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By A. J. Stanley Oct 1820

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 ADDITIONAL VOLUMES.
TOGETHER WITH
A SPECIMEN OF SIMILAR
OBSERVATIONS ON THE CLASSICS,
AND ON
JOSEPHUS AND ST. JEROME,
PLACED AFTER THE PREFACE.

VOL. IV. RELATING TO
VII. Their Books.
VIII. The NATURAL, CIVIL, and MILITARY State of JUDÆA.
IX. ÆGYPT, it's adjoining WILDERNESS, and the RED-SEA.
X. MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS.

Sanctam Scripturam *lucidius* intuebitur, qui Judæam *oculis* contemplatus fit.
S. HIERON, in lib. Paralip. præfatio.

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OBSERVATIONS

ON

Divers Passages of HOLY SCRIPTURE.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning their Books.

OBSERVATION CXXI.

WHATEVER materials the ancient Jews wrote upon, they were liable to be *easily destroyed* by the dampness, when hidden in the earth. It was therefore thought requisite to inclose them in something that might keep them from the damp, lest they should decay and be rendered useless^{*}.

^{*} So we find our *parchments* are very apt to decay that are kept in moist places, as well as our *modern paper*. Our pictures also prove that moisture is very injurious to *painted cloth*, and must be more so where oil is not used. Writing on silk was not then known, which some later Eastern writers have supposed should be made use of, in committing things to writing that were highly valued, according to d'Herbelot, in the article *Macamat*.

In those days of roughness, when war knew not the softening of later times, men were wont to bury in the earth every part of their property that could be concealed after that manner, not only silver and gold, but wheat, barley, oil, and honey¹; vestments² and *writings* too³.

For that, I apprehend, was the occasion of Jeremiah's ordering, that the writings he delivered to Baruch, mentioned in his thirty-second chapter, should be put into an *earthen vessel*.

The experience of preceding ages must have informed him, that lying in the earth, *naked and uninclosed*, would soon bring on decay; if not, he had had himself a proof of it. "Take
" the girdle that thou hast got," said the Lord to him, "which is upon thy loins, and
" arise, go to Euphrates, and *hide* it there in
" a hole of the rock. So I went, and hid it
" by Euphrates, as the Lord commanded
" me. And it came to pass after many days,
" that the Lord said unto me, Arise, go to
" Euphrates, and take the girdle from thence,
" which I commanded thee to hide there.
" Then I went to Euphrates, and digged,
" and took the girdle from the place where
" I had hid it: and behold, *the girdle was*
" *marred*; it was profitable for nothing⁴."

To obviate this, and preserve what was bu-

¹ Jer. 41. 8.

² Josh. 7. 21.

³ Jer. 32. 14.

⁴ Jer. 13. 4-7.

ried more effectually, the ancient Ægyptians made use of *earthen urns*, or *pots of a proper shape* for receiving what they wanted to inter in the earth, and which without such care would have soon been destroyed. Maillet, describing the place in which those people used to bury their embalmed birds, represents it as *a subterraneous labyrinth, from which persons could not disengage themselves, were it not for the help of a line of packbread. It's several alleys are adorned, on each side, with many small niches, in which are found stone-vessels and pots of earth, in which are inclosed embalmed birds, which turn to dust as soon as touched. What is admirable in this affair is, that all the variety and liveliness of the colouring of their plumage is preserved*¹.

If they buried in *earthen pots* the things they wanted to preserve in Ægypt, whose subterraneous caverns are so dry, and covered with several feet of burning sand; the prophet Jeremiah might well suppose it proper to inclose those writings in an *earthen pot*, which were to be buried in *Judæa*, in some place where they might be found without much difficulty on their return from captivity.

Two different writings, or small rolls of writing, called *books*, in the original Hebrew, (their books being only each of them a roll of writing, and these consequently being properly *little books*, according to their notions of

¹ Let. 7, p. 286.

things,) were evidently to be inclosed in this earthen vessel, and commentators have been terribly embarrassed to give any probable account why there were two writings: one sealed; the other open—according as it is commonly understood, the one *sealed up*; the other left *open* for any one to read. One cannot imagine any cause why there should be this distinction made between them, when both were presently to be *hid from every eye*, by being buried in some secret place; and both were to be examined at the return from the captivity. No account indeed that is tolerably probable has been given, that I know of, why there should be two distinct writings for this sale of land; but still less, why one should be sealed up, and the other left open.

I would then remark, that though one of them is said to be *sealed*, it doth not follow that it was sealed in such a manner as not to be opened. Many a conveyance of land has been *sealed* among us, and rendered valid to all intents and purposes, without ever being secured so as not to be read. The distinction of one from the other by the circumstance of it's being *sealed*, while the second was *open*, seems to have been the cause of it's being understood to have been sealed up so as not to be opened; to which probably may be added, their recollecting the circumstance of a book being sealed, which on that account could not be read, mentioned by the prophet Isaiah, chap. xxix. 11. But though a *letter*,
which

which in their style might be called a *book*, might often be so sealed, it doth not at all follow, nor, I should think, is it at all probable, that the book of the purchase of an estate, upon it's being sealed so as to become valid, was sealed so as to be shut up that none could read it. Let us drop then the idea of it's being hidden from the eye, and only sealed so as to be valid: probably not with *wax*; but, according to the present Eastern manner, with *ink*.

Next it is to be observed, that the word translated *open* (the evidence or book which was *open*) is not that which is twice made use of Nehemiah viii. 5. “And Ezra *open-* “*ed* the book in the sight of all the peo- “ple, (for he was above all the people,) “and when he *opened* it, all the people stood “up¹ ;” but is a word which signifies the revealing future events unto the minds of men, by a divine agency², and it is, in particular, made use of in the book of Esther, to express a book's making known the decree of an earthly king, chap. viii. 13. “The copy “of the writing, for a commandment to be “given in every province, *was published* unto “all people,” or *revealed*, as it is translated in the margin. They that look on the original, will find it is the same Hebrew verb

¹ Nor that used Neh. 6. 5, where mention is made of an *open letter*; nor that in Dan. 7. 10, which speaks of sitting in judgment, and *opening books*.

² 1 Sam. 3. 7, 21, Dan. 2. 19, 30, ch. 10. 1.

with that used in this 32d of Jeremiah, and the very same participle of that verb. The *open book* then of Jeremiah seems to signify, not it's being then lying open or unrolled before them, while the other was sealed up; but the book that had *revealed* the will of God, to bring back Israel into their own country, and to cause *buying and selling of houses and lands* again to take place among them.

It appears, from the beginning of the 30th chapter, that *Jeremiah* had been commanded to *write down* the declaration God had made to him by the Prophetic Spirit, concerning the bringing back the captivity of Israel and Judah, and their repossessing the land given to their fathers¹; now that writing, or the copy of some other similar prophecy, he produced upon this transaction, and commanded Baruch to inclose them both in the same earthen vessel, which might be exhibited afterwards as a proof of the veracity of their prophets. I apprehend then the open book means a *book of prophecy*, opening and revealing the future return of Israel, and should somehow have been so expressed as to convey that thought to the reader's mind, not as a little volume not sealed up, in contradistinction from the state of the other little book ordered to be buried along with it, which was the purchase-deed.

¹ See ver. 3.

The commentators I have seen do not give any such account. *Calvin* comes the nearest to it; but he only tells us, that he could not but believe, that a prediction of Israel's possessing again houses, and fields, and vineyards, must have been written in these two little books. But he supposed, according to the common notion, one was sealed up, and the other left open; and appears not to have apprehended, that the prediction was contained in *one volume*, and the deed of purchase properly sealed in the *other*, much less that this was meant by the using these two different words. At least nothing of this sort appears in the account Pool has given of his sentiments, in the Synopsis.

OBSERVATION CXXII.

I have elsewhere observed, that the Oriental books and letters, which are wont both of them to be rolled up, are usually wrapped in a covering of an elegant kind: I would here add, that they have sometimes *words* on these coverings, which give a *general* notion of what is contained in them; which management it seems obtained in *much elder times*, and might *possibly* be in use when some of the Psalms were written.

Sir John Chardin, describing the manner of dismissing the ambassadors and envoys that were at the court of the *Persian* monarch,

narch, when he was there, after mentioning the presents that were made them, goes on to inform us, “ That the letters to the crowned heads were sealed. That for the cardinal patron was open¹. That for the pope was formed so as to be larger than the rest ; it was inclosed in a bag of very rich brocade, and sealed at the ends, which had fringes hanging down the bag half-way. The seal was applied to the place where the knot was, on both sides, upon red wax, of the diameter of a piece of fifteen sols, and very thick. Upon the middle of one of the sides of the bag were written these two Persian words, *Hamel Fasel*, which signify, *excellent or precious writing*².” After which he goes on to explain the reasons that occasion the Persian prince to treat the popes with such distinguished honour, which it would be of no use to consider here. The remark I would make relates to the inscription, on the outside of the rich bag inclosing these dispatches, and which, in few words, expressed the general nature of what was contained in the roll within: it was a *royal writing*.

This practice of writing on the outside of the case of a letter, or book rolled up, seems to be at least as ancient as the time of *Chrysofom*, according to a note of Lambert Bos

¹ The ambassador was a *Dominican monk*.

² Voyage, tome 3, p. 246.

on the 39th Psalm¹, as it is reckoned in the Septuagint, verse 7. Chrysoftom, we are told there, remarks, that they call a wrapper² the *Κεφαλαις*, which is the word the Septuagint Translators make use of to express the Hebrew word we translate volume: “In the volume of the book it is written of me.” Chrysoftom then seems to suppose there was written *in* or *on* the covering of the sacred volume, a word or words which signified the *coming of the Messiah*. But Chrysoftom would hardly have thought of such an interpretation, had it not been frequently done at *Constantinople* in his time, or by the more Eastern princes that had business to transact with the Greek emperors, or been known to have been before those times practised among the Jews.

Chrysoftom lived in the end of the fourth century³. *Aquila*, who is believed to have lived above an hundred years earlier, and is allowed to be a most close translator of the Hebrew⁴, uses, according to *Bos*, the same word *ειλημα*, or wrapper, to express the Hebrew word we translate *volume*. He therefore supposed that what was written, to which this passage refers, was written on the covering or wrapper of the sacred books. Though not a native Jew, yet he became a profelyte to the Jewish religion, and was well versed in their affairs.

¹ Which is N^o 40 in our version. ² *Ειλημα*. ³ Vide *Cav. Hist. Lit.* ⁴ *Carpzovii, Crit. Sacra*, p. 557.

This explanation, if it may be admitted that it is not improbable, that the Jews, even of the time of David, used such short inscriptions on the outside of their books, expressive of the general nature of the contents of them, affords a much more agreeable way of rendering the word than our English term *volume*, (“In the volume of the book it is written of me,”) since every ancient Hebrew book was a volume or roll; consequently it is nothing more than saying, *In the book it is written of me*. To what purpose then is the circumstance of it’s being rolled up mentioned? But if it may be understood of the *case* in which their books were wrapped up, the thought is not only clear and distinct, but very energetic, amounting to this, that the sum and substance of the sacred books is, that *the Messiah cometh*, and that those words accordingly might be *wrote or embroidered*, with great propriety, on the wrapper or case in which they were kept.

Maran-atha (*the Lord cometh*) is a Syriac expression, which St. Paul makes use of when writing a *Greek* letter¹, and should seem, therefore, to be some form of speech frequently made use of among the people of those times, and much noted among them; perhaps then these were the very words the Jews in ancient times frequently had inscribed on the covering of their sacred books.

¹ 1 Cor. 16. 22.

A Greek scholiast, according to Lambert Bos, has remarked, that the Jews kept up their old custom till his time, of keeping their sacred books under such coverings. This may be seen in the Jewish synagogues of our times; but I never observed *any words* wrought in embroidery on those silken coverings, and suppose they are not now to be found, at least in our country.

Another translation, if I understand Bos aright, renders the word *εν Τρω*, which seems to suppose, that in his apprehension this motto was inscribed *on the cylinder*, on which books of this form are wont to be rolled. In such a case it is to be presumed, that it was written on that part of the cylinder which reached beyond the parchment, linen, or whatever material was used, and which was convenient enough for exhibiting, in brief, what the purport of the volume was. Thus I have sometimes been ready to think, that the *circle of gold*, with the name of one of our Saxon princes upon it, and ornamented after the manner of those times, might be designed to cap the end of the cylinder, or of one of the cylinders, on which some book belonging to that monarch, or relating to him, was rolled, of which ancient piece of gold an engraving is given the world, in the latter end of the seventh volume of the Archæologia, or Transactions of the Antiquarian Society. This sort of capping to
those

those cylinders was wont, I think, to be called the *Aestel*'.

There is only one remark more that I would make before I close this article, and that is, the expression, volume of a book, is made use of in two or three places, it may be, where it cannot well signify the *wrapper of a book*, but the *book itself*; and therefore is not to be considered as a tautology in other places, where I have supposed it is requisite to understand it of a case, or wrapper of a book: such, for instance, is that passage of *Jeremiah*, "Take thee a roll (or volume) of a book, and write *therein* all the words I have spoken unto thee against Israel, &c." chap. xxxvi. 2. Now here I would remark, that many things were *rolled up*, much in the shape of an ancient Jewish manuscript, which yet were not fit to write upon; the words then in this, and some other similar cases, may be understood to mean, Take thee a roll (or volume) fit to be made a book of, (fit to be written on,) where it would be no tautology, whereas in such a case as in the 40th Psalm it seems very much to resemble one, unless we understand it of the *wrapper*.

* See Dr. Milles's Observations on the *Aestel*, Archæol. Vol. 2, N° 10.

OBSERVATION CXXIII.

I have, in a preceding volume, in making observations on the Eastern *books*, taken notice of the liveliness of their images; though the genius of their writers received no assistance from the labours of the sculptor or the painter, it may be agreeable to add to former instances an Eastern description of the *Spring*.

Two of the three classes of medals which Mr. Addison has exhibited and explained, consist of *allegorical* personages—cities and countries, virtues and vices, and the comparing the descriptions of the Roman poets with their coins, is both ingenious and pleasing; but there is no opportunity of making such a comparison when we are examining Eastern writers. They are however not deficient in giving their readers some lively representations of allegorical personages.

Especially the sacred writers. In them we find countries and cities described after this *emblematical* manner¹, and other allegorical personages². And as thus the several *stages of human life*, the *four quarters of the year*, the several *divisions of the day*, are represented among us by *fictitious personages*; so in like manner in the Jewish prophets we read of the

¹ Jer. 6. 2. Jf. 23. 15, 16. Ezek. 16. 3, &c.

² Hab. 3. 5. Pf. 91. 5, 6. Rev. 6. 5—8.

womb of the morning, of the dew of youth, of the flower of man's age, and a time of life that resembles a *shock of corn fully ripe*.

And thus, amidst the *present* austerity, and perhaps superstitious scrupulosity of the East, we sometimes meet with lively images of this kind. So the *Spring* is described in a most pleasingly romantic manner, in two of the four following lines, of which the sense is as follows, as given us by *Chardin* from an Oriental writer :

The *Spring* shows itself with a *tulip* in it's hand, which resembles in it's form a *cup*,
 To make an *effusion* of morning drops on the tomb of the king who lies in Negef¹.
 In this same new-year's day Ali being placed on the seat of the prophet,
 He has made the festival of new-year's day a glorious one².

The author of a paper, that describes the four quarters of the year, and even each month, in a beautiful *symbolical* manner, given us in a celebrated collection³, represents the Spring as a beautiful youth having a *narcissus* in his hand ; the tulip of this Eastern writer is much more accurate, as, according to Dr. Ruffell⁴, the narcissus comes into flower long before the day the Spring is supposed to begin, (which is when the sun enters Aries,) being

¹ Ali, the son-in-law of Mohammed, one of the great objects of Persian veneration, is the prince here meant.

² Chardin, tome I, p. 173.

³ Spectator, N^o 425.

⁴ P. 12, 13.

in blossom during the whole of the *Maarbainc*, which begins the 12th of December, and ends January 20th. The tulip blossoms later, but in that country time enough to be placed in the hand of this imaginary person, at its first appearance.

The *form* of the tulip too, much better suited the views of this elder writer, as much more proper for the holding what was liquid, than the *flat* make of the narcissus: "The tulip which resembles a cup." Not however a *cup for drinking*, that appears not to have been his thought, but a *vase designed to give out its contained fluid in drops*, which kind of vessels are often used in the East, for the sprinkling those they would honour with odoriferous waters, made sometimes like a *long-necked bottle*¹, but might as well be made without the long neck, and in shape like a tulip, before it is opened, and its leaves spread out. By such a vessel, in form like a tulip whose petals are nearly closed together, an *effusion may be made of many drops*.

Every body knows that the *dew* appears in *drops in the morning*, and as the day advances they disappear: the Scriptures frequently refer to this circumstance². They too first begin to appear on the approach of warm weather. It is no wonder then, that the appearance of these pleasing and enlivening drops of the

¹ Niebuhr, Descript: de l'Arabie, tab. 1.

² Exod. 16. 13, 14. Hof. 6. 4.

morning is introduced into a description of Spring.

The introducing also an allusion to the Eastern manner, of softening the horror of the repositories of the dead, is very amusing to the imagination, and a beauty in this description. They are wont to strew flowers and pleasing herbs, or leaves of trees, on the sepulchres of their friends; but more than that Dr. Shaw tells us, that the intermediate spaces between their graves are frequently planted with flowers¹, as at other times paved with tiles. We meet with the like account in some other writers. Now in such cases, the same respect for the dead that leads the people of these countries to visit their graves, and to cover them with flowers, must excite them to water those vegetables that are planted on or near these graves, in a dry time, that they may flourish, and yield their perfumes. With reference to such a management, the Spring is here represented as covering the burial-place of *Ali*, a prince whose memory the Persians hold in the highest veneration, with *enlivening drops of dew*.

This however is to be considered as a *mere poetical embellishment*, for the tomb of *Ali* does not lay open to the dew or the rain, but is under the shelter of a most sumptuous mosque, whose dome, and two towers, are said to be covered with the most precious materials of

¹ P. 219.

any roof in the world—Copper so richly gilt, as that every eight square inches and an half are coated by a toman of gold, equal to ten German crowns, which makes it look extremely superb, especially when the sun shines¹.

