approaches them, is in truth only intended to prevent the dissipation of these uncemented memorials.

The first raising this heap of stones over Absalom was, in like manner, intended merely as a memorial of this battle, and of the place in which he laid buried; and by no means as a kind of executing the law relating to rebellious sons upon him, like the hanging people in effigy: as we may conclude from their being wont then, as well as now, to have heaps of stones for the preserving agreeable things in remembrance, as well as facts that deserved detestation, which plainly appears from Josh. iv. 3, 6², and from Gen. xxxi. 46, 52.

¹ Vol. 2. p. 167. ² See also Dr. Shaw's preface, p. 10.

[Wortley Montague, in the fifty-sixth volume of the Philosophical Transactions, has taken notice also of this, and the index of that volume very justly describes it as a remarkable custom of the Arabs. “The Arabs,” saith that Gentleman, “when they have any *stone*, or spot in veneration, as Mahomet’s stone, and the like, after their devotion, lay some *smooth stone* upon it.” And he tells us, that the stone that Moses struck twice, being thus distinguished by the Arabs, engaged his notice, as he was travelling in the deserts of Arabia.

I would beg leave here to ask, Was not this precisely what was done to the stone set up by Jacob, in Mount Gilead, as a memorial of the covenant made between him and Laban, when he withdrew from Padanaram, which is mentioned in the last-cited Scripture? I have sometimes wondered, what induced Jacob to desire his Syrian relations to *gather stones*, and make an heap, upon, or about, that *great stone* he had set up in memory of that covenant; but this account seems to decypher it: Jacob had not time, if he had proper tools with him, and skill sufficient, to engrave the agreement on the great stone; but the placing these stones about it, informed every passenger it was set up in memory of something of consequence; and every relation that put one of these smaller stones on that Jacob set up, made himself a witness to the agreement,

as

as well as recommended it to the attention of others. It is in this light I now consider this circumstance, and it seems to be a natural explanation of Jacob's request.]

OBSERVATION XXXIX.

XXIV.

Commentators take no pains, that I know of, to account for that part of the punishment of the king of Moab's rebellion, "Ye shall marr every *good piece of land* with *stones*," though it doth not appear very easy to conceive how this was to be done to any purpose, and indeed without giving as much trouble, or more, to Israel to gather these stones, and carry them on their lands, as to the Moabites to gather them up again, and carry them off.

I would therefore propose it to the learned to consider, whether we may not understand this of Israel's doing that nationally, and as victors, which was done by *private* persons very frequently in these countries in ancient times, by way of revenge, and which is mentioned in some of the old Roman laws, I think, cited by Egmont and Heyman¹, who, speaking of the contentions and vindictive temper of the Arabs, tell us, they were ignorant, however, *whether they still retained the method of revenge formerly common among them, and which is called* σποπενισμος, men-

¹ Vol. 2. p. 156.

tioned in lib. ff. Digest. de extraord. criminib. which contains the following account. In provincia Arabia, &c. That is, “ In the
 “ province of Arabia there is a crime called
 “ *σποπενισμος*, or fixing of stones; it being a frequent practice among them, to place stones in
 “ the grounds of those with whom they are at
 “ variance, as a warning, that any person
 “ who dares to till that field, should infallibly be
 “ slain, by the contrivance of those who placed
 “ the stones there.” This malicious practice, they add, is thought to have had its origin in Arabia Petraea.

If the Israelites, as victors, who could prescribe what laws they thought proper to the conquered, placed such stones in the best grounds of the Moabites, as interdicting them from tillage, on pain of their owners being destroyed, they without much trouble effectually marred such fields, as long as their power over Moab lasted, which had before this continued some time, and by the suppression of this rebellion might be supposed to continue long. As it was an ancient practice in these countries, might it not be supposed to be as ancient as the times of Elifha, and that he referred to it?

[Perhaps the time to *cast away stones*, and the time to *gather stones together*, mentioned by the Royal Preacher, Eccles. iii. 5, is to be understood, in like manner, of giving to nations with which there had been contests, the marks of perfect reconciliation, or continuing

ning upon them some tokens of displeasure and resentment. If we suppose the latter part of the verse is *exegetical* of the former, which the learned know is very common in the Hebrew poetry, it will better agree with this explanation, than with that which supposes the casting away of stones means the *demolishing of houses*, and the gathering them together the collecting them for *building*; since the *casting away of stones* answers to *embracing*, in the latter part of the verse, not to the *refraining* from embracing. It may be supposed indeed that a transposition might be intended, such an one as appears in the eighth verse; but it is to be observed, that the eighth verse finishes this catalogue of different seasons, and there is no transposition in the other particulars. To which may be added, that this explanation makes the casting away of stones, and gathering them together, of the fifth verse, precisely the same thing with the *breaking down and building up* of the third: the supposing a greater variety of thought here will be no dishonour to the royal poet.]

OBSERVATION XL.

XXV.

When Norden was at Derri, in the farthest part of *Ægypt*, or rather in Nubia, in a very dangerous situation, from which he and his company endeavoured to extricate themselves by exerting great spirit, a spiteful
 3 and

and powerful Arab, in a threatening way, told one of their people, whom they sent to him, *That he knew what sort of people they were, that he had consulted his cup, and had found by it that they were those of whom one of their Prophets had said, that Franks would come in disguise, and passing every where, examine the state of the country, and afterwards bring over a great number of other Franks, conquer the country, and exterminate all*¹.

No one, I imagine, supposeth that he meant any thing more by *consulting his cup*, than we do when we talk of *consulting our pillow*. Was it not however precisely the same thing, that this Arab who lived in the confines of *Ægypt*, and Joseph the *Ægyptian* Viceroy, meant, when the one talked of having *consulted his cup*, and the other of *divining by it*, Gen. xliv. 5? It is certain, the Patriarch could not mean to make them believe the cup was, properly speaking, an instrument of divination, because he divined *without it*, and made out which way he had lost it. May not both then be supposed to mean the alertness and penetration wine, taken in a proper quantity, gives the mind? It is certain, there is a great similarity in these expressions, whatever be the precise meaning of the words of Joseph.

¹ Vol. 2. p. 150.

OBSERVATION XLI.

XXVI.

Genealogical tables were kept among the Jews with great exactness. Every person of learning however knows, that the great difference in this point between St. Matthew and St. Luke, who have each of them given us a genealogy of our Lord, has greatly embarrassed the curious, and did so early¹. But as in other cases, what was at first thought an objection against the sacred writer, has turned out in his favour, so doubtless will this when it be thoroughly cleared up. Time may perhaps do it; all I would attempt to shew here is, that there has been lately discovered an inscription at Palmyra, which has *just the same difficulty*. He that clears up the *Syrian* difficulty, will, I presume, clear up the *Sacred*. To which I would add, that it is to be remembered, that Palmyra was in the neighbourhood of Judæa, and the inscriptions that are found there are about the apostolic age.

As to the inscription I refer to, the ingenious editor of those Ruins observed, that it was more difficult to understand than translate it. “This,” says he, “will appear
“by rendering it literally, which is easiest
“done in Latin, thus: “*Senatus populusque,*
“*Alialamenem, Pani filium, Mocimi nepotem,*

¹ Vide August. Retract. lib. 2. cap. 7.

“ *Æranis pronepotem, Mathæ abnepotem, &*
 “ *Æranem patrem ejus, viros pios & patriæ*
 “ *amicos, & omnimodi placentes patriæ patri-*
 “ *isque diis, honoris gratia anno 450, mense*
 “ *Aprili.*”

“ Our difficulty is,” continues he, “ that
 “ *Æranes* is called the father of *Aliala-*
 “ *menes*, who² is called the son of *Panus.*”

Mr. Wood, the editor, has given us the inscription, and remarked the difficulty; but he has not applied it to the genealogies of our Lord, where, just in the same manner, St. Matthew tells us, that Jacob begat Joseph, and St. Luke calls Joseph the son of Heli. There is something, without doubt, in these affairs particular to the East, which, however unknown to us, was common to the Jews and the people of Palmyra, and will, when properly explained, be a proof of the authenticity of these genealogies, instead of an objection.

I would not however be understood to *affirm*, that the true solution is unknown; possibly all that may be wanted, is the more *thoroughly* evincing the truth of it, and explaining the matter more *at large*.

OBSERVATION XLII.

[Every body almost knows, that it is usual, in Scripture language, to describe the qua-

² Alialamenes.

lities or relations of a person, by calling him the *son* of such and such a thing; but people are not as generally aware, that it is usual to point out the same by calling him the *father* of this and that thing; yet this is really the fact, and an attention to it is requisite to a due understanding of some places of Scripture.

Dr. Shaw has mentioned this Eastern custom, but he has not applied it: it will not be disagreeable then to do it in these papers. Speaking of an African Marabbutt, or *Saint*, the Doctor tells us, that it was affirmed that “ he had a solid iron bar, which, upon command, would give the same noise with a cannon, and do the like execution.” He then adds in a note: “ This name, by interpretation, is the *Son of a Gun*: several persons in that country having their *cognomina* from some quality or other, for which they are remarkable. Of this quality they are either called *Abbon*, i. e. *Father*, or *Ibn*, *Ben*, i. e. *Son* of it. Thus a fat man is called *Abbon Kersb*, i. e. the *Father of a Belly*, &c¹.”

It should seem from hence to be a very *indifferent* thing, whether a person should be denominated the *Son* or the *Father* of a thing, since if it was not so, one would have imagined he should rather have been called the *Father of a Gun*, than the *Son of a Gun*; which yet, it seems, was his *cognomen*.