It cannot be certainly determined, by the French translation of these verses, whether these verses represent the Spring in the person of one of the *male* or of the *female* sex; but it should seem most probable that he meant a *female*, those of that sex being much more assiduous in visiting, and adorning the tombs of those they love or esteem than the men.

Upon the whole, the *imagery* of this allegorical description appears to be very beautiful.

OBSERVATION CXXIV.

In like manner the images with which Solomon introduces his description of old age, seem to me to be designed to represent it as the *winter of human life, in general*, and not as a part of that enumeration of its *particular* evils, which he afterwards gives us in a collection of hieroglyphics, which have been not a little puzzling to the learned, when they have attempted to decypher them with clearness and conviction.

¹ Voyages de Niebuhr en Arabie, & en d'autres Pays, tome 2d, p. 210.

Among others, the very learned and ingenious *Dr. Mead*, proposing in the declining part of his life to explain and illustrate the diseases mentioned in Scripture, has appropriated a chapter of that work to the consideration of Solomon's description of old age, in the 12th of *Ecclesiastes*.

It is not to be supposed, that any body was better qualified to describe the attendants on old age than this writer, in a *medical* way; but it is much to be questioned, whether such a *scientific investigation* is the best comment on an ancient poem, written indeed by the greatest naturalist in his day¹, but designed for *common* use, and for the making impressions, in particular, on the hearts of the *young*. A more *popular* explanation than is most likely to be truer, if founded on Eastern customs, and the state of things in those countries.

It will be of advantage too, I apprehend, to divide the paragraph into parts, contrary to the Doctor's supposition, who seems to think that the 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th verses are to be understood as forming *one* emblematical catalogue, of the usual afflictive attendants on old age. This has unhappily *multiplied* particulars, and added to the embarrassment.

On the contrary, I should think it most natural to understand the 2d verse as a general allegorical representation of the decline of life, as being *it's winter*; the 3d, 4th, and

¹ 1 Kings 4. 30, 33.

part of the 5th verse, as descriptive of the *particular bitternesses* of that part of life; after that, as mentioning death and the grave; and the 6th verse, as emblematically representing the state of the body *after death*, before its dissolving into dust.

It is, I am inclined to think, as if Solomon should design to say, *Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth, before the evil days come, and the winter of human life overtakes thee; before that painful variety of complaints, belonging to old age, distress thee; which must be expected to end in death; before thy body shall be deposited, ghastly, motionless, and irrecoverably lost to the life of this present state, in the grave, where it will be laid, ere long, in expectation of it's return to dust, according to the solemn sentence pronounced on our great progenitor, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return."*

To this last part of the paragraph agrees a preceding exhortation of this royal preceptor, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might: for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave whither thou goest¹." In the first part he calls men to a due remembrance of their Creator, in other words to a life of religion, in the days of their youth, before the *winter* of old age should come, or those many

¹ Ch. 9. 10.

ailments and complaints take place, which commonly attend that stage of life.

I suppose then that the words, (ver. 2d,) “ While the *sun*, or the *light*, or the *moon*, “ or the *stars* be not *darkened*, nor the *clouds* “ *return after the rain*,” is a description of *winter*, not of *diseases*: and to make this out is the first point to be attended to.

It is unnecessary to cite passages to prove, that *old age* is frequently compared to the *evening* of a day, or the *wintry* part of the year, by modern writers in the *West*; as youth, on the contrary, is among them compared to the *spring* and the *morning*: but it may be requisite to shew that the same way of thinking obtains in the *East*.

This is not difficult to do. Sir John Chardin, giving a translation of many pieces of *Persian* poetry, in his 2d tome¹, informs us, that a copy of verses, written in praise of an Atabek prince, whose name was Mahomed, the son of Aboubekre, begins with two lines, which signify,

“ Happy *youthfulness*, brilliant *morning*, generous heart,
“ Which wears the gravity of age, on a youthful countenance.”

Here *youthfulness* and *morning* are used as equivalent terms in *Eastern poetic language*. On the contrary, “ *Rocoub alcaousag*,” according to d’Herbelot², are words which fig-

¹ P. 195. ² Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 718.

nify “ the cavalcade of the *old man* without
 “ a beard. It is the name of a festival that
 “ the ancient *Perfians* celebrated at the end of
 “ winter, in which a bald old man, and
 “ without a beard, mounted on an afs, and
 “ holding a *raven* in one of his hands, went
 “ about striking all he met with a switch.”
 This figure represented *winter*.

Winter then, according to the taste of the *East*, as well as of the people of the *West*, was thought to be properly represented by an old man, far advanced in years. Consequently the converse of this must have appeared natural to them : old age by winter.

On the other hand, those words of Solomon in the second verse will be found, on examination, to be an exact delineation of an Eastern winter: hardly a *cloud*, according to Dr. Russell, is to be seen all summer¹, but the winter is frequently dark and gloomy, and often dark clouds soon return, and pour down a fresh deluge, after a great deal of rain had descended just before², whereas after the first rains of autumn there is frequently a considerable interval of fine weather before it rains again³.

As then this 2d verse is such an exact description of their winters; as winter is by

¹ Descr. of Aleppo, p. 13.

² P. 149, 150, 157, 175, 177. See also citations in the 1st vol. of these Observ. from other writers.

³ P. 14, 155, &c.

them represented by an old man; and as Solomon passes on from one complaint to another in the 3d and 4th verses, without such a distinction between them as he makes between the 2d and 3d verses; I think that, instead of explaining the darkening of the sun, the moon, and the stars, and even of the common degree of light in a cloudy day, of one of the ailments of old age, as Dr. Mead has done; we are rather to understand him as speaking of old age *under the notion of winter*, rising from the plain and simple description of “evil days,” and years, concerning which we are obliged to say, we “have no pleasure in them,” to a more *elevated, a figurative and emblematical* representation of that time of life which is the *reverse of youth*. Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth, before evil days come, and the years draw nigh, in which thou wilt find little or no pleasure; in one word, before the winter of life commences, that gloomy season.

OBSERVATION CXXV.

As the *human body* is frequently in the Scripture compared to an *house*, inhabited by the *soul* with its various powers¹, or other spiritual beings², so Solomon here makes use of the same thought in the *first* part of his em-

¹ 2 Cor. 5. 1. ² Matt. 12. 45. Luke 11. 26.

blematical description of the sorrows of old age; from whence with the unconfined, and seemingly to us irregular operation of an Oriental genius, he passes on to images of a quite different and unconnected kind—"In the
 " day when the *keepers* of the HOUSE shall
 " tremble, and the *strong men* shall bow
 " themselves, and the *grinders* cease (or fail)
 " because they are few, and those *that look*
 " *out of the windows* be darkened, and the
 " *doors shall be shut* in the streets, when the
 " *found of the grinding is low,*" &c.

It ought also farther to be observed here, that as Solomon compares the body to an HOUSE in a *considerable* part of this description, so it is apparent that he represents it not as a *cottage*, inhabited by a *solitary* person, but, more conformably to the circumstances of the *writer*¹ and the *pupil*², as a *palace full of people*.

But to dismiss preliminaries. Old age frequently brings on the *loss of sight*: "When
 " Isaac was *old*, and his eyes were dim, so that
 " *he could not see*, he called Esau his eldest
 " son," Gen. xxvii. 1; "The eyes of Israel
 " were *dim for age*, so that *he could not see*,"
 ch. xlviii. 10; in like manner we read, concerning one of the prophets, "Ahijah *could*

¹ The son of David, king of Jerusalem, ch. 1. 1.

² Whom he calls his son, ch. 12. 12, and probably meant one of his own children by that term, though it indeed sometimes means only a younger person.

“ *not see*, for his eyes were set *by reason of his age*,” 1 Kings xiv. 4. It is a common complaint.

It will easily be imagined that *blindness*, and the *impairing* of the sight, is meant by that emblem, “ Those that look out of the windows shall be *darkened*.” Different as men’s apprehensions have been as to the other clauses, all seem to agree in the explanation of this; it may, however, perhaps admit a clearer illustration than has been given of it.

The word which expresses those who look out of the windows is *feminine*, and the allusion seems to be to the circumstances of the *females* of the East, who, though confined much more to the *house* than those of Europe are, and afraid to show themselves to strangers even *there*, are sometimes indulged with the pleasure of looking out of the *windows*, when any thing remarkable is to be seen, or of assembling on the house-top on such occasions¹. But in common the shutters of those next the street are closed, not only to keep out the heat of the sun from their rooms, but for privacy too, their windows being only latticed, and consequently too public for such a jealous people.

So among the ancient Jews, though the women had more liberty, it should seem, than the females of those countries in our times,

¹ Irwin’s Voyage up the Red-Sea, p. 48.

yet they were wont not to go out, when the men crowded the streets, but to look at what passed *through the windows*. Thus we read, Judges v. 28, “The mother of Sisera looked out at “ a *window*, and cried *through the lattice*, Why “ is his chariot so long in coming?” And we are told, that upon occasion of introducing the ark into the city of David, with music and dancing, and all the people in solemn procession, *Michal* his consort, the daughter of King Saul, and consequently his principal wife, was not there, but *looked through a window to see the magnificent cavalcade*, 2 Sam. vi. 16.

But when the *shutters are closed*, as Dr. Shaw tells us those that open into the street commonly are¹, they lose the pleasure of seeing what passes abroad in the world; though they doubtless feel the impressions of *curiosity* as strongly as the women of the North and the West, and may with great eagerness desire to see what is transacted there.

How lively this image! how severely are the blind wont to regret the loss of their sight, and eagerly wish to see what passes abroad in the world! But in old age, often and often, in the figurative language of Solomon, “ the “ women that look out of the windows are “ darkened.”

But besides the dignified women of an Eastern palace, *the wives and the daughters*,

¹ P. 207.

that might be curious to view what passed in the streets, *there were strong men entertained there as keepers of the house*, to guard it from danger: so when Uriah the Hittite, one of David's mighty men¹, came from the camp to that prince, as if to answer some questions concerning the state of the army, instead of retiring to his house upon his being dismissed, he slept, the sacred historian tells us, "at the door of the king's house with *all the servants of his Lord*, and went not down to his house²." So a guard kept the door of Rehoboam's house, *who bare the shields of brass that prince made instead of the 300 of gold his predecessor had*³, (*which Shishak king of Ægypt took away*,) when Rehoboam went into the house of the Lord, and who at his return brought them back into the guard-chamber⁴.

Such keepers of the door of his palace Solomon, the intermediate prince between David and Rehoboam, without doubt, had, and to these he alludes in the two clauses, "In the day when the *keepers of the house* shall tremble, and the *strong men* shall bow themselves:" and to their trembling at the approach of an adversary they were unable to resist, and their bowing down with submission before him.

So when *Jebu* slew his predecessor *Joram*,

¹ 2 Sam. 23. 39. ² Ch. 11. 9. ³ 1 Kings 10. 17.
⁴ Ch. 14. 27, 28.

and wrote to those that were charged with the oversight of the royal palace, and the taking care of his children, and consequently of *Joram's* expected successor; when *Jehu*, I say, wrote to them, and called them to stand upon their defence, they *trembled* and declared themselves ready to bow down before him as his servants, according to the prophetic historian, though expressed in somewhat different terms. “ Look even out the best and meetest of your master’s sons, and set him on his father’s throne, and fight for your master’s house. But they were exceedingly afraid, and said, Behold, two kings stood not before him: how then shall we stand? And he that was over the house, and he that was over the city, the elders also, and the bringers up of the children, sent to *Jehu*, saying, We are thy servants, and wilt do all that thou shalt bid us; we will not make any king; do thou that which is good in thine eyes.”

There is, my reader will observe, a near connexion between these two clauses, as they are accordingly closely joined together by *Solomon*, the keepers of the house, and the strong men that are kept in an Eastern palace, but distinctly mentioned, it should seem, to point out two different effects of old age: weakness of the hands united with paralytic tremblings, and the bending of the back when the body is

* 2 Kings 10. 3, 4, 5.

enfeebled by age. They are both most certainly attendants on old age, and I think may both be said to be pointed out in other places of Scripture, which I believe will be found sufficient to direct us to *all* the symptoms and complaints of old age here, without having recourse to medical writers: and if it will, such a popular account must be allowed to be most *natural*, and consequently most *probable*.

The *stooping*, or *bending of the back*, before old age brings on death, is mentioned in Scripture: "Therefore he brought upon them
 " the king of the Chaldees, who slew their
 " young men with the sword, in the house of
 " their sanctuary, and had no compassion on
 " young man or maiden, old man or him that
 " *stoopeth for age*," 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17. The *weakness of the hands*, which is frequently attended by paralytic *tremblings*, is sufficiently expressed in the beginning of the 30th chapter of Job, amidst all the obscurity that spreads itself over the last clause of the 2d verse. "But
 " now they that are younger than I, have me
 " in derision, whose fathers I would have dis-
 " dained to have set with the dogs of my
 " flock. Yea, whereunto might the *strength*
 " *of their hands* profit me, in whom old age
 " was perished?" Perhaps the true meaning of the last clause may be, "in whom old age
 " had made it (the strength of their hands)
 " to perish;" but, whether the last clause is so to be understood or not, it is evident that Job supposes the *strength of their hands* was gone

in these old people. It is to be considered then as one of the infirmities of old age; and as we find this debility of the hands is frequently attended with paralytic tremblings; so we find the Scripture speaks of *fear* as producing both effects: *trembling* is described as one of the consequences of fear, Pf. cxix. 120, Dan. v. 19, Mark v. 33, &c; as *weakness and loss of strength* is in other places, Jer. vi. 24, &c. Matt. xxviii. 4, seems to join them together, as we often find them to be by what we observe in the world, “For *fear* of him the keepers did *shake*, and became as *dead men*”—losing all their strength.

Since then Solomon plainly represents the *human* body under the notion of a *great house* or palace, and allegorically describes the decays of old age agreeably to this notion in the first part of his account of them, or in other words in the 3d verse, and beginning of the 4th, nothing can be more natural than to understand the *shaking of the hands*, and the *bending of the back*, previous to the approach of death the *king of terrors*, by the *trembling of the guards of an Eastern palace* when a stronger than he that inhabits it approaches, with a force they know to be irresistible, and the bowing down of the *strong men that are entertained* there for support with *great submissiveness*, when he that will assuredly conquer draws nigh.

This explanation of these two kindred clauses is so obvious, that, I apprehend, it is generally,

generally, if not universally, embraced: it is certain these symptoms of old age are naturally introduced; and the *allegorical* manner of speaking of them quite in the Eastern taste. The reference to Oriental occurrences is indeed all that is new thus far under this article.

The next article relates to the *female slaves*, whose business it was to grind the corn, spent in great quantities by the masters of Eastern palaces, in the time of youthful jollity and high health, but which employment was wont to decrease in the time of old age. “ And the *grinders* (in the feminine gender) “ cease because they are few,” or, as the words are translated in the margin, “ The “ grinders fail, because they grind little.”

To which may be added a clause from the 4th verse, which has a good deal of relation to this; “ And the doors shall be shut in the “ streets, when the sound of the *grinding* is “ low.”

There is a relation between these two clauses, but not such a sameness as to forbid the making them distinct parts of this celebrated description.

The first of these two clauses seems to relate to a bitterness of this time of declining life, which the *aged Barzillai* speaks of in a *very feeling* manner. “ I am this day four- “ score years old: and can I discern between “ good and evil? Can thy servant *taste what I “ eat, or what I drink?*” 2 Sam. xix. 35.

I have in a preceding volume shewn¹, that the Eastern people are wont to grind their corn every day, as they want it; and that it is done at home by the meanest of their female slaves, by small hand-mills; and that a great part of their food consists of farinaceous preparations, which they diversify by various methods, that the palate, under every alteration and change of taste the *full-fed* are apt to feel, (according to those words of Solomon elsewhere, “The full soul loatheth an honey-comb; but to the hungry soul every bitter thing is sweet²,”) may find something it may eat with relish and pleasure. The preparing a mere sufficiency of food fully to support nature would not do; but when a prince, or even a man of Barzillai’s wealth, had lost the powers of taste, and an ability to distinguish between the different flavours of what was placed upon the table, such a variety of preparations became needless, and one sort of food would do as well as fifty, on which account there would be much *less occasion for grinding corn* in his house, than in the earlier days of such a man’s life. *Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, when the powers of tasting shall be lost, on which account the grinders shall cease their labour much sooner than beforetime, because they want to grind but little.*

Rice, if it was known anciently *at all* there,

¹ Observ. vol. 1, ch. 4, obs. 4.

² Prov. 27. 7.

has been introduced into *common use* in these countries long since the age of Solomon. This is not commonly prepared among them for eating by grinding, but is stewed with different things, so as to acquire different *tastes and colours*. Chardin gives an account of a feast at Tifflis, the chief city of Georgia, where he was present, which consisted of three courses, and about sixty dishes in each course. Of which the first course, he tells us¹, *was wholly made up of different preparations of rice, in which meat or other things were mixed with the rice, so as to give the rice different colours and flavours. The yellow was prepared with sugar, cinnamon, and saffron; the red with pomegranate juice; the white was the most natural, and at the same time most agreeable.* His account of the different preparations of rice, in the form of a *pilo* (as he writes the word), is enlarged in his 2d tome², where he mentions some *as seasoned with fennel, others with the juice of cherries, or mulberries, others with tamarinds, besides twenty different sorts diversified by the means of different kinds of meat, butter, and the way of preparing them.*

If they now have so great a variety in preparing their *rice*, the great succedaneum of the *wheat and barley* of former times, we have reason to believe, that the same sense of grandeur, and difference of palate, which occasions such a variety in modern times as to rice, led

¹ Tome I, p. 141.

² P. 63.

them to *vary* their preparations from the *flour* of wheat and barley. Several of them are probably now worn out of use and remembrance. However, still there are various preparations of their flour in use in the East, of different tastes and suiting different palates. Dr. *Shaw* mentions *cuscassowe*, *hamza*, *dow-eeda* or *vermezelli*, *bagreab*¹. And Dr. *Russell* gives an account of their having different kinds of *bread*, besides a variety of *rushks* and *biscuits*, most of which are strowed on the top with seeds of *sesamum* or *fennel*².

Though *rice* then is now principally in use, they have still a variety of farinaceous preparations, which were in all probability still more numerous before *rice* was introduced; and the *splendour* with which a great man lived, in ancient times, required the grinding much more corn, than afterwards, when the variety could no longer be enjoyed.

After this manner I would explain this clause, which, I think, in a simple, but energetic, manner points out that loss of the power of *tasting*, which *Barzillai* describes as an attendant on old age.

The common way of explaining these words, by referring them to the *loss of teeth*, which certainly often attends the decline of life, doth not appear to me to be so probably the thought of *Solomon* here, though the fre-

¹ P. 230, note.² P. 80, 81.

quent application of the term *grinding* to the teeth, strongly inclines the mind to it.

My reasons against adopting such an interpretation are these. In the first place, if this interpretation of that part of the description were just, it would not be *answerable* to the other parts of the representation of old age here, which all admit is *highly allegorical*: it would be too *simple*. In the next place, if the way of preparing their food then resembled what is now in use amongst the Eastern nations, the *grinding of the teeth* was not much: the bread there being, in common, *soft like a pancake*; their *cuscawowe*, a preparation of flour in small pellets, somewhat resembling the minute fragments of spoon-puddings; and their *animal food* so thoroughly done, as to require no *knives* to cut it, being pulled into pieces by the fingers, so as to supersede the operation of much grinding by the teeth. Lastly, I would ask, would the grinding of the teeth *cease*, or not continue so long as formerly, because they were few? would not the fewness of the teeth make a *greater length of time* necessary for the grinding instead of a *less*, which Solomon supposes?

As to that clause of the 4th verse, which bears some resemblance to the last I have been explaining, “ And the doors shall be shut in
“ the streets, when the sound of the grinding
“ is low,” I should suppose it is to be explained of that *love of retirement*, and *dislike of much company*,

company, which may frequently be remarked in the aged, and which *Barzillai* strongly expressed in the above-cited place, in which he signified his desire rather to go home, to a life of privacy and retirement, than to go to *Jerusalem*, daily to converse with the courtiers of King David.

It should seem by a passage in *Isaiah*, (ch. xxiv. 10,) that *the shutting the doors of an house* was a mark, that no company of the joyous kind was expected, or desired there: “ All the merry-hearted do sigh. The mirth
“ of the tabret ceaseth, the noise of them that
“ rejoice endeth, the joy of the harp ceaseth.
“ They shall not drink wine with a song;
“ strong drink shall be bitter to them that
“ drink it. The city of confusion is broken
“ down: every house is shut up, that no man
“ may come in. There is a crying for wine
“ in the streets; all joy is darkened, the mirth
“ of the land is gone¹.”

A most ingenious and respectable author has translated this 10th verse after this manner,

“ The city is broken down; it is desolate:

“ Every house is obstructed, so that no one can enter².”

This imports, I apprehend, total desolation; whereas the 6th verse speaks of inhabitants that were left, though few in number, as doth

¹ *Is.* 24. 7—11,

² Bishop of London's new translation.

also the 13th verse. This then doth not appear to be intended to be a description of a *total*, but only of a *partial* desolation. Not to say, that where a city is entirely desolated, the houses are not, every one, so obstructed as that none can enter into them, though some may.

The celebrated Mr. Wood, in his return from *Palmyra*, found a village, which was only abandoned *for a time*, on account of some troubles that then disturbed that part of the country, whose houses were *all open*, every thing carried off, and not a living creature to be seen'. And such, surely! would have been the state of the houses in a city *quite abandoned*: the houses that were not totally demolished by the violence of war, would have been left open, not obstructed in such a manner that nobody could enter into any of them.

Accordingly I should think it not improbable, that the keeping every house shut up, is intended to express, by an *additional* circumstance, what the prophet had pointed out by a variety of other terms, namely, that the *noise of them that rejoiced was ended, that all joy was darkened, and the mirth of the land gone*.

If so, Solomon, in this his description of old age, when he says, *the doors shall be shut in the street*, is to be understood to mean, that as the aged cannot take that pleasure

* Ruins of Balbec, p. 3.

themselves in a variety of food, that they did in former times; so neither can they well bear, at their time of life, *a great deal of company*, or take pleasure in preparing *large entertainments for their friends*: they delight, on the contrary, in retirement and solitude, like the good old Gileadite¹ that attended King David as far as Jordan, in his return to Jerusalem.

Of course, as their doors are *less open* in this time of their retired age, than in the more sociable days of earlier life; so the sound of grinding, which was wont to be *long continued*, and at the same time probably made more *lively and joyous*, by the united voices² of more people than usual, employed in grinding corn for an approaching feast, and perhaps singing with greater spirit than common on such festive occasions; I say, the sound of grinding in the time of aged solitude must have been comparatively very little: the work itself much less than in former times; and the temper of the master of the house, requiring them to be more moderate in their mirth: When
 “ the doors shall be shut in the streets, when
 “ the sound of the grinding is low.”

Among other bitternesses of life, Job mentions the want of rest and sleep. “ When I
 “ lie down, I say, When shall I arise, and
 “ the night be gone? and I am full of toss-
 “ ings to and fro unto the dawning of the

¹ Barzillai. ² Observ. vol. 1, ch. 4, obs. 4, note.

“ day’.” And none feel the justness of this description more than the aged; though it is not of them immediately that Job speaks. Their want of sleep, their restlessness when in bed, and the bone-aches which disenable them from enjoying the repose of the night, with any thing like the comfort which the young feel, is well known to be frequently the situation of the aged, and seems to be referred to in that clause, “ He shall rise up at “ the voice of the bird.”

I cannot easily admit the paraphrase of Bishop *Patrick* here: “ Sound sleep departs “ from his eyes, and *he awakes early as the “ birds*, but is not pleased at all with *their “ songs*;” since it is *common to all*, the young and the healthy, as well as the aged, in the East, *to rise with the dawn*, and consequently with the *beginning of the singing of the birds*.

“ In this country,” Dr. Richard Chandler observes, “ on the account of the heat, “ *it is usual to rise with the dawn*.” He immediately after adds, *that about day-break, they received from a Greek with a respectable beard, who acted as consul for the French in that place, a present of fruit, which they had with other things for breakfast*.

Rising then with the *birds* belonged to every age in general in that country, but it is visible

¹ Job 7. 4.

² Travels in Asia Minor, p. 18.

that rising earlier than common was what Solomon meant. I should therefore apprehend, that the interpretation of Dr. *Mead* is more accurate than that of Bishop *Patrick*, who supposes the *voice of the bird* means the *crowing of the cock*, which is in the night, *before the dawning of the day*¹. Accordingly we find Solomon doth not speak of the birds in the plural, but of the *bird*, the bird whose voice was first heard in the morning of all the feathered kind, proclaiming its approach. The Septuagint indeed translates the Hebrew by the Greek word $\Sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma\theta\iota\omicron\nu$, which signifies any small bird, or particularly the sparrow; but this is not the only instance, by which it appears that those translators did not discover much judgment in their version.

The change of person in this clause may deserve some attention, as it may show the connexion of this clause with the succeeding, placing it in a somewhat different light from that in which it has been commonly viewed. Before the royal preacher represented the decays of age by what happened in an *house* to the servants, or the women; here he seems to speak of the *master* of the house, HE shall rise up at the voice of the bird, and by that means disconcert the *daughters of song*, who, after being depressed and much neglected, may become at length quite useless. This must be opened a little distinctly.

¹ The third of the four watches of the night, according to St. Mark, ch. 13. 35.

“ And all the daughters of music shall be brought low.”

The words *daughter* and *daughters* are used in the Hebrew, as well as the terms *father* and *son*, in a manner not common to the languages of the West, and with very different meanings. Sometimes the term *daughter* seems to be added to a word, without any discoverable addition to the meaning. So Pf. xvii. 8, “ Keep me as the apple of the eye” is, in the original, “ as the black (or pupil) of the daughter of the eye,” where the daughter of the eye seems to mean simply the eye: the same may be observed, Lam. ii. 18, “ Let tears run down like a river day and night, give thyself no rest, let not the apple of thine eye cease,” which is, in the original, let not “ the daughter of thine eye cease,” that is, simply, let not thine eye cease, for the pupil is not the part from which tears flow.

At other times, the words *daughter* or *daughters* seem to add to the general idea something of a particular nature. So Gen. xlix. 22, Joseph is a fruitful bough by a well, whose “ branches” (whose daughters it is in the Hebrew) “ run over the wall:” here the word *daughters* apparently mean the *lesser bearing boughs*. Bath Kol, (*the daughter of a voice*,) is a well-known expression among the Jews, which signifies, with them, not every voice that is heard, but a voice supposed to have something *oracular* in it.

It may be difficult then, with nice precision to ascertain the meaning of the words, "All the daughters of music," or rather, all the daughters of *song*. Women, and those probably both young and virgins, were undoubtedly employed in singing in the ancient Jewish palaces, for *Barzillai*, when he declined going to reside with the king in Jerusalem, says, "Can I hear any more the voice of singing-men and *singing-women*? wherefore then should thy servant be yet a burden to the king?" 2 Sam. xix. 35. But then *men* were equally employed. The daughters of song therefore, it should seem, mean not *restrictively* female singers, but probably every thing belonging to song, *persons of both sexes, instruments of all descriptions*'—every thing concerned in song.

If the master of a great house rose before dawn, he prevented the music of the morning, and disappointed the musicians of the house; but their being brought low, or absolutely depressed, seems to mean something more, and may probably point at that *deafness* of which *Barzillai* complained, in the words just now cited, and which is such a frequent attendant on old age.

To make *every* reader comprehend the meaning of the last paragraph, it may be re-

¹ And accordingly it has been observed, that the verb *shall be brought low* is not feminine, which shows the word *daughters* doth not mean women precisely speaking, but is to be understood of *every thing* belonging to song.

quisite to observe, that, according to the Arabian Nights' Entertainments', the music in the Eastern palaces is supposed to play when the prince *begins to rise*, the premature quitting the bed then before the day dawned, must have been disconcerting to the royal musicians; but if deafness took place, their music must be entirely useless as to the prince, and might occasion their being brought low by a total dismissal, as David was dismissed by Saul, after having played before him for some time², when the evil spirit of melancholy troubled him. "Can I hear the voice of singing-men or singing-women?" said Barzillai.

Feeble and tottering steps, which require the support of a *staff*, are another attendant on old age, according to the prophet Zechariah, ch. viii. 4: "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, There shall yet old men and old women dwell in the streets of Jerusalem, and every man with his *staff* in his hand for *very age*."

And to this effect of old age those clauses of this 12th of Eccl. *literally* refer, "Also when they shall be afraid of that which is high, and fears shall be in the way;" but they are designed, I presume, to point out the extreme unfitness of old age, particularly in princes, to conduct dangerous enterprizes.

Dr. Chandler frequently complains, in his

¹ Vol. 9, p. 21, &c.

² 1 Sam. 17. 15.

travels, of the troublesome and dangerous ascending and descending *high hills* that he had to pass over, in his journeying in the Lesser Asia; Mr. Maundrell makes the like complaint, as to several parts of his way from Aleppo to Jerusalem. An aged person must have found it more dangerous still. Nay, the shuffling and tottering steps of old age might make people afraid of their travelling in less mountainous roads, as a staff is by no means a *sure* preservative against falling. These clauses refer, I should apprehend, to this well-grounded concern for the aged. Nor was travelling on horses or asses quite safe in many of those roads, as they often found it necessary to alight in places; and if they did not, a consciousness of the want of agility might well make them frequently tremble, and their attendants for them, of whom this clause seems to speak. *They shall be afraid* (tremble for them) on account of what is high.

Dr. Mead was not willing to allow that the next clause, “And the *almond-tree* shall flourish,” was designed to express *gray-headedness*, though it is very commonly so interpreted.

Dr. Mead objects to this explanation, among other things, that the *colour* of the *flowers of the almond-tree* doth not agree to an *hoary* head, as they are not *white*, but *purple*¹.

¹ Medica Sacra, p. 44. Præterea, quod de amygdali floribus aiunt, huic rei minime convenire videtur, qui non album sed purpureum colorem exhibent.

As to this I would observe, that they are, according to the account of others, *white*, with a *purple-tinge*, so light as to be whiter than a *peach-blossom*¹; and so as to lead *Hasselquist*, when describing the beauties of the spring about *Smyrna*, to tell us, *that he found the almond-tree, on the 14th of February, snow-white with blossoms, adorning the rising grounds in the neighbourhood of that city*². If *Hasselquist* represented the almond-trees as *snow-white*, a writer of the age of Solomon may well be supposed to compare an hoary head to an almond-tree in blossom, as the ancients, especially *poets*, are by no means exact in describing colours: a general agreement satisfies them³.

The *hair* of the Eastern people is almost universally *dark*⁴; an old man then, with a white-head, appears, among those that are young, somewhat like an almond-tree in blossom, among the dark unclothed twigs of other trees.

The Doctor's explaining it of the deadening the sense of smelling in the aged, is by no means natural.

Farther: Whether gray-headedness be, or

¹ Lemery, Dict. des Drogues, Art. Amygdala. ² P. 28.

³ Thus even St. John represents our Lord as saying, "Look on the fields, for they are *white* already to harvest." Others represent the corn then as of the colour of *gold*, and, rigidly speaking, it is undoubtedly more yellow than white.

⁴ Russell, p. 78.

be not, what is emblematically called the *flourishing of the almond-tree*, the gray-headedness of the aged is frequently mentioned in the Scriptures, and therefore, one would think, would be hardly omitted in this description of Solomon. “*I am old and gray-headed,*” said Samuel to Israel, when he was giving up the government of that people, 1 Sam. xii. 2; “*With us are both the gray-headed and very aged men, much elder than thy father,*” said Eliphaz to Job, ch. xv. 10; “*Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man,*” is a precept given by Moses to Israel, Lev. xix. 32.

Before I dismiss this article, I cannot but take notice of the explanation the lively and ingenious, but inaccurate, Monsieur *Voltaire* gives of this clause of Solomon. He supposes it means *baldness*, in a poem of his, in which he pretends to give us the substance of this paragraph. “*Quand l’amandier fleurira, (c’est à dire, quand la tête sera chauve.)*” Too often this witty and learned, but prejudiced, writer apparently misrepresents the Scriptures *wilfully*; here he might very possibly be sincere: but it seems a very harsh mode of representing the *stripping the head of that ornament* that is so graceful, and which has appeared to be so in the eyes of the generality of people, as well as of Absalom¹, by the almond-tree’s being covered with most beau-

¹ 2 Sam. 14. 25, 26.

tiful blossoms, and appearing in it's most highly ornamented state. This, in another writer, would be thought to look very much like a *blunder*, and would be considered as a strange want of taste or recollection.

To which is to be added, that though *baldness* is undoubtedly a frequent attendant on old age, it is hardly ever mentioned in the Scriptures in that view. It is taken notice of there in no fewer than ten or twelve places, but never, except possibly in one place, 2 Kings ii. 23, as a mark of age; it is, on the contrary, either spoken of as an effect of disease, or else the voluntary laying aside that ornament of the head, in token of affliction and mourning. So the prophet Amos says', "I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs into lamentation; and I will bring up sackcloth upon all loins, and *baldness upon every head*; and I will make it as the *mourning of an only son*, and the end thereof as a *bitter day*," How astonishing is it, that this *man of genius* should make *baldness* one of the circumstances of the bitterness of old age, which the Scriptures neither mention, nor is it, in fact, one of those things that render old age *days concerning which we are forced to say we have no pleasure in them!* And if it did, how odd to suppose *baldness*, or the loss of hair, was emblematically represented by the appearance of blossoms on an almond-

* Ch. 8. 10.

tree, when young leaves on a tree are so often compared to *hair* by the *poets*, and consequently, the coming on of blossoms on an almond-tree must be understood to be the very reverse of baldness :

Diffugere nives, redeunt jam gramina campis
Arboribusque comæ.

HOR. Carm. Lib. iv. Ode 7.

Unluckily the thought doth not appear in the translation of Francis :

The snow dissolves, the field it's verdure spreads,
The trees high wave in air their leafy heads.

Nor in his translation of the 21st ode of the first book, Dauph. ed.

Vos lætam fluviis, & nemorum COMA,
Quæcunque aut gelido prominet algido
Nigris aut erymanthi
Sylvis aut viridis cragi.

This leads me to remark, that though Dr. Mead's reason against understanding the *blossoming of the almond-tree* as an emblem of *gray-headedness*, deduced from the colour of those blossoms, is not valid; yet it must be admitted, that what he says of *gray-headedness* being consistent with very vegete and unailing old-age is very just; to which we may also add, that it is very untoward to suppose that the appearance of these blossoms, which marks out the *finishing of the winter*, the *coming on*
of

of the *spring* the pleafantest time of the year, and exhibits the tree in all its beauty, should be used to represent the approach of the *winter of human life*, followed by death, and a disappearing from the land of the living. Surely the one can hardly be intended to be descriptive of the other! and if not, some other explanation must be sought for; though this explanation seems very early to have obtained, if we may judge from the translation of the Septuagint.

I am not willing however to admit the translation of this clause, which supposes the writer meant, to point out that kind of imbecility which attended the old age of David, according to what is said, 1 Kings i. 4.

Such an effect of age, in the view of an Asiatic prince, as we all know the writer of this book was, and who had himself a most numerous seraglio, may be supposed to be looked upon as one of the greatest bitterneffes of old age; but in such a case the expression would neither be *hieroglyphical* nor distant enough.

If then we consider that watchers were often employed in royal houses, and mounted from time to time their place of observation, to see how matters stood abroad¹; and on the other, that if we neglect the points, the Hebrew word translated *almond-tree*, may be translated *watcher*, I should think the clause

¹ 2 Sam. 18. 24; and still more in point, 2 Sam. 13. 34.

may naturally enough be *decyphered*, by explaining it of the *frequency of the attendance of physicians*, who *appear* oftenest at court, and *flourish* most there, when the master of such a palace is in a very declining state, and drawing near to death. “Afa, in the thirty
 “ and ninth year of his reign, was diseased in
 “ his feet, until his disease was *exceeding*
 “ *great*: yet in his disease he fought not to
 “ the Lord, but to the *physicians*’.”