¹ P. 244.

The knowledge of this Eastern custom is of great consequence, to illustrate one of the titles given the Messiah by the Prophet Isaiah, ch. 9. 6—*the Everlasting Father*. It may have given pain to some minds, very possibly, as if there was a sort of improper confusion of titles here, and that given to the Messiah, which was appropriate to the First of the Sacred Three—*the Everlasting Father*.

But this pain gradually wears off, as we find the original words are, the *Father of that which is everlasting*; and afterwards find, that the Eastern people are wont to describe any quality of a person by calling him the *Father of that quality*: Christ as the head, and introducer of an *Everlasting Dispensation*, never to give place to another, was very naturally, in their style, called *the Father of Eternity*, or *the Father of that which is Everlasting*; which our translators render, perhaps a little unhappily, *the Everlasting Father*. This is no *new* interpretation: the celebrated Vitringa, in his noble Commentary on this Prophet, explains the words, *Pater Æternitatis*, five *Conditor Sæculi Æterni*; that is, the *Father of Eternity*, or, *the Former of an Eternal Age*.

What is *new* here, is the bringing into view, upon this occasion, the Eastern custom, mentioned by Dr. Shaw, but not applied by him to the elucidation of any passage of Holy Writ, and also the *confirming* and *enlarging* the Doctor's account, by other examples,

amples, of an Oriental custom not well known here in the West, at least not recollected as it ought to have been, the very industrious and curious *Vitringa* taking no notice of it in his remarks on this passage.

To the instance then mentioned by *Shaw*, I would add that of *Maillet*, who tells us that *Ægypt* is filled with *kites*, and that the *Arabs* call this bird the *Father of the Air*, to express the excellency of his flying²; that of *d'Herbelot*, who tells us, that the *Khalife Moaviah II*, being of a very weak and infirm constitution, and unable often to appear in the day-time, was called *Abou Leilah*, that is, the *Father of the Night*³; and that other mentioned by the same writer⁴, who, speaking of a very eminent physician, says, he did such admirable cures, that he was surnamed *Aboul Berekiat*, the *Father of Benedictions*⁵.

Not very far remote from these instances is the *Arab* name of an African city, mentioned by *Dr. Shaw*, p. 109: called, it seems, *Boo Hadjar*, or, the *Father of a Stone*, that is, the *Stony City*. He also tells us of an Arabian bird, which is called *Ach Bobba*, which words, in the Turkish language, he

² Let. 9. p. 22. ³ P. 587. ⁴ P. 440. ⁵ So *Schultens*, in a note on the sixth Arabian Assembly, tells us, that the principal leader of the *Karegites*, for twenty years, was called *Abu Naâma*, (which, I think, signifies *Father of the Ostrich*,) from the horse he used to ride on: called *Naâma*, because in swiftness it exceeded an *ostrich*, which, in Arabic, is *Naâmah*.

observes, signify *white father* : a name given it partly out of the *reverence* they have for it, partly from the *colour of its plumage*.

OBSERVATION XLIII.

It appears that she whom the Prophet *Isaiah* married¹, and who was to be the mother of that child, before whose attaining the knowledge of good and evil, the two Kings of Syria and Israel were to be removed, was a *virgin*, and that there was something *extraordinary* in that circumstance.

It has been objected, what was there *extraordinary* in a virgin's marrying, and nine months after having a child?

Something, however, extraordinary is supposed here, but it may not be so easy to determine what.

Sir John Chardin, in his MS. note on *Isa. lxii. 5*, "for as a young man marieth a *virgin*, so shall thy sons marry thee," tells us, that *it is the custom in the East for youths that were never married always to marry virgins, and widowers, however young, to marry widows; and that Christians hardly ever depart from this observation; so that widowers and widows intermarry as soon as they can, because they cannot expect to marry any others, it not being the custom there.*

If this custom was as ancient as the days of *Isaiah*, his marrying a *virgin* must have

¹ *Is. 7. 14—16, ch. 8. 3, 4.*

appeared *extraordinary*: since, as this was done in the time of Ahaz, whose father Jotham reigned sixteen years, and Isaiah began to prophesy in the time of Uzziah his grandfather, the Prophet could not have been very young at the time of this prediction on the one hand; and on the other, every body knows that the Eastern people, and none more than the Jews, married very early in life. Isaiah must, according to this, be supposed to have been married before this time, and consequently his marrying a *virgin* might appear particular, and be designed to point out something deserving attention.

It was more particular still, if the person to be married was one that was understood to have determined to pass her days in a state of *virginity*. She appears to have been called a Prophetess, Is. viii. 3: this was previous to her becoming a Prophet's wife, and should seem to point out a person who devoted herself to *retirement and study*, and consequently to a single life. Lady Montague tells us, there is no remaining honourably a *single* woman among the Turks²; and I think she somewhere says it is esteemed a mark of *reprobation*; for bringing forth and educating children are the proper duties of a female. It is supposed posterity was, at least, equally desired among the Jewish people; neverthe-

² Letters, vol. 3. p. 36, 37.

less, we find some of their females continued in a *single state*; and that circumstance, and their prophesying, are united together, Acts xxi. 9. If there was a like union between them in these more ancient times, Isaiah, when he married a Prophetess, married a *Virgin* in a stronger sense than common.

In either case, the prophetic management was particular; if they were joined together, it was *extremely remarkable*.

All the *present establishment* given to the faith and hope of that generation, that the *house of David* should not be overwhelmed with destruction, when two such threatening enemies as the Kings of Syria and Israel were leagued together against it; and it was a common policy to exterminate *whole families* to which royalty had belonged³; was the Prophet's pointing out a *particular person*, who should *almost immediately conceive*, should go happily through *the stages* of her pregnancy, should bear a *son*, which son should live till *both those countries* were forsaken of their Kings, and this event to happen before he was capable of *discerning between good and evil*. All these were contingencies which might not happen; and, on the contrary, when the prediction appeared to be verifying from point to point, their hope must be greatly confirmed, that the house of David should continue, and that the promises relating to the Messiah, who was to reign for ever

³ See 1 Kings 15. 29, ch. 16. 11, 2 Kings 11. 1.

and ever, should be fulfilled, contrary to their anxious forebodings.

It does not appear that that child's mother's being a *virgin*, had any thing to do in the establishment of the faith and hope of *that generation*; it must have been *so distinctly* mentioned on some other account—What? is the question.

The Jews, I apprehend, must be perplexed to assign the reason: not so the disciples of Jesus. For though the *virginity* of the mother of that child had nothing to do with the men of that generation, yet, it being somehow connected with the appearance of him who was the Hope of Israel, and the Glory of the House of David, it is reasonable to believe it was as a representation of what was to be his case—that he was to be the First-born of his mother, and that his mother was to be somehow or other a Virgin, in a *remarkable* sense. The first thought seems to be absolutely necessary to be adopted: yet if this had been all, one would hardly imagine it should have been pointed out with quite so much solemnity—the second seems at least to be a great probability.

Answerable to all this, the New Testament represents the Messiah as the *First-born* of his mother; and it describes her as a *Virgin* in such a sense, as that his birth was ennobled by being miraculous.

Nothing is more natural than such an explanation of this prediction. The Prophet

expressly declares, that *he*, and the *children* God gave him, were for signs (לֵאמֹתָ), and wonders in Israel, ch. viii. 18; and this Hebrew word is used by this very Prophet, as signifying that the circumstances attending him were similar to those that should happen, in after-time, to them of whom he prophesied: such was his walking *naked and bare-foot*, for a sign and a wonder upon Ægypt and Ethiopia, ch. xx. 3.

I have dwelt the longer on this subject, because it seems to me not to have been so happily explained as could be wished.

OBSERVATION XLIV.

Job might well be stiled the *greatest man* in the land of Uz, or of all that part of the East¹, when he was possessed of almost half as many camels as a *modern king of Persia*.

An anecdote, mentioned by Sir J. Chardin in his MS, affords an happy illustration of what is said of the riches of *Job*, who, we are told, was master of three thousand camels. *The king of Persia being in Mazanderan, in the year 76², the Tartars set upon the camels of the king, in the month of February, and took three thousand of them, which was a great loss to him, for he has but seven thousand in all, if their number should be complete; especially considering it was winter, when it was difficult to procure others in a country which was a stranger to com-*

¹ Job i. 3.

² 1676 is the year meant.

merce; and their importance, these beasts carrying all the baggage, for which reason they are called the *ships of Persia*. Upon these accounts the king presently retired.

Many an European reader is not well apprized of the value of three thousand camels; but there are few that are totally unacquainted with the riches and the pomp of Eastern princes, and the great figure the Sophi of Persia makes among them; to such readers the preceding account will not be uninstruc-tive.

OBSERVATION XLV.

Camels are not only of great importance in the East, for carrying of goods through the deserts, and as furnishing no despicable part of food to some nations there by their milk and their flesh, but their *hair is useful for vestments*.

This hair, Sir J. Chardin tells us ¹, *is not shorn from the camels like wool from sheep, but they pull off this woolly hair, which the camels are disposed in a sort to cast off*; as many other creatures, it is well known, change their coats yearly.

This hair, it seems, is made into cloth now; for Chardin assures us the modern der-vives wear such garments, as they do also great leather girdles, and sometimes feed on locusts ².

¹ In his MS. note on 1 Sam. xxv. 4. Matt. 3. 4.

² In his note on

OBSERVATION XLVI.

Medicines in the East are chiefly applied *externally*, and in particular to the stomach and *belly*. Might not Solomon allude to similar managements in his time, when he says concerning the fear of the Lord, “It shall be *health to thy navel*, and marrow to thy bones,” Prov. iii. 8?

Sir John Chardin, in his MS, assures us of the fact, and applies it to the illustration of this passage. It is a comparison, he tells us, *drawn from the plaisters, ointments, oils, frictions, which are made use of in the East upon the belly and stomach in most maladies; they being ignorant in the villages of the art of making decoctions and potions, and the proper doses of such things, generally make use of external medicines.*

Until I met with this observation, I did not see, I confess, any particular propriety in that clause of the royal Preacher.

OBSERVATION XLVII.

The bed-chamber in the Temple, in which Jehosheba hid Joash in the days of Athaliah, mentioned 2 Kings xi. 2, and 2 Chron. xxii. 11, doth not seem to mean a *lodging-chamber*, but a chamber used as a *repository for beds*.

I am

I am indebted to Sir John Chardin's MS. for this thought, which seems to be a just one; for the original words signify a *chamber of beds*, and the expression differs from that which is used when a *lodging-chamber* is meant. He supposes then *that place is meant, where beds are kept: for in the East, and particularly in Persia and Turkey, beds are not raised from the ground with bed-posts, a canopy, and curtains; people lie on the ground. In the evening they spread out a mattrafs or two of cotton, very light, &c, of which they have several in great houses, against they should have occasion, and a room on purpose for them.*

In a chamber of beds, (the room used for the laying up beds,) it seems Joash was sequestered. Understand it how you will, it appears that people were lodged in the Temple; and if *any* lodged there, it is to be supposed at particular times there were *many*, especially the relations and friends of the High-priest. Here it may be right to consult Neh. xiii. 4, 5. In the room in which the beds were deposited, not a common bed-chamber, it seems the young Prince laid concealed. Chardin complains the Vulgar Latin translation did not rightly understand the story; nor have others represented the intention of the Sacred Writer *perfectly*, if he is to be understood after this manner.

OBSERVATION XLVIII.

Precious as gold is, there have been compositions, it should seem, that have been *as highly esteemed.*

Ezra viii. 27. affords us a proof of this :
 “ Twenty basons of *gold*, of a thousand
 “ drams ; and two vessels of fine copper,”
 (or of yellow or shining brass, according to
 the margin,) “ *precious as gold.*”

The Corinthian brass has been mentioned on this occasion, which is said to have been more esteemed than silver among the Romans. But as the metal mentioned by Ezra seems to have been more valuable still ; so this Corinthian brass was unknown in those times, being a composition formed, accidentally, by the burning of Corinth, not one hundred and fifty years before the birth of our Lord, and supposed to consist of a mixture of gold, silver, and brass.

Sir John Chardin, in his MS. note, has mentioned a mixt-metal used in the East, and highly esteemed there ; and as the origin of this composition is unknown, it might, for aught we know, be as old as the time of Ezra, and be brought from those more remote countries into Persia, where these two basons were given to be conveyed to Jerusalem.

I have heard, says the note, some Dutch gentlemen speak of a metal in the island of Sumatra,

matra, and among the Macassars, much more esteemed than gold, which royal personages alone might wear. It is a mixture, if I remember right, of gold and steel, or of copper and steel. He afterwards added to this note, (for the colour of the ink differs,) *calmbac* is this metal, composed of gold and copper. It in colour nearly resembles the pale carnation rose, has a very fine grain, the polish extremely lively. I have seen something of it, &c. Gold is not of so lively and brilliant a colour; I believe there is steel mixed with the gold and the copper.

He seems to be in doubt about the composition; but very positive as to it's beauty, and it's high estimation.

OBSERVATION XLIX.

When Naaman the Syrian requested two mules burden of earth, of the Holy-Land, to be given him by the Prophet, it has been generally understood to have been for the raising up an *altar* to the God of Israel; it is not however impossible to have been for some other purpose, since modern Eastern devotion, for a particular place, has led them to desire *some of it's earth* for another use.

The MS. of Sir J. Chardin treats the common notion as *erroneous*, perhaps a little too positively; but it cannot be disagreeable to communicate his note upon 2 Kings v. 17. to the world, as it is curious and amusing,
though

though numbers may be inclined still to retain the common opinion. Naaman desired this, he thinks, as *sacred earth*, taken from *sacred places*, to pray upon, as the *Mahometans* do, having their beads made of earth, esteemed sacred by them, and who, in praying, bow themselves down upon a small quantity of the same earth¹.

It would not have been disagreeable if he had informed us how this earth is prepared, so as to make a lasting surface, on which to place themselves in prayer, or on which they may place their foreheads, in prostrating themselves before God, as they are known to do: though perhaps, after all, as Sir John says nothing about Naaman's making beads of this earth, which machines of devotion are now very much used in the East, it may be thought as little certain that he desired the earth to pray upon.

OBSERVATION L.

It is a very odd custom in the East, that when they are angry with a person, they *abuse and vilify his parents*; yet some traces of it seem to appear in Scripture.

Sir John Chardin assures us it is an Eastern custom, in his MS. note on 1 Sam. xx. 30, and that it obtains through *all* the East: if it be, his introducing the mention of it here is extremely agreeable, as it may save us

¹ *Un petit palet de même terre*, are his words.

from some *false refinements* that appear in our Western commentaries. Saul thought, it should seem, on nothing but venting his anger against Jonathan; nor had any design to reproach his wife personally: the mention of her was only a vehicle by which, according to Oriental modes, he was to convey his resentment against Jonathan into the minds of those about him. “Then Saul’s
“anger was kindled against Jonathan, and
“he said unto him, Thou *son of the perverse*
“*rebellious woman*, do not I know,” &c?

OBSERVATION LI.

The dishonouring places which were treated with veneration by others, by making use of them for the *most disgraceful discharges of animal nature*, was an ancient Oriental way of expressing dislike, and it still continues to be used there.

Jehu thus treated the temple of Baal: “he made it a draught-house,” 2 Kings x. 27. Every one will suppose what a draught-house means, especially if he recollects those words in St. Matthew, “Do not ye yet understand, that whatsoever entereth into
“the mouth, goeth into the belly, and is
“cast out into the draught?” ch. xv. 17.

Sir John Chardin observes somewhere in his MS, that the Eastern people are more exquisite in taking vengeance than those in the West. This seems to be a proof of
it:

it: we strike off the heads of images that have been superstitiously abused, set up in or about places of worship; we have pulled down or defaced buildings that we detest; the stone-coffin of a prince whose memory was execrated, has been made use of for a watering-trough for horses; but I do not remember that any sacred place was designedly, among us, made what our version calls a *draught-house*. It has been retained, however, in the East; and this MS. of his informs us, that Abbas the Great¹, having conquered Bagdad, treated the tomb of Hanifah, one of the Fathers of the Church among the Turks, after a similar manner.

They that consider the *great neatness* of the Eastern tombs; and the prayers that are poured out so frequently *at the graves of their holy men*, so that a tomb and an oratory are frequently much the same thing; will think there is a greater likeness between the two stories than may appear at first sight.

OBSERVATION LII.

There is a note in the MS. I have so often cited, on a passage of the Apocrypha, which affords an exquisite comment on the *surprise*

¹ Sovereign of Persia. Both Persians and Turks are Mohammedans, but of different sects; and there are as mortal feuds on that account betwixt them, as there were anciently between the Jews and Samaritans.

of David's servants, at his behaviour when his first child by Bathsheba died¹.

The account Sir John gives us of Eastern mourning, in order to illustrate Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. 17, is as follows. *The practice of the East is to leave a relation of the deceased person to weep and mourn, till on the third or fourth day at farthest, the relations and friends go to see him, cause him to eat, lead him to a bath, and cause him to put on new vestments, he having before thrown himself on the ground, &c.*

The surprize of David's servants then, who had seen his bitter anguish while the child was sick, arose apparently from this, that, when he found it was dead, he that so deeply lamented, arose *of himself* from the earth, without staying for his friends coming about him, and that *presently*; immediately bathed and anointed himself, instead of appearing as a mourner; and, after worshipping God with solemnity, returned to his wonted repasts, *without any interposition* of others; which as now, so perhaps anciently, was made use of in the East. The extremity of his sorrow for the child's illness, and his not observing the common forms of grief afterwards, was what surprized his servants.

Every eye must see the general ground of astonishment; but this passage of Chardin gives great distinctness to our apprehensions of it.

¹ 2 Sam. 12. 16—21.

OBSERVATION LIII.

Bishop Pococke, in his Travels, has explained very particularly the rudder-bands mentioned by St. Luke, Acts xxvii. 40, and my plan excludes that account from these papers; but Sir John Chardin has mentioned some other things relating to this ship of St. Paul, which ought not to be omitted, since his MS. is not likely ever to be published.

First, The Eastern people, he tells us, are wont *to leave their skiffs in the sea, fastened to the stern of their vessels.* The skiff of this Ægyptian ship was towed along, it seems, after the same manner, v. 16, “We had much work to come by the boat.”

Secondly, They *never*, according to him, *hoist it into the vessel, it always remains in the water, fastened to the ship.* He therefore must suppose the taking it up, mentioned ver. 17, doth not mean hoisting it up into the vessel, as several interpreters have imagined, but drawing it up close to the stern of the ship; and the word we translate, in the thirtieth verse, letting down into the sea, must mean letting it go farther from the ship into the sea.