The function of a physician with regard to the body, and of a watchman with respect to a palace, are not unlike: they both appear from time to time at court, but much more observably, as well as frequently, in seasons of apprehension and danger, than at other times.

To go on: When the book of Deuteronomy would inform us, that *Moses*, though 120 years old, appeared to have a vigour to the last, to which old age is, in common, a stranger, it expresses this circumstance in the following terms: “His eye was not dim, nor
 “ his natural force abated,” or, as the margin translates it more literally, according to the *Hebrew*, “nor his *moisture* fled².” Accordingly I should think, that it is of this *disappearing of moisture* in old age, that the last clauses of this allegorical description of *declining* life are to be understood: “And the
 “ grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire
 “ shall fail.” But as this doth not imme-

¹ 2 Chron. 16. 12.

² Ch. 34. 7.

diately appear, the sentiment ought to be a little explained and illustrated.

In the first place, I would observe, that the word which is translated *natural force*, but which signifies *moisture*, is used to express the moistness of a living tree, or of a branch just pulled off, in opposition to a tree that is dead, or a branch that has been pulled off so long as to be dried, having lost it's freshness and it's leaves: so it is used to express the *greenness* of the withs with which Samson was bound¹; and the freshness of the twigs Jacob *peeled*, and set before the cattle of Laban²; it occurs also in Ezek. xvii. 24, "And all the trees of the field shall know that I the Lord have brought down the high tree, have exalted the low tree, have *dried up the green tree*, and have made the *dry tree to flourish*;" and in like manner in some other passages.

In the next place, it is to be remarked, that the learned have taken notice, and with justness, that the verb is improperly translated *shall be a burden*; it undoubtedly means, whatever may be the insect the royal preacher had in view here, that this insect *should burden or load itself*—should grow heavy by its feeding voraciously.

Thirdly, It should seem that Solomon refers not to the *grasshopper* in this clause, but the *locust*; and our translators have so rendered the original word, in 2 Chron. vii. 13.

¹ Judges 16. 7, 8.

² Gen. 30. 37.

The insectology of the Holy-Land hath not been examined with that accuracy and extent that could be wished ; but since God, in answer to that solemn prayer at the dedication of the temple, according to that passage of the book of Chronicles which I just now cited, declared, that if *he should shut up heaven that there would be no rain, or command those insects, that we are now enquiring about, to devour the land, or send a pestilence among the people, that if his people humbled themselves before him, he would be attent to their prayers in that place,* we cannot easily make any doubt of the word's meaning the locust, or wonder that our translators should so render the word in that passage.

For this declaration was made in answer to Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple : but his supplication was, *that if the heaven should be shut up, and there should be no rain ; or if there should be famine, if pestilence, blasting, mildew, locust or caterpillar, that then God would hear them, when they should spread forth their hands towards that place ;* to which is to be added the consideration, that the grasshopper is an *inoffensive* animal, or at least not remarkably noxious, and by no means a proper subject for deprecation in the temple.

This circumstance also shews the *cicada* *

* An insect something like a *grasshopper*, and therefore the word *cicada* is often so translated, but considerably different from it, and unknown in England.

could not be meant by the Hebrew term here, as some of the curious have supposed; for though the noise they make is extremely disagreeable and disturbing, as Dr. Richard Chandler complains in his late Travels in Asia Minor¹, yet it is not an insect so distressing to them, as to allow us to imagine it was a subject of solemn prayer in the temple. The disturbing them in their noon-tide naps, and the devouring the fruits of the earth so as to occasion a famine, are evils of very different magnitude.

As to what is said in the 12th of Ecclesiastes, it will easily be imagined, that their noise must be peculiarly disagreeable to many of the aged, who naturally love quiet, and are commonly unable to bear much noise: but as this quality of old age had been before pointed out, it would on that account be improper to explain this clause of the *cicada*; and much more so, as I have shown, from the answer of God to Solomon's dedicatory prayer, it is highly improbable that the Hebrew word here can

¹ The complaint this gentleman makes of them is, that *they are extremely troublesome in the day-time, making a very loud, ugly, screaming noise, as some affirm, with their wings; and that if one begins, others join, and the disagreeable concert becomes universal; and that after a dead pause, as it were on a signal, it commences again.* Dr. Shaw, years ago, made much the same complaint, adding, *that they are squalling sometimes two or three hours without ceasing; thereby too often disturbing the studies, or the short repose that is frequently indulged, in these hot climates, at those hours, he means, from mid-day to the middle of the afternoon, in the hotter months of the summer.* P. 186.

mean the *cicada*, but is very naturally understood of the *locust*.

Now what is the consequence of the coming of destructive flights of locusts? Those that came upon Ægypt, Moses tells us, *did eat every herb, and all the fruit of the trees, and there remained not any green thing in the trees, or in the herbs of the field, through all the land of Ægypt*¹. Agreeably to which *le Bruyn* tells us, that when he was at *Rama*, near *Jerusalem*, he was told there, that once they were so destructive, *that in the space of two hours they eat up all the herbage round Rama, and that in the garden belonging to the house in which he lodged there, they eat the very stalks of the artichoke down to the ground*².

If in the last place we recollect, that *green fields*, and *vineyards*, which the locusts are described as devouring, are represented as objects of *desire*, “They shall lament for the *pleasant fields*, for the fruitful vine,” according to the margin, “the fields of *desire*³;” again, “Ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them: ye have planted pleasant vineyards,” (*or vineyards of desire*,) “but ye shall not drink the wine of them⁴;”

¹ Exod. 10. 15.

² Tome 2. p. 152. This also may be of use to shew, that the depredations of the locust might be not improperly mentioned in speaking of an house and it's inhabitants: the great have not only their gardens sometimes adjoining to their houses, but various flowering shrubs in their court-yards, according to Dr. Russell, p. 3, 5, 27.

³ If. 32. 12.

⁴ Amos 5. 11.

we need not be at a loss to understand what is meant by the royal preacher, when, after having described the *locust as growing heavy* by its depredations, he adds, “and desire shall fail,” i. e. and every green thing shall disappear: to which state of things in the vegetable world, when every tree was *stripped of it's leaves*, and looked as just dead, he compares the human body, which through age appears shrunk up, without moisture, and ready to die.

Such appears to me to be an easy and popular way of explaining these *emblematical* representations of age: the circumstances pointed out are not those whose knowledge arises from deep medical learning; but are obvious to the vulgar eye, and are mentioned with greater or lesser degrees of distinctness in the Scriptures. The emblems also representing them are derived from customs, occurrences, and the state of nature in the East; and I hope will appear sufficiently accommodate to the Oriental taste. How far such an explanation may appear admissible, I leave to the candour of the reader to determine.

But before I quit this part of the paragraph, I would just observe, that I am sensible a very ingenious writer supposes, that the first verse of this chapter refers to old age; but the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th, to some season of *epidemic sickness*, perhaps to a time in which the *pestilence* rages; and he illustrates this interpretation with a great deal of ingenuity and learning,

ing, at considerable length¹. But as this mingling the descriptions of *old age*, and of *pestilential or other epidemic mortal diseases* together, renders the subject too *complex* and intricate, on the one hand; and on the other, that he opposes the days of *youth* to this evil time that was to come, “Remember thy Creator in the days of thy *youth*,” whereas, according to this writer, he should rather have said, “Remember thy Creator in the days of thy *health*,” I have thought it right to adhere to the common system, and suppose the whole is a description of old age; the 2d verse, of that time of life in general, it’s *winter*; and the three succeeding verses should be applied to particular circumstances, which are wont to attend in common the decline of life, some labouring under one complaint, and others under a different kind of bitterness. Nevertheless it must undoubtedly be admitted, that it becomes the young devoutly to remember God in the early part of life, not only on account of the sorrows that attend old age, but on account too of the terrors, that must be expected to come on the irreligious, in times of general sickness and mortality; and it ought to be acknowledged that he has illustrated his explanation with great ingenuity.

Nothing needs to be said by way of illustration of the latter part of the 5th verse, which may be considered as forming the *third* part

¹ Gentleman’s Magazine for July and August, 1752.

of this remarkable paragraph of Solomon, since every one admits that a man's *long home* means the grave; and it has been elsewhere shown, that in mourning for the dead they went *about* the streets, or drew themselves into a *circle* as they lamented them in their processions in the streets.

OBSERVATION CXXVI.

The latter part of this description, the very ingenious Dr. Mead seems to have thought much more difficult to explain than the preceding images, and indeed to be so extremely ænigmatical, that nothing less than the penetration of an *Oedipus* could decypher it'. I cannot pretend to any such sagacity; but I should suppose, the considering this sixth verse as descriptive of the state of a *princely corpse*, after man is gone to his long home, and the mourners have gone about the streets, is an observation of *great consequence* to the due explanation of that part of this celebrated paragraph.

That he is speaking of the state of things between the *interment* of the body and it's total dissolution, or return to it's original earth,

* Quæ hæcenus dicta sunt, difficillimos explicatus non habent. Tria autem, quæ concionem concludunt, incommoda revera sunt ænigmata, & Oedipi conjectoris indigent; qui tamen cum, saltem me judice, nondum repertus sit, ipse pro viribus ea solvere conabor.

is, I think, sufficiently clear. The order in which he has ranged the particulars of the description, requires us to understand the words after this manner: first, he speaks of the *infirmities* attending old age; then the *burial* of the body, and the *solemn mourning* of survivors; then of what *succeeds* 'till it is dissolved, and becomes mingled with the earth from whence it was taken.

That it is the state of a *princely* corpse, after interment, that is described, not only agrees best with the *quality* of the writer, but the *former part* of the representation; for there he compares the body not to a common house, but a *palace*, where *guards* were posted, (“when “ the *keepers of the house* shall tremble;”) and *musicians* were in continual waiting, (“and all “ the *daughters of music* shall be brought “ low”).

If it be the description of the state of a princely corpse after it's interment, *decaying*, and returning to it's dust, it will not be disagreeable to introduce an attempt to explain the description, by placing before my reader the account *Josephus* gives of the state of King Herod's body, when carried out to burial. It is given us in the 17th book of his *Jewish Antiquities*, and is to this purpose. *Arche-laüs*, being desirous to do honour to himself by burying his father Herod with great pomp, the body was carried forth laid upon a couch of gold, adorned with precious stones of great value, and of diverse kinds. The mattress was
purple,

purple, and it was wrapped up in vestments of the like colour, adorned with a diadem, a crown of gold placed above it's head, and a sceptre was in it's right hand. His sons and kindred surrounded the couch. His soldiers followed in due order. After them came five hundred servants carrying perfumes. In this order they marched to the place of interment¹.

I do not at this moment recollect, that we have any account of his sepulchre's having been opened; but many royal tombs have, as well as others in which persons of great distinction have been laid. Some have been found casually; some have been designedly and respectfully uncovered, in order to give an opportunity to the curious to examine into the state of the dead body, and it's habiliments, after having been interred hundreds of years, and been previously embalmed before burial, or undergone other operations designed to retard it's dissolution, according to the different modes that have been obtained in different countries or different ages. So I think the tomb of Edward the first, in Westminster Abbey, was not long since opened for these purposes.

But the last account of this kind, on which I have cast my eye², is that of a *Tartarian* prince, supposed to be a descendant of *Genghiz-Khan*, the founder of a very large em-

¹ Vol. I, p. 848, 849, ed. Haverc.

² *Archæologia*, vol. 2, art. 33, 34.

pire, which at one time comprehended almost all Asia¹. He is supposed to have been buried 4 or 500 years, when the *barrow*² under which he was interred was opened³, by order of the Russian court, a few years ago.

The officer that was sent on this employment, we are told, “ upon taking a survey of
 “ the numberless monuments of the dead
 “ spread over this great desert, concluded,
 “ that the barrow of the largest dimensions
 “ most probably contained the remains of
 “ the prince, or chief. And he was not mis-
 “ taken; for, after removing a very deep
 “ covering of earth and stones, the workmen
 “ came to three vaults constructed of stones,
 “ of rude workmanship, &c.

“ That wherein the prince was deposited,
 “ which was in the centre, and the largest of
 “ the three, was easily distinguished by the
 “ sword, spear, bow, quiver and arrow, which
 “ lay behind him The body of the prince
 “ was in a reclining posture, upon a sheet of
 “ pure gold, extending from head to foot; and
 “ another sheet of gold, of the like dimen-
 “ sions, was spread over him. He was wrapt
 “ in a rich mantle, bordered with gold, and
 “ studded with rubies and emeralds. His
 “ head, neck, breast, and arms naked, and
 “ without any ornament.

¹ P. 231.

² The tumulus, or artificial hill of earth or stones, under which sort of hills formerly in England the dead were buried, and of which many are still to be seen.

³ P. 223.

“ In the lesser vault ¹ lay the princeſs, diſ-
 “ tinguished by her female ornaments. She
 “ was placed reclining againſt the wall, with
 “ a gold chain of many links, ſet with ru-
 “ bies, round her neck, and gold bracelets
 “ round her arms. The head, breaſt, and
 “ arms were naked. The body was covered
 “ with a rich robe, but without any border
 “ of gold or jewels, and was laid on a ſheet
 “ of fine gold, and covered over with an-
 “ other. The four ſheets of gold weighed
 “ 40 lb. The robes of both looked fair and
 “ complete; but, upon touching, crumbled
 “ into duſt ².”

The royal robes of Herod, in which Joſephus tells us he was buried, in like manner ſoon crumbled, without doubt, into duſt; and to the effects on the ſpices and perfumes hid in the earth—the loſs of their fragrancy which they muſt firſt undergo, and then their reſolution into earth too, I ſhould be diſpoſed to think Solomon refers in this 6th ver, in which he deſcribes the events intervening between man’s being conducted to his long home, ver. 5, and the body’s returning to the earth as it was, mentioned ver. 7. There are four claules in this 6th ver. which Dr. Mead reduces to three particulars, *the pitcher’s being broken at the fountain*, and *the wheel being broken at the ciftern*, plainly relating to one and the ſame thing, whatever it was; and as Dr. Mead

¹ In the third the prince’s horſe.

² P. 223, 224.

reduces the four clauses to three particulars, I may be excused perhaps in bringing them down to two—the destruction of the insignia of dignity; and the perfumes which were placed with the corpse in the sepulchre, becoming inodorous first, and afterwards rotting, so as to be undistinguishable from common earth.

So the admonition will amount to this, *Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth; before the winter of life arrives; before the various complaints of old age take place, it's blindness, deafness, &c; before thou art carried to the grave; before those effects appear that more immediately precede thy mingling with the earth, and thy becoming undistinguishable from common dust; for hope in God can only cheer thee in the feeling, or the thinking of any of these circumstances.*

The thought will readily be allowed to be agreeable, but the interpretation may be looked upon as arbitrary. Let me attempt to spread a little probability over it.

Herod was buried in royal robes; but purple vestments were not the only apparel worn by princes. When *Herod Agrippa* was struck with death, in the theatre of *Cæsarea*, *St. Luke* tells us *he was arrayed in royal apparel, and sitting upon his throne*¹; but *Josephus*, expressing more distinctly the meaning of this general term, informs us, that he was dressed

¹ Acts 12. 21.

in a vestment all of silver, of admirable texture, and that going early into the theatre, the rays of the rising sun created such a splendor, as that some flatterers took occasion from thence to salute him as more than a mortal¹.

There might be something particularly curious in the workmanship of this robe, but the interweaving threads of precious metal, along with other materials, was at least as ancient as the days of Moses, and Solomon must have seen the vestment, or one exactly like it, that Moses was directed to make, for the high-priests to wear on particular solemn occasions. “ He made the ephod of gold, blue and purple, and scarlet and fine twined linen. And they did beat the gold into thin plates, and cut it into wires, to work it in the blue, and in the purple, and in the scarlet, and in the fine linen, with cunning work. And the curious girdle of his ephod, that was upon it, was of the same, according to the work thereof; of gold, blue, &c.²” If gold was thus interwoven, every one must have allowed silver might, after the same manner.

And as the Arabs of the Holy-Land now wear girdles embroidered with gold, or of gold and silk tissue³, it cannot be pretended, that it is incredible that such were in use in the

¹ Antiq. lib. 19, cap. 8, § 2.

² Exod. 39. 2, 3, 5.

³ Voy. dans la Pal. par M. de la Roque, chap. 16.

days of Solomon, who was so remarkable for magnificence.

Farther, it appears, from John xi, that whatever the ancient Jews were buried in, whether a winding-sheet, or in some of their best garments, they were not merely wrapped loose about them, but fastened with proper *bandages*; for when our Lord called Lazarus to come forth from the grave, he came forth, it is said, “bound hand and foot with grave-clothes: and his face was bound about with a napkin. Jesus saith unto them, *Loose* him, and let him go¹.”

What length of bandage was applied by the ancient Jews to their dead, we are nowhere, that I know of, told; nor are we informed, how it fastened the sepulchral vestment close to the dead body. As to the old *Ægyptians*, we know that they made use of a vast length of filletting, and the arms, legs, and trunk, were all covered over and over again with it. And though Mr. Wood, with all his care, and all his offers, could not procure a *whole Palmyrene mummy*², yet, from the fragments, he was able to pronounce their way of embalming was perfectly like that of the *Ægyptians*. But the manner of applying bandages to a Jewish corpse is not known; however, it is certain, from what is said of *Lazarus*, they were not wrapped in their *grave-clothes* loosely, but bound up in them.

¹ Ver. 44.

² Ruins of Palmyra, p. 22.

by a bandage, so as to confine them hand and foot.

This bandage I should suppose is meant by the *silver cord* here. A robe of *cloth of silver* was worn by *Herod Agrippa* in life, suiting his royal dignity; and a bandage resembling modern Eastern girdles, a bandage of *silver and fine linen*; might be employed to swathe deceased princes, in or before the time of *Solomon*. But after a few centuries, these bandages, like the robes of the Tartar prince, by the effluvia of the enveloped body and of the surrounding earth, would be unable to keep the burial-clothes in a proper position, would decay, would loose their hold, would crumble to dust—Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth, for the grave is thy long home, and all the magnificence of *sepulchral habits*, on which thou mayest vainly set thy mind, as some softening to the horrors of that abode, will fade, will vanish away¹; it is the remembrance of the power, the goodness, the faithfulness of thy Creator, that gave life at first, and who can raise the dead, that only can give comfort to the wise man, when he thinks of that state through which he must pass.

¹ An apocryphal writer seems to have had a thought of this kind in view, when he compares an idol “to a dead body that is cast into the dark. And you shall know them to be no gods, by the bright purple that rotteth upon them,” &c. Baruch 6. 71, 72.

If this explanation be admitted, the second clause will not be difficult, being in course to be understood of the *diadem*—the *fillet or cap of honour* which the Eastern princes wore upon their heads, and in one of which the head of *Herod* was inclosed, when he was carried to burial, according to *Josephus* ¹.

A *diadem*, into whose texture gold thread was wrought, was equally liable to be rotted with the silver bandages that held the vestments of the dead in proper order.

Our translators render the Hebrew word *bowl*—“or the golden bowl be broken;” but as the word is derived from a root which signifies to roll round, and from which is derived the word that signifies a book in the form of a roll, it may, it should seem, be understood of what was worn upon, or rolled about, the head, by people of high distinction.

But it may appear more difficult to make out what connexion there can be supposed to be between a sepulchre, or the state of a body decaying in it, and a broken pitcher or fractured water-wheel. It must be allowed to be a difficulty. But when it is remembered, that pitchers and wheels were made use of for *watering gardens*, on the one hand; and on the other, that the Eastern sepulchres are fre-

¹ Who tells us, the crown of solid gold was placed higher than his head; the diadem, another royal ornament, wrapped about it.

quently adorned with *sweet-smelling herbs and flowers*, as well as rendered less disgustful to the senses by *perfumes*, and being anointed with fragrant oils, and anciently by *large quantities of spices* and other odoriferous substances deposited in them; the representing the disappearing of these agreeablenesses in a long neglected sepulchral edifice or cave, where the body is nearly reduced to dust, by the image of a broken pitcher, or water-wheel, may not appear to be so remote from Oriental managements, as to be more unnatural than some other expositions which have been proposed, or patronized, by the learned.

But this, which I would propose as what may be a probable solution of these words of this ænigmatical paragraph, requires to be set forth more distinctly.

Many authors have given an account of the covering the graves of the dead, among the Greeks and Romans of former times, with *fragrant leaves and flowers*; and some have observed that it obtains in more Eastern and Southern countries. The Turks, it seems, sometimes practise it, as I have elsewhere shewn¹, *the tomb of Hali Dey, in Barbary, being decorated, for forty days successively, with flowers, and surrounded with people praying for him*; but what is more, Dr. Shaw has remarked², that their burial-places are adorned

¹ Observ. on divers Places of Script. vol. 2, p. 141.

² P. 219.

with flowers *planted* in them and *growing* as in a garden, as I had occasion to remark under a preceding observation. I have met with similar accounts elsewhere ¹.

We shall not, after this account, wonder at some articles in d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, in which he tells us, *that the place in which is the tomb of the Imam Riza, is called the odoriferous Garden* ²; *that the place in which Mohammed their great prophet lies interred is called, by way of eminence, the Flowery Meadow, or the Garden* ³; *to which is to be added what he saith under the article Raoudhah, in which he tells us, that this word, which signifies in Arabic a garden, or meadow full of flowers, is often used by mussulmen for the sepulchre of some person celebrated for his learning or piety: for in fact such burial-places are often a sort of gardens.*

If they are gardens, they must, in that dry country, frequently want *watering*. Accordingly the prophet Isaiah compares the state of a people given up to destruction and desolation, to that of an oak whose leaf faded, and that of a *garden that had no water* ⁴. A sepulchral garden then must want watering as well as others: and accordingly I well remember to have read an account of the carrying water to water those flowers, &c, that were planted in their burial-places, though I cannot at this

¹ See Rauwolff, in particular, p. 46.

² Art.

Ali Ben Moussa al Kadhem.

³ Art. Medinah.

⁴ Is. 1. 30.

time recollect the author; as well as of others that carry *fresh* flowers and leaves, from time to time, to the tombs of their dead relations and friends, to replace those they had before left there, which having been separated from the roots on which they grew, of course soon fade and decay.

The Jews, in like manner, in ancient times, were fond of making their burial-places smell agreeably. *It was their manner*, St. John tells us, *to bury their dead with perfumes*, John xix. 40; and for the same reason, it should seem, in places planted with flowers and sweet-smelling herbs, or *gardens*. So we find Joseph of Arimathea had prepared a tomb for himself in a garden¹, in which our Lord was buried; so we find King Manasseh was buried in a garden², the garden of his own house, which the author of the 2d book of Chronicles expresses by the phrase of burying him *in his own house*³. According to this, it should seem, Joab was buried too in a garden, for he is said to have been buried *in his own house* in the wilderness, 1 Kings ii. 34. But whether the place in which Joab was buried was a garden or not, it is certain that of King Amon was, 2 Kings xxi. 26, as well as where King Manasseh was laid.

Agreeable to this we find, in Dean Addison's account of the Jews of Barbary⁴, that

¹ John 19. 41. ² 2 Kings 21. 18. ³ Ch. 33. 20.
⁴ P. 220, 221.

they there adorn the graves of their dead in much the same manner as do their Moham-
 medan neighbours, of which I was giving an
 account from Dr. Shaw, in a preceding page;
 for though he could find no inscriptions
 or epitaphs in their burial-place, which he
 supposed arose from the poverty of the Jews
 of Barbary, yet he found *boughs* set about
 their graves.

The breaking then of the *pitcher at the fountain*, and the fracturing of the *water-wheel*, which sort of machine was in such general use for the keeping up the verdure and the fragrancy of their gardens, may naturally enough express the neglect into which a sepulchre in a long series of years must be expected to fall, when, instead of flowers, nothing, perhaps, but a barren sand would be found there, and even the scent of those rich perfumes, in a bed of which the body might be laid, be lost, the spices becoming rotten, and crumbled to dust, the gums dissolved and gone, and desolation and neglect in absolute possession.

Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth, before the winter of old age be come on; before it's numerous complaints have taken place; before thou shalt be carried to thy long home; *before the vestments of death be decayed, the perfume of the grave vanished*, and thy body be turned to dust: for nothing but hope in God can support the soul when struggling with disease; can disarm the king of

Terrors in his approach ; can enable thee to reflect on the solitude, the corruption, the dereliction of the grave, and it's being demolished, and it's place no more known. For even then the Giver of life, thy Creator, can bring thee back into view, and, raising thee from the dead, make thee a partaker of immortality.

The description, from first to last, is highly figurative, but it is to be hoped not as unintelligible as *Ægyptian hieroglyphics* are wont to be. That the intention of Solomon was to represent old age as the winter of human life in the first place ; then emblematically to set forth it's complaints ; and then, after having spoken of the mourning for the dead, at the time of their departure, to represent the mouldering of the body until it's being reduced to dust, are points that seem to be pretty plain and determinate.

OBSERVATION CXXVII.

To what has been said of *Eastern books*, may naturally be subjoined some account of the discourses that have been pronounced there *in assemblies* of ingenious, or at least inquisitive men, which have not unfrequently given birth to those writings that have been greatly celebrated among them. Such *assemblies* have certainly been held in these countries of later times ; and to such, held in his time, Solomon seems to have referred in the

12th chapter of *Ecclesiastes*, his words in the 11th verse of that chapter being these, “ The words of the wife are as *goats*, and as *nails* fastened by the *masters of assemblies*, which are given from one shepherd.”

If we suppose that he is speaking of *assemblies of men*, and not of *collections of stones*, cemented and joined together to form magnificent structures, to what assemblies is it *most probable* that he refers? Not surely those gathered together in the temple, for they were for sacrificing and singing the divine praises; not those in their synagogues, for the discourses there were not of the nature of this book of Solomon's, being such as arose from the reading the law and the prophets; nor, for the same reason, those that might be pronounced in their colleges, or the schools of the prophets, as they have been more commonly called, for these, we have reason to believe, consisted of regular and stated disquisitions relating to their law, and possibly sometimes explanations of the prophets: it would best answer the circumstances in which Solomon wrote, and the nature of this book of *Ecclesiastes**, if we understand him of discourses in assemblies of inquisitive and curious men, held occasionally, and founded on the general principles of reason and experience—in a word, discourses of an *eloquent and philosophical* nature.

* Dropping the consideration of it's being the production of inspiration.

That there have been such assemblies in these countries, since the time of Solomon, is the first thing to be made out here.

Macamat, according to d'Herbelot, signifies assemblies and conversations, pieces of eloquence or academical discourses, pronounced in assemblies of men of letters. This way of reciting compositions in prose and verse has been as frequent among the Orientals, as it was anciently among the Romans, and as it is now in our academies. The Arabians have many books containing discourses of this kind, which are looked upon by them as master-pieces of eloquence. Hamadani was the first that published such pieces, and his work is entitled, *Discourses of the most eloquent Man of his Age*, for he was looked on as a miracle of eloquence. Hariri imitated him, and, in the opinion of many, excelled him, insomuch that the most learned of the Arabian grammarians said, that his work ought not to be written but on silk. These discourses derive their names from the places where they were pronounced, the first being marked out by it's being delivered at Sanaa, the capital of Jemen; and the last, which is the 50th, bears the name of Bassora, a city of Chaldæa, situated near the mouth of the Tigris¹.

They differ then from the academical discourses of France, which are pronounced be-

¹ Professor Chappelow, of Cambridge, has translated six of these discourses of *Hariri* into English, which he has entitled, *Assemblies*, or ingenious conversations of learned men among the Arabians, upon a great variety of useful and entertaining subjects.

fore *societies* of learned and ingenious men, who regularly assemble together at certain times; whereas these Eastern assemblies are supposed to be people gathered together occasionally, without any particular connexion, and brought together from a desire to hear some celebrated speaker, who is disposed to discourse to as many as are willing to hear him in his peregrinations from place to place; or to hold conversations among themselves.

But there have been other discourses of this kind, pronounced in more elevated auditories, but still *occasionally* collected together, and not properly *associated*, of which d'Herbelot has made mention in the article of *Amak*, where he gives us the names of three princes, *who were great lovers of learning, and particularly of the Persian poetry, which led them to endeavour, with a spirit of rivalry, to engage the most excellent poets of that age, which were then very numerous, to reside at their respective courts. Khedber Khan, who surpassed the other two in power, outdid them also in magnificence, for he was wont to hold a kind of academy, where he assisted in person, sitting upon a raised part of the floor, at the foot of which were placed four great basons, full of gold and silver coin, which he distributed among his poets according to the merit of their compositions.*

He afterwards tells us, *that the number of these learned men of signal merit, and who accompanied him every where, striving with emulation to convey instruction to his mind by their conversations,*

conversations, or to animate him to glory by their elogiums, was commonly about an hundred, to whom he gave very considerable pensions, and then mentions the names of ten of the most illustrious of them, among whom Raschidi seems to have been the most eminent, who, after some time, was a competitor with Amác, who had brought most of these eminent men under the notice of the Sultan, and was as their chief and president, and distinguished by the superiority of his appointments, (or of the presents that were made him,) being possessed of a great number of slaves, of both sexes, and having thirty led horses richly harnessed, which excited the envy of the rest, and particularly of Raschidi, who at length found means to supplant him.

In another article¹, speaking of the same Raschidi, but a little varying the manner of spelling his name, he describes him as living in the court of *Atsiz*, another Eastern prince: he tells us this prince was often wont to assemble an academy of men of genius, in order to hold conferences on matters of learning, and on the belles lettres.

These eleven eminent personages, mentioned under the article *Amác*, and particularly *Amác* and *Raschidi*, might very properly be called in the Eastern style *masters*, or rather *lords of assemblies*, as the word, strictly taken, signifies in Eccles. xii. 11, that is, persons that distinguished themselves by the superiority of

¹ Reschidi, p. 715.

their compositions, on whom the eyes of all that heard them were attentively fixed, and who conveyed exquisite instruction and pleasure to the mind by their words. Agreeable to this we find Joseph called the master, or *lord of dreams*, in the Hebrew, Gen. xxxvii, 19; so Exod. xxiv. 14, what is expressed in our translation a *man that has matters to do*, is in the original a *lord of words*; so a bird is called a *lord of the wing*, Prov. i. 17. The collections of d'Herbelot prove, that the like form of speech still obtains in those countries; for he tells us the word *sabeb* signifies the *master, author, or possessor* of a thing. So *sabeb al Sibab* means the *lord or author of Sibab*, the name of an Arabic dictionary; and *sabeb al Camous*, the *master or lord of Camous*, the name of another dictionary in that language¹. So *sabeb Assa*, or *sabeb al Assa*, the *master or lord of the Rod*, is the title the musfulmen commonly give to *Moses*; as to *Jonah*, *sabeb al Noun*, the *lord or man of the Fish*².

Traces of such assemblies, of the occasional kind, in the time of Solomon, seem to appear, I think, in the Old Testament. “Solomon’s
 “wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the
 “children of the East-country, and all the
 “wisdom of Ægypt: for he was wiser than
 “all men; than Ethan the Ezrahite, and
 “Heman, and Chalcol, and Darda, the sons

¹ P. 733.² P. 734.

“ of Mahol ; and his fame was in all nations
 “ round about.” 1 Kings iv. 30, 31. Now
 if we consider the scarceness of books, and
 disagreeableness of copying them out, on one
 hand ; and on the other, the management of
 the queen of Sheba, who did not content her-
 self with reading the *writings* of Solomon,
 but came from a great distance, to converse
 personally with him, and to prove him with
 hard questions, 1 Kings x. 1, 3, 4, 8 ; it is
 most natural to suppose, the wisdom of
 the East-country, and of Ægypt, was rather
 known by their discourses and conversation in
 assemblies of people occasionally drawn to-
 gether, at which strangers, those more es-
 pecially who travelled professedly in quest of
 wisdom, attended from time to time, who
 might also in some cases apply alone, with-
 out any concern of the natives, to celebrated
 personages to hear their discourses, as the
 queen of Sheba did.

Such an explanation, I think, best suits the
 nature of this philosophical discourse of Solo-
 mon's, which, perhaps, would not have been
 very proper in a Jewish synagogue, if we
 could suppose Solomon to have officiated as a
 common teacher there. The *assemblies* here
 seem to have been more like the princely
 conventions d'Herbelot mentions, in which
 the speakers sought out acceptable words,
 and examined different schemes of philosophy.
 If so, the word shepherd, which is sometimes
 equivalent

equivalent to that of teacher ¹, in which sense it is to be understood here, means God, the *Father of lights*, from whom cometh down every good and perfect gift; not *Moses*, as some have understood that clause, for the books of *Moses* are not cited in all this disquisition of *Solomon*.

C H A P. VIII.

*Relating to the Natural, Civil, and Military
History of Judæa.*

O B S E R V A T I O N CXXVIII.

IT is not at all to be wondered at, that the torrent *Kidron* was dry in November 1774, though that was a *rainy* month at *Jerusalem* that year ², since, if the ground remained so dry, from the summer's drought, as to take in the rain as fast as it descended, there could be no water found running in the bed of a torrent.

¹ So it is said, *Jer. 3. 15*, "And I will give you pastors," another word for shepherds, "according to mine own heart, which shall feed you *with knowledge and understanding*."

² See a preceding observation.

The gentleman that favoured me with some account of the Holy-Land, which he visited in 1774, particularly remarked, that the *Kidron was dry*, when he was at Jerufalem, in November that year, though that month was, he understood, wetter than that month usually is there. But he observed that the rain was not at that time in *very large quantities*, or without *intermission*.

The *bridge* is a fure proof there is sometimes a confiderable stream in that place, as well as the verbal testimony of the inhabitants, by whom this gentleman was told, that *the run of water there was almost constant through the winter, and early in the spring*. He added, that though it was dry when he saw it, *there were evident signs of the passage of water in it's channel*.

The writer of these observations lives near a water-course, which is about half the size of the Kidron, according to the account of le Bruyn¹, or somewhat more, and, like that, has no water but what descends from the clouds: he has often been surprized to find no water running in it's channel after considerable rains, when at other times the stream has been very violent, and the trustees for the road which it crosses, and which has lately

¹ He tells us, in his 2d tome, chap. 48, *that it is not above three paces broad*, which, I take it, means about fifteen feet. It was dry when he was at Jerufalem in the year 1681, from the middle of October to the middle of November.

had turnpikes erected upon it, have thought proper of late to build a substantial brick bridge over it, which foot-passengers before passed by a bridge consisting of a couple of planks. The running of the water has been found to depend very much on the earth's being saturated with moisture, and particularly on the sudden dissolution of snow. It is no wonder then to find the channel of Kidron dry in *autumn*, or when the *spring* is far advanced.

It may have frequently appeared strange to many readers, that all the travellers *they* have consulted have found the Kidron *dry*: but it is to be remembered that those who have published such journals were not in the Holy-Land in winter. The people of Jerufalem, in 1774, affirmed to the gentleman whose account I have been giving, that the water runs there in winter; and, answerable to this, I have been assured by the author of the History of the Revolt of *Ali Bey*, and who lived, I think, some years in that country, that *he has seen* the water run in the channel of the Kidron.

OBSERVATION CXXIX.

The description that is given us, of some well-watered places in the East of late times, may, I think, serve to enliven our apprehensions, of the fruitfulness and the beauty of the plain

plain where Sodom and Gomorrah stood, before God destroyed those wretched cities¹.

That plain is compared to *Eden*, and to *Ægypt* in that part of it near to *Zoar*. But we know not *distinctly* what *Eden* was; nor do we now know precisely the nature of that part of *Ægypt* near *Zoar*, as distinguished from the rest of that celebrated country, which might be very well known to the first readers of the books of Moses, and for some ages afterwards, and enable them to form a more lively idea of the nature of the plain of *Sodom*, and of *Eden*, the garden of God, than those could do who died but a few generations ago.