Thirdly, He supposes this ship was like a *large modern Ægyptian saique, of three hundred and twenty tons, and capable of carrying from twenty-four to thirty guns.*

Fourthly, These saiques, he tells us, *always carry their anchors at their stern, and never their prow*, contrarily to our managements; the anchors of St. Paul's ship were, in like manner, "cast out of the stern," ver. 29.

Fifthly, They carry their anchors at some distance from the ship, *by means of the skiff, in such a manner as always to have one anchor on one side, and the other on the other side, so that the vessel may be between them, lest the cables should be entangled with each other.* To St. Paul's ship there were, it seems, four anchors, two on each side.

All these several particulars are contained, though not distinctly proposed, in his remarks on the vessel in which St. Paul was shipwrecked: the curious will properly consider them. If the mode of navigating Eastern ships had been attended to, it is possible the jocular and lively remarks of some indelicate sailors, bordering on profaneness, would never have been made upon this part of the narration of St. Luke; and some clauses would have been differently translated from what we find them in our version.

OBSERVATION LIV.

The accounts that have been given by some that have lived in the East, concerning the *effects of circumcision*, do not well agree with the explanations divers of the learned

have proposed, of some passages of the Old Testament history.

The children of Israel, after forty years wandering in the wilderness, passed over Jordan, into the land promised their ancestors, on the tenth day of the first month, and encamped in Gilgal, as we are told Josh. iv. 19. They were circumcised in Gilgal, ch. v. 9; and in that same encampment, it should seem, they kept the Passover, ver. 10. The supposition of Bishop Patrick, in his Commentary on Joshua, is, that they crossed the Jordan on the tenth of the first month, were circumcised the eleventh, were at the worst the thirteenth, and capable of observing the Passover, in all it's ceremonies, on the fourteenth.

The accounts of Eastern travellers show, that there is too much precipitation here. *I have heard, says Sir J. Chardin, in his sixth MS. volume', from divers renegadoes in the East, who had been circumcised, some at thirty, some at forty years of age, that the circumcision had occasioned them a great deal of pain, and that they were obliged to keep their bed upon it at least twenty or twenty-two days²; that they put nothing on the wound to make it cicatrize but burnt paper. They refer the little pain, that it is remarked this operation gives infants, to the softness of the prepuce; whereas, in grown-up people this skin is very tough, and*

¹ On Gen. 34. 25.

² And that, during that time, they could not walk without feeling very severe pain.

very sensible, because of the arteries and veins there.

Without making any anatomical remarks here, the fact, I presume, is sufficiently authenticated, that it is about three weeks after people of thirty or forty years have been circumcised, before they can, with tolerable ease, walk about; and consequently, that the Passover cannot be imagined to have been solemnized on the fourth day after this circumcision. Bishop Patrick himself, in his Comment on Josh. v. 8, supposes, that the pain was smartest on the third day; for which he cites Gen. xxxiv. 25; and yet, that the people were whole against the fourth day, which was the Passover. This is not a little extraordinary: that the Bishop should suppose that the pain of an operation, which was such as rendered them incapable to fight *for their lives* on the third day after, should, on the fourth, be so perfectly over, as to enable them, without any considerable inconvenience, to celebrate the Passover; for if the inconvenience had been considerable, it might, by an express constitution of their Lawgiver, have been deferred till the fourteenth day of the second month, Numb. ix. 10, 11. This appears, on the face of it, to be very strange; but it is absolutely incompatible with Sir J. Chardin's account, received from *several* renegadoes.

The Bishop was certainly misled here, by the speedy healing of this kind of wound

in infants, which, I have been assured by some of the Jewish nation, is, in a very little time; *perhaps two or three days* was the precise expression. It is otherwise with the adult; nor doth Gen. xxxiv. 25. shew that the pain was *most* intense on the third day, but *only* sufficiently severe, *by that time.*

But how then are the circumstances of this history to be ranged? I should suppose it must be in one of these two ways: either, that the circumcision was not performed till after the Passover was celebrated, which indeed was not agreeable to the law, Exod. xii. 48; or else, that the Passover was not solemnized till the fourteenth day of the *second* month, which their law allowed, in that passage of Numb. ix. I just now cited.

Things might, very possibly, be conducted after the first manner: for the omission of circumcision while they were in the wilderness, shews they were not very exact, at that time, in their observation of the ceremonies of their law. Nothing also forbids our understanding the fourteenth day, of that day of the second month. But I leave to the curious the determination of the point.

OBSERVATION LV.

The *weight of the ornaments* that the servant of Abraham put upon Rebecca appears to us rather extraordinary. Sir J. Chardin assures us, as heavy, and even heavier, were worn

worn by the women of the East when he was there.

The ear-ring, or jewel for the face, weighed half a shekel, and the bracelets for her hands ten shekels, Gen. xxiv. 22, which, as he justly observes in the margin of the MS, is about five ounces. Upon which he tells us, *the women wear rings and bracelets of as great weight as this, through all Asia, and even much heavier. They are rather manacles than bracelets. There are some as large as the finger. The women wear several of them, one above the other, in such a manner as sometimes to have the arm covered with them from the wrist to the elbow. Poor people wear as many of glass or horn. They hardly ever take them off: they are their riches.*

OBSERVATION LVI.

The Eastern people are oftentimes known by *several names*: this might arise from their having more names than one given them *at first*; or it might arise from their assuming a new and different name upon *particular occurrences* in life. This last is most probable, since such a custom *continues* in the East to this day; and it evidently was *sometimes* done anciently; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4, 2 Kings xxiv. 17.

The sixth volume of the MS. C. seems to complain of expositors, for supposing one person had frequently different names; and

says, that the custom of the East still continues for persons to have a new name upon a change of circumstances. There seems to me to be some want of precision here: commentators have supposed, and the fact is apparent, that one and the same person has had different names; but they have determined, in common at least, nothing about the *manner how they came by them*. Sir John thinks, very justly, that they were wont to be given upon *some change* in life; but then there might be a variation as to the consequences. Some might invariably be called by the new name after it's being put upon them: thus I think Abraham was always so called in the latter part of his life, and never Abram; and his wife in like manner Sarah, and not Sarai: others might be called sometimes by the one, sometimes by the other, sometimes by both joined together. So St. John tells us, in his Gospel, that Jesus gave the new name of Peter to the brother of Andrew, ch. i. 42: yet he represents Jesus as afterwards calling him Simon, ch. xxi. 15, 16, 17; and John himself called him sometimes Peter, and sometimes Simon Peter, and that just together, ch. xviii. 10, 11.

But as the account that is given us of this variety of names in the MS. is curious, I would set down the substance of it. *Expositors suppose the Israelites, and other Eastern people, had several names, but this is an error; the reason of their being called by different names is because*

because they frequently change them, as they change in point of age, condition, or religion. This custom has continued to our times in the East, and is generally practised upon changing religions¹; and it is pretty common upon changing condition. The Persians have preserved this custom more than any other nation. I have seen many governors of provinces among them assume new names with their new dignity. But the example of the reigning² King of Persia is more remarkable: the first years of the reign of this Prince having been unhappy, on account of wars and famine in many provinces, his counsellors persuaded him that the name he had till then borne was fatal, and that the fortune of the empire would not be changed till he changed that name. This was done: the Prince was crowned again, under the name of Soliman: all the seals, all the coins, that had the name of Sefi, were broken, the same as if the King had been dead, and another had taken possession.—The women more frequently change their names than the men, whether owing to a natural inconstancy, or that they do not agree to the alterations they find in life, being put upon them on account of their beauty, gaiety, their agility in dancing, or fine voice: and as these natural qualities are quickly lost, either by accident, or by age, they assume other names, which better agree to their changed state. Women that marry again, or let them-

¹ Acts 13. 9.
1667, and died in 1694.

² He began his reign, I think, in

selves out anew, and slaves, commonly alter their names upon these changes.

OBSERVATION LVII.

The mercy of God towards Israel in Ægypt, and his care of their preservation there, were certainly very extraordinary; but most probably there was *nothing uncommon in what happened to the Israelitish women*, when Pharaoh directed the midwives to destroy their male infants in the birth.

Easy and quick deliveries were common before that among them, or there would have been *more than two midwives* made use of by the Israelitish women: on the other hand, these speedy deliveries were not then *universal*; if they had, there would have been no great virtue in Shiprah and Puah's telling Pharaoh the *undisguised* state of things among them: they certainly told Pharaoh what was true as to many of them, but they concealed some part of the truth from the cruel prince.

Rachel, and the daughter-in-law of Eli the High-priest, are proofs that travail in the East is sometimes extremely bitter, is sometimes fatal¹, in the common course of things; but a facility in introducing children into the world is more common perhaps among them, than among us. Bishop Patrick, in his Commentaries, mentions Varro's account of the women of *Illyricum*, and Gataker's

¹ Gen. 35. 16, 1 Sam. 4. 19, 20.

relation of what has sometimes been known in *Ireland*. This might have been enlarged by citations from writers that have described the manners, &c, of the Indians of *North-America*; but it must be infinitely more amusing, to be told what happens now in the East itself. This is done by Sir J. Chardin, in his sixth MS. volume, in such a manner as would make an omission of it very inexcusable.