The description that Sir John Chardin has given us, of one of the well-watered places which he observed in the East, may, possibly, produce something of this effect. It is in the *South of Persia*, and is called *Mayn*, which it seems signifies a fish, and was so named, “ on
 “ account of their abundance there at certain
 “ times of the year. It is a most delicious
 “ place. Rivulets of the best and most beau-
 “ tiful water in the world run there, and so
 “ copiously, as that for seven or eight months
 “ the country seems in a manner under an

¹ Gen. 13. 10: *Lot* lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of *Jordan*, that it was *well watered every where*; before the Lord destroyed *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of *Ægypt* as thou comest unto *Zoar*.

inundation,

“ inundation, and it's territory is above two
 “ leagues round. It is full of gardens, which
 “ produce the most excellent fruits, and espe-
 “ cially *grapes and pomegranates*’.” He adds
 afterwards, in the next page, *that it is near
 this place that some Persian authors suppose the
 country and habitation of Job was. That this
 appeared in nowise absurd to him, there being
 there abundance of sheep, horses, oxen, and
 asses, in which the principal part of the riches of
 Job consisted, according to the account given in his
 history, which cannot be equally affirmed of all the
 other places pretended to be the land of Uz.*

If this is the description of what the terri-
 tory of *Mayn* now is, and what the plain of
Sodom formerly was, that plain must have
 been intersected with many canals, and at
 times, at least, full of fish; must have abound-
 ed in fruit; have had the richest pastures; and
 been a most delightful district. But instead
 of being *two* leagues round, it must have
 been vastly larger, if all that the sea now
 covers was then a fruitful country, for *Maun-
 drell* tells us, that sea is 24 leagues long, and
 six or seven broad². How large a territory
 this! as well as how delicious! And some-
 thing like this, but superior in delectableness,
Eden, the habitation of our first parents, seems
 to have been. It is no wonder that *Lot*, when
 allowed to choose, chose this fruitful country,
 so rich in it's pasturage, Gen. xiii. 10.

¹ Tome 3, p. 97.

² P. 84, ed. 5.

The evaporation of the water of this sea, seems to be equal, or nearly equal now, to the waters that run into it. It might be so anciently; for though the surface of the water in those numerous canals could not be equal to that of the Dead Sea, yet the perspiration of the numerous plants, &c, might produce a balance. Though the river Barrady, according to Maundrell, is not quite so broad as Jordan¹, it comes pouring down from the mountains with great rapidity, and brings a vast body of water, and yet is all nearly consumed by the gardens and the inhabitants of Damascus²; the waters then of the *Jordan*, and the other smaller rivers that run into it, might very well have been dissipated by the inhabitants and vegetables of this large district.

But however rich the pastures of *Mayn* may be, it doth by no means follow that *Job* resided there; any more than that Abraham, who was very rich in *cattle*, as well as in silver and gold, Gen. xiii. 2, resided in the plain of Jordan. There were and are many places fit for feeding cattle: it is suprising then, that a man of Chardin's penetration should so far countenance this Persian notion. The land of *Uz* laid certainly far from Persia, in or near Edom.

¹ Jordan is about twenty yards over, according to Maundrell, p. 83; Barrady not so much, he says, as twenty yards, p. 121, but the mode of expression intimates not much less. ² P. 123.

OBSERVATION CXXX.

Our living fences of white-thorn have been much *admired*, and I think there have been endeavours to introduce such into some of the northern parts of Europe, particularly *Sweden*; some of those in the Holy-Land, in later times, have been equally beautiful, or more so, and perfectly answer those passages of the old Jewish prophets, that speak of hedges made of *thorny plants*, and the *sharpness* of the thorns of those that were made use of.

So *Doubdan* tells us, that a very fruitful vineyard, full of olive and fig-trees, as well as vines, which he found about eight miles South-west from Bethlehem, was *inclosed with an hedge*, and that he found that part of it *adjoining to the road strongly formed*, of thorns and rose-bushes, *intermingled with pomegranate-trees, the most agreeable in the world*¹.

An hedge, in which were many *rose-bushes and pomegranate-shrubs*, of the wild kind, then in full flower, mingled with other thorny plants, must have made a strong fence, and extremely beautiful. The wild pomegranate-tree, of which kind those used in fencing must, I presume, have been, is much more prickly, we are told, than the other species². And when mingled with other thorny bushes, of which they have several kinds in the Holy-Land, some whose prickles are very long,

¹ Voy. de la Terre-Sainte, p. 154, 155.

² Voy. Dict. des Drogues, par Lemery, art. Punica.

strong, and sharp, must have made an hedge very difficult to break through, as the prophets suppose.

“ I will hedge up thy way with *thorns*, and “ make a wall, that she shall not find her “ paths,” Hof. ii. 6. “ The way of a sloth- “ ful man is as an *hedge of thorns*,” Prov. xv. 19. “ The most upright is *sharper* than a “ thorn-hedge,” Mic. vii. 4.

This account, by Doubdan, of a modern thorn-hedge in the Holy-Land, may give us some idea of one there in ancient days ; at least it may be considered as amusing.

The same writer, I have observed, makes mention of other inclosed lands being surrounded with walls of *loose* ¹ stones. Such, among others, is the place near Bethlehem, where it is supposed the angels appeared to the shepherds, at the time of the birth of our Lord ², but which is now arable land, and which he tells us *is inclosed with a little wall of loose stones, very low, and at present almost demolished* ³. He mentions a like wall of loose stones, without cement, in another place ⁴. Is it any wonder that a building of this kind, so full of chinks, should be represented by Solomon as frequently a receptacle of *venomous* animals ? “ He that diggeth a pit shall fall “ into it ; and who so breaketh an hedge,” (it should have been a *wall*,) “ a serpent “ shall bite him,” Eccl. x. 8. Our translators themselves, in another place of the

¹ Pierres seiches.

² Luke 2. 8.

³ P. 146.

⁴ P. 108.

writings of Solomon, connect this term with the word stone, which indeed the original words forced them to do ; but that very necessity should have made them elsewhere translate the word by the term wall, not hedge :
 “ I went by the *field* of the slothful, and by
 “ the *vineyard* of the man void of under-
 “ standing ; and lo, it was all grown over
 “ with thorns, and nettles had covered the
 “ face thereof, and the stone-wall thereof
 “ was broken down,” Prov. xxiv. 30, 31.

It should seem it was anciently, as it is now, in general, an uninclosed country ; but however there were several spots fenced in, sometimes by an *hedge*, often composed of *thorny* plants ; sometimes by stone-walls, built without any cement to strengthen them.

But the most extraordinary fence, to an European eye, must be such as those *de Tott* mentions, observed by him in the low-lands of Judæa¹, for he went no farther than from Juff (or Joppa) to Rames (commonly called Ramah). Of this part of that country, he gives the following account. “ The space
 “ between the sea and the mountain is a flat
 “ country, about six leagues in breadth, ex-
 “ tremely fertile. The *fig-tree of India*² sup-
 “ plies

¹ Memoirs, part 4, p. 93.

² “ This plant,” he tells us in a note, “ is also called “ Racket ;” by which the French mean the *opuntia*, called by Dr. Shaw, in his Travels, p. 145, the *prickly pear*, upon which the Doctor tells us several families live, during the months of *August and September* ; but he says

“ plies it with *hedges*, and furnishes impene-
 “ trable barriers, which secure the fields of
 “ the different proprietors. Cotton is here
 “ the principal branch of commerce, and the
 “ industry of the inhabitants employs itself
 “ in spinning. This part of the Holy-Land
 “ is very remarkable for the remains of the
 “ *Crufades*, with which it is covered.”

OBSERVATION CXXXI.

The *roses of Jericho* are a curiosity frequently brought from the Holy-Land; and I saw one in the hands of the gentleman that visited that country in 1774, and who showed me the effect the putting the lower part of it into water produced; but they that gave this name to that plant, certainly could not design the illustration of that passage of Ecclesiasticus, in which he speaks of Wisdom's being *exalted like a palm-tree in En-gaddi, and as a rose-plant in Jericho*¹, since it is a very *low* plant, and of no remarkable *beauty, colour, or sweet scent*, and the production oftentimes of a *desert*.

nothing of it's being used for hedges. He remarks, that “ it is never known to tinge the urine of a bloody colour, “ as it does in *America*, from whence this fruit *originally* “ came.” On this I would observe, that if the first knowledge of the plant was derived from *America*, no passage of the Scripture account of hedges can be illustrated by what we now know of this plant. It can have been but lately introduced into Judæa.

¹ Ch. 24. 14.

A medical writer has described them as a *very small shrub*, about four fingers high, *woody, full of branches, appearing like a small globe, of an ash colour, it's leaves and it's flowers small, &c*¹. How such a plant came to be called a rose, is not easy to guess; nor do I remember to have found in any writer when it was first so denominated. Probably it was in times of superstition it was so distinguished, and owed it's name to that cause. What I have said makes it proper to set down Thevenot's account here of this plant².

“ In the plain of *Jericho*, there are *roses*
 “ of *Jericho* (as they call them) but they
 “ have not the virtues as many ascribe to
 “ them, for they blow not unless they be
 “ put into water, and they blow in all sea-
 “ sons, and at any hour, contrary to the opi-
 “ nion of those who say, that they blow not
 “ but in *Christmas night*; and others, on all
 “ the festival days of our Lady; with a great
 “ many such *idle* tales. I found of them also
 “ in the *deserts* of Mount Sinai.”

It is particularly untoward that this *low* plant should be called the *rose of Jericho*, when this ancient Jewish writer, in describing the superiority of Jewish theological wisdom to that of other nations, describes it as exalting it's head as the most lofty trees of that country, in the respective districts in

¹ Lemery, Dict. des Drogues, art. Rosa Hiericontea.

² Part 1, book 2, chap. 41.

which they grew : the cedar in *Lebanon* ; the rose-bush in *Jericho*.

Much of the plain of *Jericho* is now a *sandy waste* ; but in the happier days of that country, it was celebrated for it's fruitfulness, and the preciousness of some of it's vegetable productions. In that rich soil, and that favourable temperature, the real rose-bush must far have over-topped the shrubs that produced the celebrated *balm of Jericho*. I have seen a rose-bush rise up to the eaves of an house, and I apprehend not less than fifteen or sixteen feet high, here in *England*, and might therefore be very commonly of that height in the plain of *Jericho* ; but, according to Maillet, the shrub that produced the celebrated balm, which rendered *Jericho* so famous in the days of antiquity, and was afterwards transplanted into *Ægypt*, and nursed there with great attention and care, though now lost to *Ægypt* as before to *Judæa*, was a *very low* plant. “ It
 “ was in the garden of *Matarea*,” says Maillet, “ that the famous balm was produced,
 “ which entered into the composition of the
 “ chrism, which the Coptic church made use
 “ of in the baptism of infants, and it's species
 “ now absolutely lost. It is not, however,
 “ quite 200 years since some stems of it were
 “ in a little inclosed place of this garden,
 “ where a bashaw of *Ægypt* had placed them,
 “ persuaded that this precious shrub deserved
 “ a very particular attention. These stems
 “ were then not above a foot high, and about
 “ the

“ the thicknefs of an inch. Accordingly they
 “ fay, that the fhrubs that produce balm
 “ never grow larger, and their height never
 “ exceeds two or three cubits¹.”

Amidft thefe valuable plants, how towering
 muft the rofe-plant in fo rich a foil have
 appeared! probably confiderably fuperior to

¹ Let. 3, p. 111, 112. If any of my readers has a
 mind to fee the farther defcription of this noble fhrub, it is
 as followeth. “ Out of this feeble trunk fpring many very
 “ flender branches, ornamented with leaves of a moft
 “ beautiful green, nearly refembling thofe of rue, which
 “ grow in uneven numbers on each branch. The trunk
 “ is covered with a double bark. The firft of a reddifh
 “ colour; the inner one was much thinner, and entirely
 “ green. Thefe two barks feem to the tafte much like
 “ incenfe and turpentine; bruifed between the fingers
 “ they fmill like cardamoms. The wood underneath was
 “ white, and had no more tafte or fmill than common
 “ wood. What was remarkable in this fhrub was, that
 “ they were obliged to cut it every year in the fame man-
 “ ner as the vine. Perhaps it was at that time that they
 “ gathered that precious liquor, which in former days was
 “ fo much celebrated.” But though not to be found now
 in Ægypt any more than in Judæa, yet it remains in
 Arabia, if it is the fame that produces the *Mecca balfam*,
 which, though fcarce and coftly, is fent frequently in pots
 to Conftantinople, and other places of the Turkiſh em-
 pire. Niebuhr however tells us, in the 2d tome of his
 Travels, p. 280, that one of his affiliates found this
 plant in flower the 4th of April, and had the pleaſure of
 writing a defcription of the tree under it’s ſhade; and that
 it was ſaid to grow in great abundance in *Yemen*, (the
 fouthern part of Arabia,) and that the people *there* make
 no other ufe of it but for burning, on account of it’s ſweet
 ſcent. This fhrub, according to Niebuhr, grows to a
 much more confiderable height, than it ſeems to have
 done in Ægypt, and therefore probably in the plain of
 Jericho,

thoſe

those that grew in most other places of *Judæa*.

The whole passage in Ecclesiasticus deserves to be transcribed and considered, especially as there are some remarkable variations between the Greek and the Latin copies. “ I was
 “ exalted like a *cedar* in Libanus, and as a
 “ *cypress-tree* upon the mountains of Her-
 “ mon. I was exalted like a palm-tree in
 “ En-gaddi,” (some copies read on the sea-
 shores,) “ and as a *rose-plant* in Jericho, as a
 “ fair olive-tree in a pleasant field, and grew
 “ up as a *plane-tree* by the water. As
 “ the turpentine-tree I stretched out my
 “ branches, and my branches are the branches
 “ of honour and grace. As the *vine* brought
 “ I forth pleasant favour, and my flowers are
 “ the fruit of honour and riches.” Verse 13,
 14, 16, 17.

The vulgar Latin of Sixtus Vth hath these variations: “ I was exalted as the cedar, &c,
 “ and as a cypress-tree in *Mount Sion*.
 “ I was exalted like a palm-tree in *Cades*
 “ I was exalted as the plane-tree by
 “ the water *in the streets*, &c.”

Here I would remark, in the first place, that all these trees are still found in the Holy-Land and Libanus: the cedar, the cypress, the palm, the rose-bush, the olive, the plane, the turpentine-tree, and the vine; and that the son of Sirach selected them from the rest, on the account of their height, their spread, their beauty, and their sweet scent, mentioning

the districts where they were found most to flourish.

Secondly. When the Greek copies say, like a cypress-tree upon the *mountains of Hermon*, and the Vulgate in *Mount Sion*, I should suppose the Latin translation gives us the *original* reading, and the Greek copy here a designed change of the original term, in order to prevent mistakes, as an unwary reader might be in danger, of understanding the words *Mount Sion* of the mount on which the temple stood, which would by no means have agreed with that precept, “Thou shalt not plant thee a
“ *grove of any trees* near unto the altar of
“ the Lord thy God, which thou shalt make
“ thee,” Deut. xvi. 21. On that account an explanatory note seems to have been given in the margin, signifying that one of the mountains of Hermon was meant, *Sion* being the name of one of the mountains of Hermon, according to what we read, Deut. iv. 48¹, and so from the margin it appears to have crept into the text. The son of Sirach then appears to have meant a cypress-tree on *Mount Sion*, *one* of the mountains of Hermon.

Engaddi, the same as *En-ge-di* in the Old Testament, seems to have been the place which is celebrated here as that where palm-trees were very flourishing. *Cades*, in the

¹ “From Aroer, which is by the bank of the river
“ Arnon, even unto *Mount Sion*, which is Hermon.”

Latin translation, is visibly a corruption from Gaddi, arising from some similarity of sound. *Ἐν Αἰγιαλοῖς* (on the sea-shores), which is the reading Lambert Bos has given us, seems to be owing to the misconception of some *Ægyptian* transcriber, on making use of a copy in which *Ἐγγαδδῖ* was considerably defaced; and being struck with the height of those *palm-trees*, which are some of the first objects that present themselves to the eye of those that go, by shipping, to *Ægypt*, the coast being extremely low, it appeared to him that *Αἰγιαλοῖς* must be the word he had to transcribe.

Another difference between the Greek and Latin copies is, that the first speaks simply of plane-trees flourishing when planted near water; the other speaks of them as growing by water in the streets. Here one would think it more natural, for the Greek copies to have inadvertently dropped the words *in the streets*, than for the Latin transcribers to have added them. But whence this idea is derived it is hard to say. Perhaps some ancient city in Judæa, which the son of Sirach had seen, might have somewhat resembled the modern capital of *Persia*, and be in miniature what Sir John Chardin found *Ispahan*. *A river ran through a noble long place there, where they were wont to take the air, and which was the most beautiful place of the kind he ever saw or heard of. It was crossed by streets in several places, he tells us, which are large canals of water, planted with a double row of lofty plane-trees,*

trees, *the one near the canal, the other next to the houses*¹. These trees not only made the *streets* in which they were planted extremely beautiful and pleasant, but it seems the Persians believed them to be very conducive to the preserving that city *in health*; for he says in another tome, that the “ Persians say it is owing to the plane-tree that they are preserved from the pestilence; and Calife Sulton, the grand vizier of Sephi Ist, often said to him, as I have heard him affirm, that it was from the time that the king his father had caused these trees to be planted, in the city and territory of Ispahan, that the pestilence had never visited them².”

We are not to suppose this is somewhat peculiar to Ispahan, for he tells us in another page, that many other cities of Persia are full of *planted plane-trees*, and particularly that of *Chiras*; the Persians being persuaded of that tree's having the property of being good against the pestilence, and every other kind of infection in the air³.

The trees which are wont to be planted in our English cities and towns are *lime-trees*; in Persia we find they are *plane-trees*, that are used to decorate their streets, and where there is wa-

¹ Tome 3, p. 56, 57.

² Tome 2, p. 201.

³ P. 11. Their being planted then of late at Ispahan, was owing, I apprehend, to the Sophi family's making Ispahan their capital, and for that purpose greatly enlarging it, and endeavouring to make it as healthful as well as magnificent as they could.

ter they grow to a great height; in Constantinople they have abundance of *cypress-trees*¹, the Turks using them not merely in their *burial-places*, but in their *palaces*, and private houses of distinction².