After having observed that what is said of the Hebrew women, in Exod. i. 19, ought not to give any mind pain, he adds, *since in Europe, where the people are robust, as in Switzerland and the North, it frequently happens that women bring their fruit into the world without much pain, and without assistance; I will only say, there are many large countries in Asia where there are no professed midwives at all, and that where there are, they are not very much known, the mothers delivering their daughters, and, for want of them, the relations or neighbours perform the office. I have known a woman, in Caramania, brought to-bed without help in the open fields², and was quite surprized to see her arrive, not long after me, at the place where we lodged. The people of the village laughed at my surprize, and told me this happened frequently in their country. It is said, that, in Arabia, it often happens among the clans of shepherds that pass from one side of the Ti-*

² Three leagues, he says in the margin, *from the village whither he was going.*

gris to the other, and who cross over on vessels of leather blown up³, that their women fall in labour just as they should cross over, which, however, does not hinder their passage; the woman is in a moment delivered of the child, washes it in the river, wraps it up in some rags, places it on her leather-vessel, and passes over with more ease than she could have done had she continued big with child.

The apology of these midwives then was sufficiently plausible, and in many instances, without doubt, very just. Great was the difference between the Israelites, used to hardships, and the delicate Ægyptians, with respect to the employing people of their profession.

OBSERVATION LVIII.

Sir J. Chardin confirms Dr. Shaw's account of the *devout posture* of some people of the Levant, which resembles that made use of by Elijah, just before the descent of the rain, 1 Kings xviii. 42.

Dr. Shaw's account may be found by turning to his two hundred and thirty-third page; that of the MS. C. is as follows: *The Dervises, especially those of the Indies, put themselves into this posture, he is speaking of the attitude of Elijah on the top of Mount-Carmel, in order to meditate, and also to repose themselves. They tye their knees against their belly with their*

³ Consul Drummond describes these in his Travels, p. 207, 208, and calls them Lowders.

girdle, and lay their heads on the top; and this, according to them, is the best posture for recollecting themselves.

As so celebrated an interpreter as Bishop Patrick has given a very different description of the attitude of Elijah, in his Commentary on the Book of Kings, I thought this confirmation of Dr. Shaw's account would not be disagreeable.

OBSERVATION LIX.

As the common customs of the East have been handed down to these late ages very little altered, so Sir J. Chardin is of opinion, that the same holds true as to some other usages, and particularly with respect to the *exterior appearance of persons of extraordinary reputed sanctity.*

The observations he has made¹, relating to the resemblance between the modern Eastern Dervises and Faquirs² and the ancient Jewish Prophets, both those that were true and those that falsely assumed that character, are considerably striking.

These modern Eastern Religious, he tells us, *go clothed just as Elijah did*, who is called an *hairy man*, 2 Kings i. 8, on account of

¹ In a MS. note on 2 Kings i. 8. ² The *Dervises* are a sort of Friars, who wander about the parts of Asia nearest to us, and are supposed to lead a life of more than ordinary sanctity and austerly. Much the same kind of people, that live in the more distant parts of Asia, are called *Faquirs*.

his wearing an *bairy garment*, and was girded with a *leather girdle*. In other places Prophets are described as wearing a *rough garment, or garment of hair*³. Sir John repeats the same, in making remarks on the vestment of John the Baptist.

The Dervises, he gives us to understand, carry about with them the horn of an *be-goat*, or of a *wild ox*. They wear it as a kind of defence, though some others carry *batchets with them*⁴; and he supposes Zedekiah, the son of Chenaanah⁵, who had made him *horns of iron*, had them made as part of his *equipage*. It is not so understood, I think, in general; but it is rather supposed that they were made by this false Prophet, on purpose to exhibit a fallacious sign to Ahab, of his pushing Syria till it was destroyed. It's being, however, at present, a part of the equipage of a Dervise, may incline one to believe it was an instrument Zedekiah had before wore, and only applied it to this use at that time.

The Dervises, he tells us, go *bare-headed*, and he thinks, from what is said of Elisha, 2 Kings ii. 23, the Prophets must have practised the same. On which I would farther observe, that if the Prophets distinguished themselves from other people in those times, as the Dervises do now, these young people

³ Zech. 13. 4. ⁴ They make use of them also for another purpose—that of proclaiming the generosity of those that give them alms. See ch. 5th, Obs. 23d, note. ⁵ 2 Chron. 18. 10.

were

were not only guilty of not honouring *old age*, as the law required, Lev. xix. 32, but of *knowingly and intentionally* insulting a *Prophet* of God.

These are correspondences that engage attention.

OBSERVATION LX.

The association between *spitting* and shame is such now in the East, that we in common have no conception of; though some acquaintance with their views of things seems to be highly requisite, to understand some passages of Sacred Antiquity.

Monfieur d'Arvieux tells us, "the Arabs are sometimes disposed to think, that when a person spits, it is done out of contempt; and that they never do it before their superiors¹." But Sir J. Chardin's MS. goes much farther: he tells us, in a note on Numb. xii. 14, that *spitting before any one, or spitting upon the ground in speaking of any one's actions, is, through the East, an expression of extreme detestation.*

Here are two things to be remarked: one, that though spitting is in common a thing totally indifferent among us, with respect to expressing dislike, it is otherwise in those countries, where they seldom or never spit as a natural discharge, but when they do spit, it marks

¹ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 140.

out detestation, and *extreme* detestation; the other, that, in expressing their detestation of a person, they do not spit *upon him*, but upon the ground *before* him.

This gives a much stronger idea to this action, than multitudes have apprehended. Every one that has read the Old Testament with care must be sensible, it was a reproachful thing: but perhaps we have wondered that it should be *prescribed by law as a disgrace*, which yet we know it was among the Jews, Deut. xxv. 9; and we have been astonished that a father's dishonouring a daughter by spitting, should be thought to be so disgraceful, as to engage her to retire from public view no fewer than seven days, Numb. xii. 14: this accounts for both—it expresses extreme detestation.

A second thing is, that spitting upon the ground before a person's face is sufficient to disgrace very bitterly now, and therefore most probably was all that the Mosaic law required, in the twenty-fifth of Deuteronomy. The prefix Beth is very seldom applied to the Hebrew word which signifies *face*; but when it is, it appears to signify *before* a person's face, as well as *upon* the face²: and since it may be understood in this sense; and since it is thought in the East to be enough to express bitter detestation; it should appear to

² Ezek. 42. 12, Josh. 21. 44, ch. 23. 9, and Esth. 3. 2, sufficiently prove the point.

be right to understand that law after this manner.

Whether the vehemence of the Jews might not carry them farther, with respect to our Lord, is another consideration.

Niebuhr, I have lately found, gives just the same account, p. 26; the association then between spitting and shame may be considered as a most sure fact.

OBSERVATION LXI.

It is the custom in Persia, to announce to the father *the birth of his male children* with particular ceremonies, of which some account ought to be given.

This is a note Sir J. Chardin has on Jer. xx. 15; but unluckily no account of these ceremonies is to be found, that I know of, in those papers. Something of this kind, however, it should seem, obtained among the Jews: the congratulation would otherwise have been supposed to have been conveyed to the father of Jeremiah, by some female assistant at the birth; whereas it is supposed to have been conveyed, on the contrary, by one of the other sex—"Cursed be the *man*
" who brought tidings to my father, say-
" ing, A man-child is born unto thee."

OBSERVATION LXII.

Ezekiel's ¹ *manner of reckoning* the number of shekels in a maneh, which it seems were threescore, appears very strange to us; but, according to the MS. C, was perfectly in the Oriental taste.

The words of Ezekiel are, “ The shekel
“ shall be twenty gerahs: twenty shekels,
“ twenty-five shekels, fifteen shekels shall
“ be your maneh.” Some of the learned
have supposed, there were three different
coins of the three several values which the
Prophet mentions, and that one of each put
together should make a maneh. But if there
actually were such coins, it doth not appear
why the Prophet should describe a maneh
after this manner: it seems to us that it
would have been infinitely more simple to
have said, “ The shekel shall be twenty
“ gerahs, and your maneh threescore she-
“ kels.”

But this MS. informs us, that *it is the custom of the East, in their accompts and their reckonings of a sum of money, to specify the different parts of which it is composed: talking after this manner, I owe twenty-five—of which the half is twelve and one half, the quarter six and one fourth, &c.* This appears extremely odd to us; but if it was the custom of those

¹ Ch. 45. 12.

countries, it is no wonder Ezekiel reckoned after this manner.

OBSERVATION LXIII.

Sir J. Chardin observed in the East, *that in their contracts for their temporary wives, (which are known to be frequent there, which contracts are made before the Kady,) there is always the formality of a measure of corn mentioned, over and above the sum of money that is stipulated.*

I do not know of any thing that should occasion this formality of late days in the East; it may then possibly be very ancient, as it is apparent this sort of wife is: if it be, it will perhaps account for Hosea's purchasing a woman of this sort for fifteen pieces of silver, and a *certain quantity of barley*, ch. iii. 2.

OBSERVATION LXIV.

The Oriental bows, according to this writer¹, are wont to be carried, *in a case*, hung to their girdles; which case is sometimes of cloth, but more commonly of leather.

For want of being sufficiently aware of this, some commentators have expressed themselves in a very obscure manner, when they have been led to speak of a passage of the Prophet Habakkuk, which plainly supposes this management: "Thy bow was made quite naked," ch. iii. 9.

¹ MS. note on Habak. iii. 9.

OBSERVATION LXV.

Peter della Valle assures us, it is now customary in these countries to begin their journeys at the *new moon*¹: may not this, like many other usages, be a remain of antiquity?

Our marginal translation of Prov. vii. 20. agrees with this supposition: “The good
“ man is not at home, he is gone a long
“ journey; he hath taken a bag of money in
“ his hand, and will come home at the *new*
“ *moon.*” The word doubtless signifies, in general, an appointed time; but it might mean, in particular, that of the new moon. So *Aquila* translates the passage, who is noted for his strict adhering to the precise meaning of the words of the Hebrew original.

So when the *Shunamite* proposed going to *Elisha*, her husband dissuaded her, by observing, it was neither *new moon* nor *sabbath*, 2 Kings iv. 23: neither an *usual time* for taking *secular* journeys, the words may mean, nor *sacred*. It is certain, the word *sabbath* signifies any Jewish sacred time, on the one hand; and on the other, that the new moons no where, in the Scriptures, appear to have been times peculiarly made use of for religious instruction, or *private* devotion.

The original word in common signifies a *throne*, it being only used twice² to signify the

¹ Travels into East India and Arabia Deserta, p. 258.
² Here, and Pl. 81. 3.

time of the new moon, or some appointed time; but the lexicographers, that I have consulted, do not show how a throne and the new moon are connected together. May I be permitted to propose it to the learned, to consider whether 1 Sam. xx. 24, 25. doth not explain it? It appears there that new moons were observed as festivals in the Jewish court; that the King, in eating, then sat on a seat, a throne I presume, (a seat high, and lifted up,) on which his sons and great men were wont to sit in solemnity with him. Now if the King did not sit in common on such a seat, such a management would make the considering the new moon and a throne as *correlative* things very natural.

OBSERVATION LXVI.

If the *cutting their flesh* anciently, as expressive of grief, was conducted after the same manner as now, they were the *arms* that suffered chiefly, if not wholly; and the cruelties of people that were *beloved*, as well as those of *enemies*, occasioned these *gashes*.

We find Arabs, la Roque tells us from d'Arvieux, *who have their arms scarred by the gashes of a knife, which they sometimes give themselves, to mark out to their mistresses what their rigour, and the violence of love, make them suffer. We content ourselves with singing, I die, I languish, &c; those good folks are more pathetic than we, &c.*

We often read of people cutting themselves, in Holy Writ, when in great anguish; but we are not commonly told what *part* they wounded. The modern Arabs, it seems, gash their arms, which with them are often bare: it should seem, from a passage of Jeremiah, the ancients wounded themselves in the same part. “Every head shall be bald, “and every beard clipt; upon *all hands* shall “be cuttings, and upon the loins sack- “cloth,” ch. xlvi. 37.

The cuttings of the Old Testament, generally at least, refer to more respected and pitied calamities. Besides the passage just now cited, the reader may turn to Jer. xvi. 6, ch. xli. 5, and ch. xlvi. 5. The lunatic of the New Testament¹ perhaps, who cut himself, might possibly do it from the same principle with the modern Arabs; if not, the customariness of cutting themselves, in times of anguish, might occasion a management not so common among the lunatics of our times.

The attempt of the priests of Baal² to move the commiseration of that Sidonian idol, by the same method the modern Arabs make use of to move the compassion of their hard-hearted mistresses, is truly laughable. And if the intention of Moses, in forbidding the Israelites to make such cuttings in their flesh, Deut. xiv. 1, was to prevent such unworthy notions of the Deity he taught them to serve, the word *dead* in that text must be under-

¹ Mark 5. 5.² 1 Kings 18. 28.

stood to signify *dead idols*; nor will the Jewish custom, referred to Jer. xvi. 6, appear to be a contravening that law.

OBSERVATION LXVII.

The Eastern soldiers, in times of peace, are disposed of about the walls of places, and particularly in the towers and at the gates: it seems to have been so anciently.

Niebuhr tells us ¹, that the *foot-soldiers* of the Imam of Yemen have very little to do in times of peace, any more than the cavalry: *some of them mount guard at the Dola's* ²; they are also employed at the gates, and upon the towers.

The towers, in some of the Eastern cities, were made use of, it should seem, for the lodging of their soldiers—they were their barracks: so Egmont or Heyman tells us, that there are sixty or seventy towers in the outward wall of Alexandria; that they had in general three stories, and each several apartments, which, in his opinion, would hold some hundreds of soldiers for the defence of each, vol. 2. p. 121.

A very ingenious commentator ³ then seems to be a little unhappy, when, explaining Ezek. xxvii. 11, “The men of Arvad
“ with thine army were upon thy walls
“ round about, and the Gammadims were
“ in thy towers; they hanged their shields

¹ P. 186, 187. ² The title of the Governors of the districts of Yemen, or the Happy Arabia. ³ Mr. Lowth.

“ upon the walls round about ; they have
 “ made thy beauty perfect : ” he says, “ they
 “ defended thy walls *when they were assaulted*
 “ by the king of Babylon’s army.” Ezekiel
 is describing a time of peace and freedom of
 commerce, not of war ; and Niebuhr gives
 us to understand, the walls are the places
 where the present Arab foot-foldiers appear
in time of peace. Their *hanging their arms*
 on the walls round about, shows it was such
 a time⁴.

This last circumstance may be illustrated too,
 by the account that Sandys gives of the de-
 corations of one of the gates of the imperial
 seraglio in Constantinople, which, he tells
 us, is “ hung with shields and scimitars,”
 p. 25. Through this gate people pass to the
 divan, where justice is administered ; and
 these are the ornaments of this public passage.
 The inner walls of the gates and towers of
 Tyre were ornamented, probably, after the
 same manner.

Who the Gammadin of this verse were I
 shall leave to the future examination of the
 learned : I would only take the liberty to
 observe, that the notion of one writer of

⁴ Perhaps it even expresses *festivity and triumph* : so Fa-
 ther Vansleb describes an Eastern Ziné, or public rejoicing,
 as celebrated by the hanging out lamps and tapestry ; to
 which he adds, that the Beys cause to be suspended, at
 the entrance of their palaces, a quantity of beautiful *arms*,
 as *head-pieces, corslets, coats of mail, musquets, sabres, tar-*
gets, &c. Relation d’Egypte, p. 335, 336.

eminence,

eminence, that they were *pigmies*, and that of another, that they were the *tutelar deities* of Tyre, of the height of a cubit, seem to be not a little idle. *Dwarfs* have been in considerable vogue, in former times; in the courts of Princes, but as *buffoons*, not as *guards*; and though some modern antiquaries may have spoken of *idolatrous images* as the *beauty* of some ancient cities, I cannot believe that a *Jewish Prophet* would be so complaisant.

OBSERVATION LXVIII.

The being clothed in *blue* was, in the days of the Prophet Ezekiel, considered as a *rich dress*; at present, the most *ordinary* Eastern people are dressed in blue: this contrariety deserves some attention.

That it is now the common dress of the ordinary Eastern women, appeareth from many writers. Niebuhr, one of the latest of them, tells us¹, that “the whole of “the dress of a woman of common rank” (in Arabia he means) “consists of drawers, “and a very large shift; the one and the “other is of *blue linen*, wrought by a needle “with some ornaments of a different colour.” Thevenot describes the shirts worn by the Arabs, between Ægypt and Mount Sinai, as blue: “these people, who are very “numerous, live in the desarts, where

¹ P. 57.

“ (though they lead a *most wretched* life) yet
 “ they think themselves most happy. Their
 “ clothing is a long blue shirt, &c².”

The Prophet Ezekiel, on the other hand, supposes blue to be a *rich and beautiful* dress :
 “ She doted on her lovers, on the Assyrians
 “ her neighbours, which were clothed with
 “ blue, Captains and Rulers, all of them de-
 “ sirable young men,” Ezek. xxiii. 6 ; and he mentions *blue clothes*, among other rich merchandize, ch. xxvii. 24. I do not mention the seventh verse of that chapter, because I am in doubt whether the *blue and the purple* there, refer to the *clothing* of the Tyrians ; they may, perhaps, relate to their *shipping* : either the colours with which they were *painted* ; or the *awnings* they placed over part of them, agreeable to the account that is given us of the covering of Solomon’s chariot, Cant. iii. 10.

The contrast in this article is very sensible : blue linen, now worn by the most *ordinary* people ; anciently the most *rich clothing*. I can account for it no otherwise, than by supposing, that the art of *dyeing* blues was first found out in countries more to the East or South than Tyre ; and that the dye was by no means become common, so low down as the time of Ezekiel : though some, that were employed in the construction of the Tabernacle, seem to have possessed the art of dyeing with blue, Exod. xxxv. 35 ; and some of the

² P. 173. part 1.

Tyrians, in the time of Solomon, 2 Chron. ii. 7. 14. Remote countries were the places where these blue cloths were manufactured; and to them, who wore scarce any thing but woollens and linens of the natural colour, these blue calicoes formed very magnificent vestments.

Niebuhr mentions³ two places in *Arabia*, in which *indigo* is now cultivated and prepared: whether it grew there anciently, or in what other places, may not be easy at this time to determine.

OBSERVATION LXIX.

The very ingenious editor of the Ruins of Palmyra supposeth¹, that it was the East-Indian trade that so enriched that city, and he supposes that this was as ancient at least as the time of Solomon; if it was, Tyre, one would imagine, must have had those commodities conveyed to it in the time of Ezekiel: perhaps then that Prophet's account of the Tyrian commerce, given us in the twenty-seventh chapter of his book of prophecies, may nearly let us into the extent of that traffic in his time, whether carried on through Syria, ver. 16, that is, by way of Palmyra, or through Arabia.