Whether this circumstance, (the making mention of plane-trees *in the streets*,) may be supposed to discover any thing of the countries into which the writer of the book of Ecclesiasticus travelled, by making great impression on his imagination, I leave to be considered; certainly the idea was not derived from Ægyptian towns, (they are surrounded with *palm-trees*³;) in which country the preface of this book tells us he met with a writing, which was the ground-work of this compilation of wise sayings, and where, it should seem, he gave it it's finishing strokes. In the book itself he is described as a Jew of *Jerusalem*, ch. 1. 27; but he is represented in another part of it as a great traveller. "A
 " man that hath travelled knoweth many
 " things: and he that hath much experience
 " will declare wisdom. He that hath no ex-
 " perience knoweth little: but he that hath
 " travelled is full of prudence. When *I* tra-
 " velled, I saw many things, and I under-
 " stand more than I can express." Ch. xxxiv.
 9, 10, 11.

¹ De Tott's Mem. tome 1, p. 5.—Phil. Transf. abridg. vol. 3, part 2, ch. 2. art. 39, p. 464.

² Ruffell's Hist. of Aleppo, p. 5.

³ De Tott, tome 4, p. 63, 64.

OBSERVATION CXXXII.

The *Septuagint* not only supposes that four sorts of grain, or seeds of the larger and harder kind, are mentioned in a passage of *Isaiah*¹; but *St. Jerome*, who tells us this in his *Commentary* on that prophet, represents the *Hebrew* as saying the same thing. *Jerome* frequently represents the *Septuagint* translation as differing from the original *Hebrew*; but here he supposes there is no difference between them². This leads us to various reflections: some perfectly coinciding with the design of these papers; others of a different nature.

In the first place it shows, that there has been a *variation* in the *Hebrew* copies since the days of *Jerome*. In this case the variation is of no great moment; it is however a *variation*. This, before the publications of *Dr. Kennicott*, would, probably, have been warmly contested; but will be more easily admitted now.

Secondly, The corruption is not greater than has been observed in some other cases. נִסְמָן (Nisman, the appointed), is put, it seems, for וְדֹחָן (Vedochan), which signifies, and millet.

¹ Ch. 28. 25—28.

² Even the vulgar Latin, which has undergone many supposed corrections, in order to make it more perfectly correspond with the modern *Hebrew* copies, yet retains the mention of four different kinds of grain here—wheat, barley, millet, and vetches.

The letters sufficiently resemble each other to admit of this change.

Thirdly, The adding the word *appointed* to the barley the husbandman sows, seems to be very useless here; but if we understand the word to have been originally *millet*, it is a very good addition to the examples that the prophet gives, of the wisdom the God of nature has been pleased to bestow on the husbandman in tilling the ground, so that he properly casts in the principal wheat, and the barley, and the millet, and the rye, or whatever grain the fourth word means.

Wheat, barley, millet, and vetches, are supposed to be the grains that the prophet mentions: now the time when they are sown, and the soil which is chosen for each respectively, differ; but God has given men the requisite *sagacity*.

“ They begin to plough about the latter
 “ end of *September*, and sow their *earliest*
 “ *wheat* about the middle of *October*. The
 “ frosts are never severe enough to prevent
 “ their ploughing all winter, so that they
 “ continue to sow all sorts of grain to the
 “ end of *January*, and *barley* sometimes after
 “ the middle of *February*. No harrow is
 “ used, but the ground is ploughed a second
 “ time after it is sown, in order to cover the
 “ grain; in some places, where the soil is a
 “ little sandy, they plough but once, and that
 “ is after sowing ‘.’”

† Russell, p. 16.

Here we see the wheat requires to be sown *much earlier* than the barley; and God has given the ploughman the discretion that is requisite to distinguish between the proper times of sowing them.

When we came farther, says Rauwolff, describing his voyage down the *Euphrates*, “we
 “ had generally even ground at both sides,
 “ and not a few fields, the most part whereof
 “ were sown with *Indian millet*, for they sow
 “ more of this than of wheat or barley, for
 “ the *sand* is pretty deep, wherein *the corn*
 “ *would not grow so well*. This millet was
 “ just fit to be cut down, and in some places
 “ they had it in already’. . . . Hereof
 “ they bake very well-tasted bread and cakes,
 “ and some of them are rolled very thin, and
 “ laid together like unto a letter, so that they
 “ are about four inches broad, six long, and
 “ two thick; they are of an ashen colour.
 “ The inhabitants call it still at this day by
 “ it’s ancient *Arabian* name *dora*, whereof
 “ *Rhazes* maketh mention².”

Here we see a great difference between the culture of the *millet* of those countries, and that of the *wheat and the barley*. It is sown in such a sandy soil, on the edge of the great Arabian desert, that neither the wheat, nor the barley, according to him, would grow there. These two last, Russell tells us, are reaped by the end of May N. S, just after

¹ The middle of *October*.

² Ray’s Trav. p. 161.

the drought of a Syrian summer comes on; while the millet is left abroad exposed to those violent heats, and not gathered in 'till the middle of *October*¹, which is after the time the autumnal rain often begins to fall. What a loss was it to the *beauty and energy* of the prophet's representation, of God's instructing the tiller of the ground how to proceed with the different kinds of grain, and what to sow in the different kinds of soil, when the word signifying *millet* was unfortunately taken to be a word which is thought to signify *appointed*, which has hardly any sense or meaning in this place!

I have elsewhere observed², that it is not improbable that the last word means a sort of grain which they call *corn of Damascus*, and the Italians *surgo rosso*, which it seems grows in a very moist soil in *Ægypt*, when that country is overflown; and so it stands distinguished from the millet which grows, according to *Rauwolff*, in the burning sands of *Arabia*. It is God that gives the husbandman discretion *when and where* to sow the different kinds of grain—the wheat *early in the winter*, the barley *in the latter end of it*; the millet in *sandy* places, the corn of *Damascus* in those that are *marshy or watery*.

This circumstance is *perhaps* meant by the last word in the 25th verse, which in our

¹ *Rauwolff*.
vol. 2, ch. 9, obs. 8.

² *Observ. on divers Places of Scrip:*

translation is rendered “in their place,” but is translated by others *his border*—the *cuffemeth* of his or it’s border, for *cuffumeth* is the Hebrew word to express this kind of grain. Now rivers (whose borders are generally more or less marshy or fenny) were commonly made use of to separate one country, or one district from another¹, as they are now, and consequently the *cuffumeth* of his border may mean the *coffumeth* that is wont to be sown in *moory, fenny, or watery places*. This places the thought of the prophet in a more clear and determinate point of view, than is wont to appear in commentators.

Agreeable to this Rauwolff saw Indian *millet* in the fields near *Rama*, when he visited the Holy-Land, in the time of our Queen Elizabeth. It was known then, at the time when our translation was made, that *millet* grew in Judæa; how unhappy that it appears not in our version, among the other things mentioned by Isaiah as cultivated there! He was there the middle of September, O. S, 1575, and observed, that *Rama* was situated on an ascent, in plain fields, which extended themselves two leagues, where the hills begin that continue to Jerusalem. “These fields are
 “very fruitful, and very well tilled and sown
 “with *corn, cotton, and Indian millet*. Here-
 “about do also grow *Indian musk-melons* in

¹ See Josh. 22. 25, Numb. 21. 13, 14, 24, 1 Kings 4. 21, Gen. 15. 18, &c.

“ great quantity, by the Arabians called *ba-*
 “ *tiere*, which are very pleasant, and well
 “ tasted, chiefly those that are red within ;
 “ so that in all my travels I hardly met with
 “ the like ¹.”

OBSERVATION CXXXIII.

I have, in a preceding volume ², taken notice of the present Eastern custom of sprinkling various sorts of *feeds on their bread*, to make it more pleasing: Rauwolff mentions the feeds of *sesamum*, *Romish coriander*, and *wild garden saffron*, as used for that purpose ³. Here I would observe, that in another place *Rauwolff* tells us, that in going from Aleppo to Bir, a town on the Euphrates, he saw
 “ *whole acres* of Turkish corn called *sesamo*,
 “ and others all sown with cotton ⁴.”

In like manner Dr. Russell informs us, that, “ besides Turkey wheat, barley, and cotton, they sow *in the fields*, cicers, lentils, beans, chickling, small vetch, *sesamum*, *baf-*
 “ *tard saffron*, Turkey millet ⁵.”

For the same reason—the frequent use of these feeds to give a more agreeable flavour to their bread, they might *anciently too* sow some of their fields with these vegetables ;

¹ Ray's Coll. of Travels; p. 229.

obs. 3.

³ Ray's Trav. p. 95.

² Vol. 1, ch. 4,

⁴ P. 125.

⁵ Descr. of Aleppo, p. 16, 17.

and it is probable that to some of them the prophet refers when he says, “ Doth the
 “ plowman plow all day to sow? doth he
 “ open and break the clods of his ground?
 “ When he hath made plain the face there-
 “ of, doth he not cast abroad the fitches,” (or
 rather the *sesamum*, or some other seed made
 use of to sprinkle on their bread,) “ and scatter
 “ the cummin For his God doth in-
 “ struct him to discretion, and doth teach
 “ him. For the fitches” (the *sesamum*, or
 some such seed) “ are not threshed with a
 “ threshing instrument, neither is a cart-
 “ wheel turned about upon the cummin:
 “ but the fitches” (the *sesamum*, &c,) “ are
 “ beaten with a staff, and the cummin with
 “ a rod¹.”

Whether what we call *cummin* is the seed
 Isaiah precisely meant, is not absolutely cer-
 tain: the *Dutch* of our times are said to put
 that kind of seed into their *cheeses*, but I do
 not recollect that any of our travellers say
 that it is used to give a relish to *bread*. How-
 ever, the accounts that are given us, of the
 sowing these small and tender feeds *in their*
fields by the modern Oriental husbandmen,
 may illustrate the words of the prophet here,
 better than the translating this first word by
 the term *gith*, as the vulgar Latin doth, and
 also St. Jerome, with which vegetable, and
 it's uses, we are not well acquainted. The

¹ If. 28. 25, &c.

Bishop of London, in his late curious translation of this sacred book, renders it *dill*, which seed might certainly be used for the same purpose as the *sesamum*, and grows *in the gardens* of Aleppo, Russell tells us ¹, as the *carraway* and the *coriander*; but the *dill* neither appears in his catalogue of the seeds sown *in the fields*, of which the prophet is speaking, nor doth *Rauwolf* give us any account of it's being sprinkled upon their bread: but it is possible both may be true.

St. Jerome remarks, that the Septuagint translates the end of the 27th verse, and beginning of the 28th, after this manner, “ the gith is beaten out with a rod, and the cummin is eaten with bread;” and says he could not imagine what they had in view in that translation: but, I think, we may learn at least this from it, that in those times in which they lived, such small seeds as cummin, &c, were wont to be sprinkled on their bread; they would hardly otherwise have so translated the words. This Jerome did not attend to, but observed that it was a deviation from the Hebrew copy he made use of, and such an one as he could not well account for ².

By another passage, in the same commentary, it appears that in Judæa, in his time, the same difference continued that the pro-

¹ P. 26. ² Nescio quid volentes LXX. transtulerunt: Cuminum autem cum pane comeditur. Com. in loc.

phet mentions, as to the mode of threshing these things—The wheat, barley, and the fourth kind of grain, passed under the old Eastern machine; the smaller seeds, first mentioned, threshed by a staff; but as to the *millet*, he was unable to say how it was treated.

It may not be improper to add, that, according to the *Baron de Tott*, cummin is so much cultivated to this day in Judæa, that its seed constitutes one branch of its commerce with Ægypt; but he gives us no account of the use that is made of it, whether as a relisher of their *bread*, their cheese, or any other sort of their food¹, or whether it is imported for the use of their pigeons. I will however set down the passage.

The commerce of Jaff, (he means Joppa,)
 “ only consists of linen and rice, sent from
 “ Damietta for the consumption of Napoo-
 “ loose, Rames, Jerusalem, and numerous
 “ hordes of Arabs, who encamp in the plains
 “ of Gaza.

“ Damietta receives in exchange, glass-
 “ ware, fabricated at Ebrom, raw cottons,
 “ *cummin*, and especially soap of Jaff. This
 “ article has enjoyed, from time immemorial,
 “ the privilege of only paying, in Ægypt,
 “ half the usual duties².”

¹ Pietro della Vallé, speaking of some of the Turkish dishes, gives an account of sausages made of beef, seasoned with *cummin*-seed, which was by no means agreeable to his palate. Tome 1, p. 129, 130.

² Memoirs, part 4, p. 94, 95.

OBSERVATION CXXXIV.

The representation Dr. Chandler gives of the garden of the governor of Eleûs, a Turkish town on the western border of the Hellespont, may be considered, I apprehend, as the description of most of the ancient gardens of the Jewish people.

“ When the heat was abated a little, we
 “ were informed that the governor gave us
 “ permission to refresh in his garden. We
 “ dismissed his messenger with a bac-shish,
 “ or *present* of three piasters, and an excuse,
 “ that we were just going away; but this
 “ was not accepted; and we paid another
 “ piafter for seeing a very *small* spot of ground,
 “ walled in, and containing nothing, except
 “ two vines, a fig and a pomegranate-tree,
 “ and a well of excellent water.”

Other fruit-trees were certainly known, even in the patriarchal times, though we have reason to believe, that there have been great additions made to the knowledge of the people of the East, in this respect, since those times; but if a few vines, a fig, and a pomegranate, were all the fruit-trees now found in an Eastern garden, belonging to a person of some figure, we may believe the number of the trees of an ancient Jewish garden, in

† Travels in Asia Minor, p. 16.

common, were not more numerous, or composed of a greater variety.

Accordingly we find grapes, figs, and pomegranates mentioned, while other kinds of fruit are passed over in silence, excepting the olive, Numb. xiii. 23, xx. 5, Deut. viii. 8, and Hag. ii. 19.

When then the transactions of Nathanael under a fig-tree are mentioned, John i. 48, we may believe they were the devotional exercises of a retired *garden*, walled in and concealed from the eyes of men; and when King Saul is said to have tarried under a pomegranate-tree in Migron, 1 Sam. xiv. 2, it is probable he was taking the refreshment of the air in a *garden*. Certainly when Israel are said to have dwelt, every man under his own vine and his own fig-tree¹, those passages refer to the Eastern people's spending a good part of their time in their *gardens*.

It is to be remembered, the gardens spoken of in the book of Canticles, filled with such a variety of productions, were *royal* gardens, and the gardens of a prince remarkable both for curiosity, for knowledge of natural history, and for magnificence.

These royal gardens seem to have been at a distance from the palace; the miniature gardens of the ancient Jews, in common life, adjoining to their houses.

¹ 1 Kings 4. 25, &c.

OBSERVATION CXXXV.

The sacred writings sometimes represent *olives* as *beaten off the trees*, and at other times as *shaken*: this doth not indicate, I should apprehend, an improvement made in *after-times* on the original mode of gathering them; or different methods of procedure by different people, in the same age and country, who possessed olive-yards; but rather expresses, the difference between the gathering the main crop by the *owners*, and the way in which the *poor* collected the few olive-berries that were left, and which, by the law of Moses, they were to be permitted to take.

The *beating* off of the olives is mentioned Deut. xxiv. 20: “When thou beatest thine
“ olive-tree, thou shalt not go over the boughs
“ again; it shall be for the stranger, for the
“ fatherless, and for the widow.” The shaking the olive-trees is mentioned, If. xvii. 6, and xxiv. 13, as then the practice, or used at least on some occasions.

The Abbot Fortis, in his account of Dalmatia¹, praises the care of the inhabitants of a certain island there, in the management of their *olives*, in not suffering them to ferment before they express the oil; and complains of the “stupid and absurd method of gathering
“ in many other places. In the kingdom of

¹ P. 412.

“ Naples,

“ *Naples*, and in several other parts of *Italy*,
“ they use to beat the branches *with long*
“ *poles*, in order to make the fruit fall. This
“ foolish method, besides hurting the plant,
“ and spoiling many branches that would bear
“ the year following, makes the ripe and un-
“ ripe fruit fall indiscriminately, and bruises
“ a great deal of both kinds, whereby they
“ become rancid in the heaps, and give an
“ ill-flavoured oil.”

However hurtful beating down the olives with long poles may be, philosophically considered, if it has continued, down to our times, to be the custom in *Naples* and other parts of *Italy*, it is no wonder, that in the more early and unimproved state of things in the time of *Moses*, this should have been the *common* way of gathering them by the owners, who were willing to leave as few as possible on their trees, we may believe, and were forbid by their law to brush them over a second time.

But shaking them was sufficient when they had hung so much longer as to be fully ripe, and therefore, it should seem, was used by the poor, or by strangers, who might not have such long poles in their possession as the owners kept; not to say that the owners might not be insensible that beating the trees was injurious, and therefore might require the poor not to make use of that mode of gathering them, though they might not suppose it was so hurtful as to counterbalance

the advantage derived from beating them, when they proposed to gather the main crop *themselves*.

Accordingly, if we examine the places that speak of the *shaking* the olive-trees, we shall find the main crop had been gathered at that time, and consequently that it was only made use of to come at the olive-berries that were left, the words of Isaiah', "As the shaking of
" an olive-tree, two or three berries in the top
" of the uppermost bough, &c," being to be understood as signifying, *As in the time when men come to an olive-tree to shake it, after the crop is gathered, there appear only a few here and there*; not as meaning, *As after the shaking of the olive-tree, &c.* And thus, with great judgment, has the Bishop of London translated the passage,

" A gleanings shall be left in it, as *in* the shaking of the
" olive-tree."

Answerably to this, the olives of the Holy-Land continue to be beaten down to this time; at least they were so gathered in the year 1774.

OBSERVATION CXXXVI.

When our translation represents Joash as over the *cellars* of oil, in the time of King David, 1 Chron. xxvii. 28, they have certain-

* Ch. 17. 6.

ly without any necessity, and perhaps *improperly*, substituted a *particular* term for a *general* expression. Joash was at that time, according to the sacred historian, over the *treasures of oil*; but whether it was kept in *cellars*, or in some other way, does not at all appear in the original history.