Butz, translated in our version fine linen, and which, I have elsewhere shewn, probably means calicoes or muslins; broidered

³ P. 197, 198; see also p. 133.

¹ P. 18, 19.

work,

work, the original word for which may mean chintses, perhaps, and other figured works², as well as proper needle-work³; and three sorts of precious stones; are all the Prophet mentions as coming by way of Syria, or Palmyra. I say all, for I think the word purple belongs to that precious stone which our translators have rendered emeralds, and does not mean a distinct commodity; since all the other terms have the copulative particle prefixed to them, and the same should have been done to the word purple, had it meant a distinct thing: the intention of the Prophet seems then to have been to say, “ Syria was thy merchant——they occupied
 “ in thy fairs with the purple nophec, and
 “ broidered work,” &c. Whether the word purple means the colour so denominated, or whether it means only bright or resplendent, it seems to be the descriptive epithet of thenophec brought to Tyre by the way of Syria.

Other East-Indian goods may be included in the lists mentioned, ver. 22, 24, as brought to Tyre by other merchants: but it is not of any great consequence, I apprehend, to determine the several countries from whence they were originally brought, whe-

² Possibly even Porcelain and Japan-work. ³ Of which there are two kinds: the one tracing out figures, by plain white stitches, common at this time in the East; the other delineating flowers and leaves with various colours, (commonly understood by the term embroidery,) of which frequent specimens are now imported among us from the East-Indies, some of them extremely curious.

ther the East-Indies, Ethiopia, or Arabia; it is sufficient to take notice, that the 16th verse seems to give us an account of what were *then* the chief articles of the Palmyra trade.

Whether the commodities Tyre obtained from Syria, means those that came by way of Palmyra, or not, we may be pretty certain some of them, at least, were not the natural product of Syria, but came from more distant places; since Dr. Ruffell tells us⁴, there are no metals found in all Syria, so far as he knew of; and then mentions a few *garnets*, but of an inferior quality, found near Antioch, but no other gems⁵.

OBSERVATION LXX.

The *precious clothes for chariots*, which was the merchandize *Dedan* brought to Tyre, Ezek. xxvii. 20, I should think mean *carpets*.

I have elsewhere shewn, that *litters and couches* are the vehicles which the Scriptures seem to mean, when they speak of *chariots*, excepting those that were used in war; and one cannot easily imagine any manufacture more proper to sit or lie upon, in these chariots, than *thick and soft carpets*.

Whether the term that is here made use of, and which the marginal translation tells

⁴ P. 47. ⁵ Whereas Ezekiel speaks of three different kinds of precious stones brought from Syria to Tyre.

us signifies *clothes of freedom*, may prove that carpets began at this time to be sat upon by persons of distinction, while slaves cannot be supposed to have such conveniencies, deserves consideration.

Be these things as they may, *carpets* are now exported, it seems, according to Niebuhr, from that part of Arabia called *Hadramaut*, to that part called *Yemen*, and might very well be brought by their caravans to Tyre in the days of antiquity.

OBSERVATION LXXI.

Numbers of the Southern Arabs assemble in their markets *by way of amusement*, and consequently, it should seem, *for conversation*: the same custom appears anciently to have obtained, in places of the East, less remote from us than *Yemen*.

“ Notwithstanding this external gravity,” says Niebuhr¹, “ the Arabs love a great deal
 “ of company; accordingly, one sees them
 “ assiduously assembling in the public coffee-
 “ houses, and, above all, running to *fairs*,
 “ in which no country, perhaps, more ab-
 “ bounds than Yemen; since hardly is a village
 “ of any consideration to be found, which
 “ has not a weekly fair. When the villages
 “ are at some distance from each other, their
 “ inhabitants assemble on the appointed day
 “ in the *open fields*. Some come hither to

¹ P. 25.

“ buy

“ buy or to sell; others, who are mechanics
 “ of various professions, employ sometimes
 “ the whole week in going from one little
 “ borough to another, in order to work at
 “ these fairs; and finally, many propose to
 “ themselves to pass away the time there
 “ more agreeably than at home. From this
 “ taste of the Arabs for society, and espe-
 “ cially of those of Yemen, it is easy to
 “ infer that they are more civilized than it
 “ may be we imagined.”

Michaelis, the great promoter of Niebuhr's expedition into the East, has taken notice of this passage in his extract from this work², saying, “ The public places are, to this day, in Yemen, the places of diversion, and thus serve two uses; (just as the gates of cities, which anciently were made their public places, as we are told in the Bible, Gen. xix. 1, Job xxix. 7, Ps. lxix. 13, &c.)”

This remark is very short, and indeed *obscure*. It is universally known that the *gates* were anciently the places where they held their courts of judicature; but places of judicature, and markets or fairs, are very different things. The places this learned author has cited from the Bible have been understood, and, I think, commonly, to relate to *magistrates* sitting in the gates. That in Job certainly refers to his acting as a judge among his countrymen; the twelfth, six-

² P. 13.

teenth, and seventeenth verses indubitably prove it. Bishop Patrick gave a like sense to the other two³. These quotations then are unhappy; and the candid Michaelis will, I hope, indulge me the liberty of citing some other passages of Holy Writ, and applying the circumstance occasionally mentioned by Niebuhr to the illustration of them.

1. St. Luke speaks of St. Paul's *disputing in the market* daily with the Athenian philosophers, Acts xvii. 17, 18. In our country the carrying on religious disputations in markets would be thought very improper, and the effect of intemperate zeal; but it would be agreeable enough in Arabia, where, it should seem, people meet in such places for conversation. Probably the *salutations in the markets*, which the Evangelists tell us the pharisees loved⁴, were the applications people in discourse were wont to make to them, in order to decide the matters they were controverting; so the multitude saluted our Lord in this manner, Mark ix. 15. They were extremely afraid of being *defiled* by being in markets; why then did they not abstain from such places, and transact the business of them by the intervention of others? May we not believe it was for the sake of shining in *conversations* there, and displaying their learning? Our Lord speaks also of *children* making use of markets for their puerile di-

³ In his Commentaries.
38, Luke 11, 43.

⁴ Matt. 23. 7, Mark 12.

versions, Matt. xi. 16. They were then, it seems, the common places for diversion and amusement, used by old and young: by the aged for conversation^s, by the young for piping and dancing.

2. They held their markets in their *gates*, it should seem, anciently, from what is said 2 Kings vii. 1, 18, where we read that a measure of fine flour was to be sold for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel, in the *gate of Samaria*. It doth not appear why the gate should be mentioned, if it was not considered as the public market, where the spoils of the Syrians were to be sold. In their *gates* then, or in a *void space* at the entrance of their gates, see 1 Kings xxii. 10, they held their markets and their courts of judicature both; as afterwards, it should seem, when their *gates* were not used for these purposes, the same place that served for

The supposed scene of the first assembly, or moral discourse, of the exquisite Arabian writer *Hariri*, entitled *Sanaensis*, seems to have been such an open and public place: It should not then have been represented, I apprehend, as it is by the learned Chappelow, in the preface to his translation, as “the subject of a *friendly society* at Sanaa, in “*Arabia Felix*.” It appears from the manner of his withdrawal, p. 7, that the orator was supposed to be unknown, and that it was to be understood to be an occasional discourse, pronounced by a Dervise, an Eastern religious beggar, who had gathered a great number of people about him, in some market, or some such open place, preaching to them there the precepts of religion. We meet with accounts in travellers of such public discourses of their Religious.

the

the one was made use of for the other, Acts xvi. 19.

People then might *fit in the gate* anciently for *conversation and diversion*, as they do now, among the Arabs, in *markets and fairs*. It seems most natural to interpret Lot's fitting in the gate, Gen. xix. 1, after this manner. Certainly he did not sit there as a magistrate, for had that been his character, they could not have reproached him, though a stranger, with setting up to be a judge, ver. 9; nor can we imagine he sat there purposely to invite *all* strangers to his house, that would have been carrying his *hospitality to an excess*, it being enough for one in private life to receive such as came in his way: he seems then to have placed himself there for amusement and society. Pf. lxxix. 12. may be interpreted either way—*Men of rank and influence in life speak against me*; or, *the children of my people, in their leisure hours, when they assemble in the gate for conversation, speak against me, and I am the song of the drunkard*.

If we suppose the Jews were wont to have *moral and wise* discourses in their gates, as the Arabs are supposed by *Hariri* to have had in public places, and as the Athenian Philosophers are supposed by St. Luke to have held in their markets, Acts xvii. 17, 18, there will appear a much greater energy in those words of Solomon, than is commonly apprehended, Prov. i. 20, 21, "*Wisdom* crieth without, she uttereth her voice
" in

“ in the *streets*: she crieth in the chief place
 “ of concourse, in the *opening of the gates*,”
 &c; and again, ch. viii. 3, “ She crieth at
 “ the *gates*, at the *entry of the city*,” &c.
 The *synagogues* were, in later times, the places
 for *Jewish instruction*; but are we sure there
 were *synagogues* in the days of Solomon?

OBSERVATION LXXII.

Nothing is more common, in the East,
 than the comparing princes to *lions*, or bet-
 ter known to those that are acquainted with
 their writings; but the comparing them to
crocodiles, if possessed of *naval power*, or
 strong by a *watery* situation, has hardly ever
 been mentioned.

D’Herbelot, however, cites¹ an Eastern
 Poet, who celebrating the prowess of Gela-
 leddin, surnamed Mankberni, and Khovar-
 ezme Schach, a most valiant Persian Prince,
 said, “ He was dreadful as a *lion* in the
 “ field, and not less terrible in the water
 “ than a *crocodile*.”

The power of the ancient Kings of *Ægypt*
 seems to be represented after the same man-
 ner, by the Prophet Ezekiel, ch. xxix. 3,
 “ Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh King
 “ of *Ægypt*, the great *dragon*, (the great
 “ *crocodile*,) that lieth in the midst of his
 “ rivers, which hath said, My river is mine
 “ own, and I have made it myself.” In

¹ Bibliothéque Orient. p. 371.

his xxxi^d chapter 2^d verse, the same Prophet makes use of both the similes, I think, of the panegyrist of Gelaleddin: “ Take up
 “ a lamentation for Pharaoh King of Ægypt, and say unto him, Thou art like a
 “ *young lion* of the nations, and thou art as
 “ a whale (a *crocodile*) in the seas: and thou
 “ camest forth with (or from) thy rivers,
 “ and troubledst the waters with *thy feet*,
 “ and fouledst their rivers.”

It is very odd in our translators, to render the original word *whale*, and at the same time talk of *feet*; nor indeed are *rivers* the abode of the whale, it's bulk is too great to admit of that: the term *dragon*, which is thrown into the margin, is the preferable version: which word in our language, as the Hebrew word in the original, is, I think, *generic*, and includes the several species of oviparous quadrupeds, if not those of the serpentine kind². A crocodile is, without doubt, the creature the Prophet means; and the comparison seems to point out the puissance of the Ægyptian Kings of antiquity, powerful by *sea* as well as by land.

² A collation of the several passages of the Old Testament, in which the word translated dragons occurs, confirms this description, but will not easily allow us to suppose the *jackall* could ever be meant. See Dr. Shaw, p. 174, note 2.

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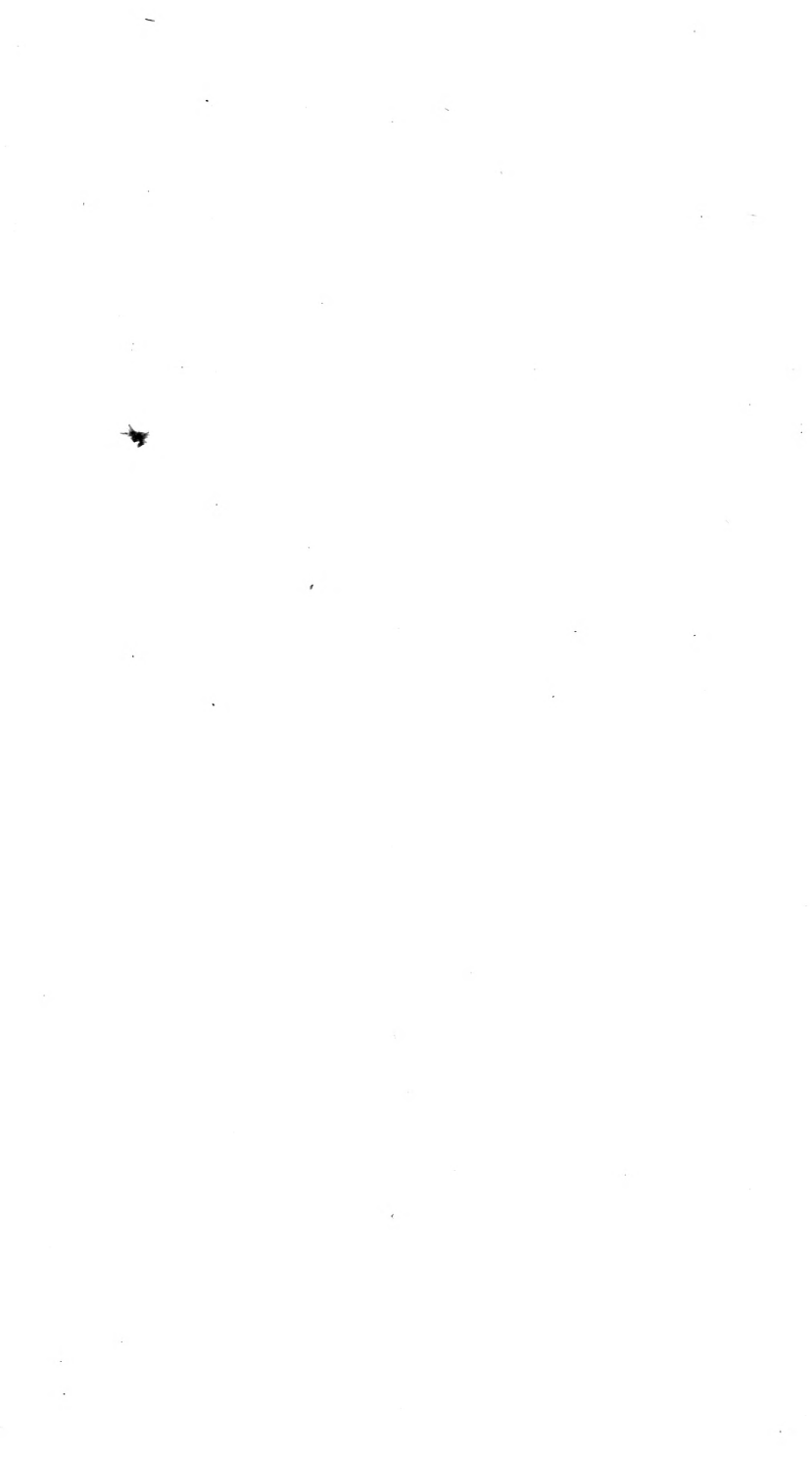
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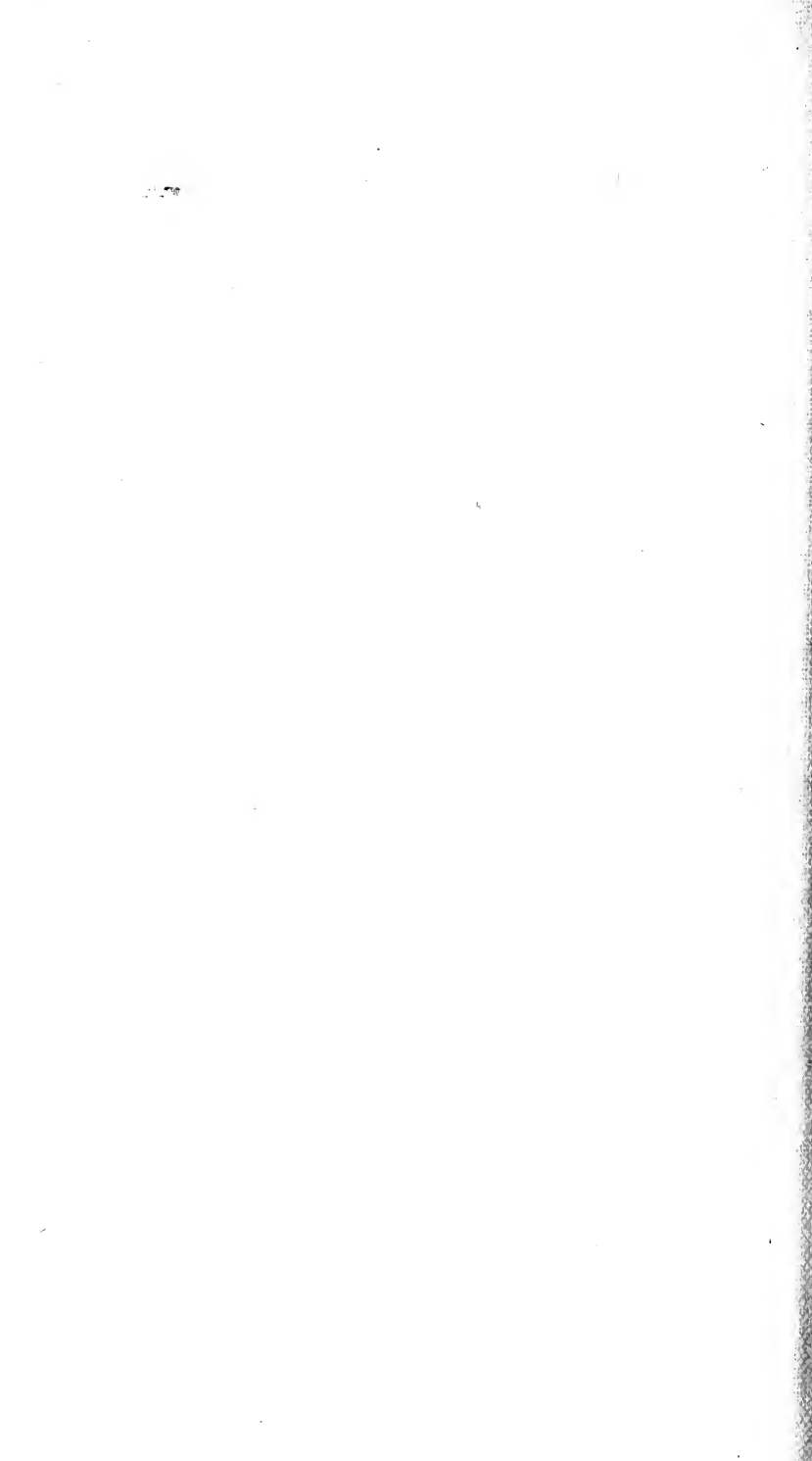
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