The modern Greeks, according to Dr. Richard Chandler, do not keep their oil in cellars, but *in large earthen jars, sunk in the ground, in the arcas before their houses*¹. The custom *might* obtain among the Jews: as then it was needless, it must be improper to use the particular term *cellars*, when the original uses a word of the most general signification.

It is certain they sometimes *buried their oil in the earth*, in order to secrete it in times of danger, on which occasion they must be supposed to choose the most unlikely places, where such concealment would be least suspected—in *their fields*; whether they were wont to bury it, at other times, in their court-yards, cannot be so easily ascertained².

¹ Trav. in Greece, p. 126.

² Jer. 41. 8. "Ten men were found among them that said unto Ishmael, Slay us not; for we have treasures in the field, of wheat, and of barley, and of oil, and of honey."

OBSERVATION CXXXVII.

A very ingenious writer seems to suppose¹, that the vine blossoms *considerably earlier* than the olive; that grapes, when *half-grown*, are wont to fall as well as the *olive-blossoms*; that the disappointment of people's hopes from either arises from the *same cause*; and that that cause is the burning pestilential *quality of the east wind*: but all these suppositions, I would remark, admit of doubt; nor do the words of *Eliphaz*, in the book of *Job*, (ch. xv. 33,) require us to admit of any of these points.

Some doubt may be made, whether the vine doth blossom in the East *considerably earlier* than the olive, on account of a passage of Dr. Richard Chandler's Travels in Greece. That curious and observing gentleman informs us², *that he set out from Marathon the 5th of May; that the next day he was presented with an handful of white roses fresh gathered*³. In the

¹ Scott, in his translation of the book of Job, thus translates the 33d verse of the 15th chapter.

“As when the vine her *half-grown berries* showers,
“Or poison'd olive her *unfolding flowers*.”

And his note there is, “The green grapes shew themselves early in the spring, in those hot climates; and the olive-blossoms in June and July; in which months a pestilential east wind bloweth there.”

² P. 159.

³ P. 161. One would rather imagine therefore considered as something curious, as being but just come into blossom,

the same page he tells us, *that that day they procured a live fowl, which they had boiled for breakfast, with some eggs to be fried in oil*; he goes on, "We eat under an olive-tree then laden with pale yellow flowers. A strong breeze from the sea scattered the bloom, and incommoded us, but the spot afforded no shelter more eligible."

According to this, the olive-tree, it should seem, blossoms at the *same time* with the rose-bush; and I have elsewhere¹ shown, that the blossoming of the rose and of the vine are nearly contemporary: with us in the latter end of June, in some of the warmer Eastern countries about the end of April. According to Dr. Chandler, in this passage, the olive, in like manner, was in blossom the *beginning* of May in *Greece*, at which time the white rose was just come into bloom, and was presented as an agreeableness to the Doctor², and at that time the olive-blossoms were *blown off* in such quantities as to incommode them.

It is but justice however to add, that Dr. Chandler, in another place of the same book, describes the *olive* as being in blossom about the *end of June*. For leaving *Athens* the 21st

blossom, not as to be found on every rose-bush they met with. It might however have been otherwise; and rose-bushes and vines have come into flower some time sooner.

¹ Outlines of a new Commentary on Solomon's Song, p. 147.

² There is very little difference, in point of time, between the blossoming of the white and red rose.

of that month, and having passed from place to place in the Saronic gulf, for four or five days, he tells us, p. 211, "We landed and went to the
 " monastery, which is at some distance from
 " the sea, the situation high and romantic,
 " near a deep torrent-bed. It was surrounded
 " by green vineyards; thickets of myrtle;
 " orange and lemon-trees in blossom; the
 " arbutus with fruit large but unripe; the
 " oleander or picro-daphne, and the *olive*
 " laden with flowers."

According to this last account, the grapes near *Marathon* might be of a considerable size, when the olive-trees in the other place were but in blossom. But (if there is no mistake in one of these accounts) as the olive does not continue long in the blossom, as will appear presently, the difference, in point of time, as to the blossoming of the olive in these two places, must have proceeded from the difference of soil, or exposition, or height, or some, or all, of these causes conjoined¹; and probably, in consequence, the vine in this lofty situation was *proportionably* as backward.

It is certain that *Miller*, the great Chelsea gardener, supposes that with us, *oranges, lemons, limes, citrons, red, white, and double oleanders, and olives*, may be found in flower in the month of July, in our green-houses and stoves, consequently are contempo-

¹ Chandler himself observes the situation of the last place was *high*.

raries ; but the vine blossoms with us before July in the open air ¹.

As to the other particulars : it is very much questioned, whether grapes, when *half-grown*, are wont to fall from the vines, so as to defeat the hopes of a good vintage. I do not remember to have heard of any such complaint. The hurt done to the olive-tree is, according to a succeeding citation from Dr. Chandler, when they are in blossom ; and the Doctor tells us ², not indeed as from *his own observation*, but from *Pausanius*, the hurt was done in as early a state to the vine, if not earlier, for that ancient author speaks of their being injured in the *bud* ; and that it was supposed to be a *south-west* wind that withered them in that early period ; whereas it was, according to *Chandler*, a *north* or north-east wind, that was wont to defeat their hopes from the olive-trees in *Greece* : to which he adds, that the danger, with regard to the flowers of those trees, is over in a fortnight.

The passage is too curious not to be cited at length here. It is as follows : “ The
“ olive-groves are now, as anciently, a prin-
“ cipal source of the riches of *Athens*. . . .
“ The mills for pressing and grinding the
“ olives are in the town. The oil is deposited
“ in large earthen jars, sunk in the ground,
“ in the areas before the houses. The crops
“ had failed five years successively when we

¹ See his Gardener's Kalendar.

² P. 219.

“ arrived. The cause assigned was, a *north-*
 “ *ly* wind called Greco-Tramontane, which
 “ destroyed the flower. The fruit is set in
 “ about a fortnight, when the apprehension
 “ from this unpropitious quarter ceases. The
 “ bloom in the following year was unhurt,
 “ and we had the pleasure of leaving the
 “ Athenians happy in the prospect of a plen-
 “ tiful harvest ¹.”

Here, we are told, it is a *northberly* wind that is supposed to cause the olive-blossom to fail. Elsewhere the Cæcias, or the *north-east* wind, according to the disposition of the tower of *Andronicus Cyrrhestes* at Athens, which is
 “ an octagon, decorated with sculpture, re-
 “ presenting the winds, eight in number. . . .
 “ A young Turk,” says Chandler, “ explain-
 “ ed to me two of the emblems; that of the
 “ figure of Cæcias, as signifying he made the
 “ olives fall; of Sciron, that he dried up the
 “ rivers ².”

If then the olive-trees are injured by a N. E. wind, and the vines by a S. W, they are not hurt by the *same kind* of wind: they are *opposite* winds that are supposed to produce these different effects ³.

¹ P. 126.

² P. 103.

³ Accordingly, Dr. Chandler, who expresseth such an obliging concern for the Athenians, on account of the failure of their olive-crops five years together, says not one word of any loss they sustained of their grapes; and no wonder, if they are contrary winds that produce these destructive effects on those two important trees of the East.

If they are *opposite* winds that produce these destructive effects on the vine and the olive, they are not both to be attributed to the *Summyel*, or deadly east wind. It should even seem *neither* of these two sorts of ruinous winds are to be supposed to have the qualities of the *Summyel*, as the very ingenious author, on whom I am now animadverting, supposes. The *Summyel* is not known, I think, in *Greece*. What effect is produced by the *Summyel* on *half-grown grapes and olive-blossoms*, in the countries where it blows, if distinctly noticed there, hath not, so far as I know, been transmitted to us in Europe: but it is evident, from these citations from Dr. Chandler, that winds that are not deadly, as the *Summyel* is, may be very ruinous to vines and olive-trees; and that these effects should not be attributed to this kind of south-east wind *exclusively*, if at all.

It would be an agreeable acquisition to the learned world, if observations made in Judæa itself, or rather, in this case, in the land of Uz, were communicated to it, relating to the natural causes which occasion, from time to time, a disappointment of their hopes from their vineyards and olive-plantations; and the effects of a violently sultry south-east wind on their most useful, or remarkable vegetables.

After all, I very much question, whether the words of *Eliphaz*, in this passage of the book of *Job*, refer to any *blasting* of the vine by natural causes; they seem rather to express the violently taking away the un-

ripe grapes by the *wild Arabs*, of which I have given an account in a preceding volume'. It is certain the word translated here *unripe grape*, is used to express those grapes that were so far advanced in growth as to be eaten, though not properly ripened, as appears from Jer. xxxi. 29, and Ezek. xviii. 2; and the verb translated here *shake off*, signifies removing by violence, consequently cannot be meant of any thing done in the natural course of things, but by an human hand; and if so, may as well be applied to the depredations of the Arabs, as the impetuosity or deleterious quality of any wind, the energy of poetry making use of a verb active instead of it's passive.

It may not be amiss, before I close, just to take notice, that the vulgar Latin translation was so little apprehensive that grapes, when grown to any considerable size, were wont to drop, that it's authors, or correctors, have rendered the words after this manner, "Lædetur quasi vinea in *primo flore* botrus ejus," that is, "His cluster shall be injured as a vine when it first comes into flower;" in-

¹ Obs. vol. 1, ch. 2, obs. 6.—Is. 18. 5, is to be understood after the same manner, which the Bishop of London has thus translated, after a much more advantageous manner than our common version,

"Surely before the *vintage*, when the bud is perfect,

"And the blossom is become a swelling grape;

"He shall cut off the shoots with pruning hooks,

"And the branches he shall take away, he shall cut down."

timating,

timating, that if any damage is done to the vine at all by an intemperate season, they supposed it would be upon it's *first flowering*.

How arduous is the business of translating a foreign poem into English verse! A multitude of circumstances must be attended to by such a translator, when he finds himself obliged, as he often does, to vary the expressions a little, on account of his verse; and, for want of full information as to particular points, he must frequently fail. Mistakes here demand great candour.

OBSERVATION CXXXVIII.

Though the conveniences they have in the wine-countries for pressing their grapes, were frequently in peaceful times *in their vineyards*¹; yet in times of apprehension, it should seem, they were oftentimes *in the cities themselves*.

Greece in our times is, we are informed, frequently alarmed, and always under apprehension from Corsairs: accordingly we find, that though *the plantations of olive-trees belonging to Athens are large, and at some distance from thence, yet the mills for grinding and pressing the olives are in that town*; and this, though, according to his description, the great olive-grove, or *wood of these trees*, as Dr. Richard

¹ *Ik. 5. 2, Matt. 21. 33.*

Chandler calls it, *watered by the Cephissus, is about three miles from the city, and has been computed as at least six miles long*¹. The same reason that can induce men to fetch their olives from a distance into their towns, must operate more or less forcibly with regard to their grapes.

This was, in particular, I apprehend, the state of things at the time *Nehemiah* visited the children of the captivity. They had many enemies, and those very spiteful, about them; and they themselves were very weak. For this reason, I imagine, *many* of them trod their grapes in Jerusalem itself. “In those days saw I in
 “Judah some treading wine-presses on the
 “Sabbath, and bringing in sheaves, and lading
 “asses; and also wine, grapes, and figs, and
 “all manner of burdens, which they brought
 “into Jerusalem on the Sabbath-day.” Neh. xiii. 15. Had these wine-presses been at a distance from Jerusalem, he that so strictly observed the precept of resting that day would not have seen that violation of it. They appear by that circumstance, as well as by the other particulars mentioned there, to have been within the walls of Jerusalem.

Our translators seem to have been guilty of an oversight in rendering this verse, where they plainly suppose, that sheaves of corn were brought into Jerusalem, at that very time that men were treading the wine-presses.

¹ Trav. in Greece, p. 126.

This is a strange *anachronism*, since the harvest there was finished in or before the third month, and the vintage was not till the seventh. It is described with great accuracy by the sacred penman of the 2d book of Chronicles. There we are told, *that when the Israelites brought in the first-fruits of their corn, wine, and oil, and honey, and of all the increase of the field, and laid them by heaps, that in the third month they began to lay the foundation of the heaps, and finished them in the seventh month; and that when Hezekiah and the princes came and saw the heaps, they blessed the Lord and his people*¹. The corn was fit to present to the Lord about the end of May or beginning of June; the wine and oil, or raisins and ripe olives, not till the end of September, or perhaps the beginning of October².

It appears the more awkward, to talk of the bringing in sheaves of corn at the same time the wine-presses were at work, because it is well known, that the people of these countries immediately tread out their corn, after they have cut or plucked it up, and put it in proper repositories. There is no such thing among them as with us, where sheaves of corn may be often seen many months after

¹ Ch. 31. 5—8.

² However it is to be acknowledged, that they have now a sort of corn in those countries, and in Judæa, which is not ripe 'till the end of the summer, which caused Rauwolff to say it was harvest-time when he arrived at Joppa, which was on the 13th of September. Ray's Trav. p. 226, 229.

they were reaped, and are sometimes removed from one place to another. At the same time, they that know any thing of the Hebrew, know that the word they have translated *sheaves*, is the very word that is translated *heaps* in that passage of Chronicles, and which signifies heaps of raisins, figs, pomegranates, as well as of corn threshed out.

So then the words of Nehemiah are to be understood as signifying, *In those days saw I in Judah some treading wine-presses on the Sabbath, and bringing in parcels of grapes for that purpose in baskets, which they had laden on asses, and also jars of wine pressed elsewhere, dried grapes and figs, and all manner of burdens of victuals, which they sold on the Sabbath: the squeezing the grapes for wine, and drying them for raisins, being it seems, at least frequently, attended to at one and the same time.* So when Dr. Chandler set out from *Smyrna* to visit *Greece*, in the end of *August*, the vintage was just begun, “ the black grapes being
 “ spread on the ground in beds, exposed to
 “ the sun to dry for raisins; while in another
 “ part, the juice was expressed for wine, a
 “ man, with feet and legs bare, treading the
 “ fruit in a kind of cistern, with an hole or
 “ vent near the bottom, and a vessel beneath
 “ it to receive the liquor ’.”

If the same custom obtained in *Judæa* then, which it seems is practised in *Greece* now, and

’ Trav. in Greece, p. 2.

that the vintage was just then finishing, Nehemiah must have been particularly galled, for it seems they finish their vintage with dancing, and therefore I presume with songs, and probably music. For speaking of the Greek dances¹, of which some are supposed of very remote antiquity, and one, in particular, called *the Crane*, he says, “the peasants perform it yearly in the street of the French convent², at the conclusion of the vintage; joining hands, and preceding their mules and their asses, which are laden with grapes in panniers, in a very curved and intricate figure; the leader waving an handkerchief, which has been imagined to denote the clew given by Ariadne³.”

Singing seems to have been practised by the Jews in their vineyards, and shouting when they trod the grapes, from what we read, II. xvi. 10; but whether dancing too, and whether they carried their profanation of the Sabbath this length, in the time of Nehemiah, we are not informed.

Some may have supposed, that the words of Jeremiah, ch. xxxi. 4, 5, refer to the joy expressed by the Jews in the time of vintage: “Again, I will build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel; thou shalt again be adorned with thy tabrets, and shall go forth in the dances of them that make mer-

¹ P. 134.

² Where they lodged at that time.

³ The dance being supposed to have been invented by Theseus, upon his escape from the labyrinth.

“ ry. Thou shalt yet *plant vines* upon the
 “ mountains of Samaria; the planters shall
 “ plant, and shall eat them as common things.”
 Vines and dancing are here joined together.

But I must think it most probable, that the prophet refers here to such excursions of joy as those mentioned by Dr. Shaw: “ There are
 “ several *Turkish and Moorish* youths, and no
 “ small part likewise of the unmarried soldiers,
 “ who attend their concubines, with wine and
 “ music, *into the fields*; or else make them-
 “ selves merry at the tavern; a practice, in-
 “ deed, expressly prohibited by their religion,
 “ but what the necessity of the times, and the
 “ uncontrollable passions of the transgres-
 “ sors, oblige these governments to dispense
 “ with’.”

The Jewish religion did not forbid wine: and the *going forth* of them that make merry, seems more to resemble these excursions in Barbary; than the *bringing home* the last gatherings of their vintage with music and dancing. Nor were vineyards and such excursions totally unconnected together, since their shadiness made them extremely proper for the reception of these parties of pleasure.

The dances of the daughters of Shiloh, mentioned Judges xxi, though performed in the *neighbourhood of the vineyards* there², seem however to have been of a very different

² P. 234.

³ Ver. 21.

kind'—a *particular religious solemnity* observed by that town.

For 1st. It appears to have been celebrated by the virgins of Shiloh exclusively, they *alone dancing*, and being at the same time *unattended* by the men; not to mention the supposed solitude of the vineyards at the time of this festival, whereas at the time of vintage they would have been crowded with people.

2d. It was a religious solemnity, for it is expressly called a Feast of the Lord, (of Jehovah,) verse 19.

3d. It seems to have been *particular* to the inhabitants of that town, for there appears to be no reason assignable for the mentioning Shiloh only, if it had been a feast common to all Israel. The word indeed is used to express the three great annual feasts of the Jews, but not them only, as appears from Exod. xxxii. 5, and 1 Kings xii. 32. The use of the verb in 1 Sam. xxx. 16, shows it expresses any kind of rejoicing.

4th. As there were some voluntary annual solemnities observed by Israel, some of the mournful kind, as that for the daughter of Jephthah, Judges xi. 40; others of the joyous sort, as the days of Purim, Esther ix. 20—28: this dancing solemnity seems to have been one

▪ From *both* the sorts of festivity I have been discoursing about: the public rejoicings of the vintage, and the more private excursions of the young into the country.

of these voluntary joyous appointments, but peculiar to Shiloh.

But it is doubtful whether it was a perfectly innocent observation, founded on some remarkable mercy that had been granted to Shiloh, such as *might* have been established by the people of Jabesh-Gilead, in commemoration of the narrow escape they had from Nahash the Ammonite, 1 Sam. xi; or a more faulty solemnity, which arose from an old heathenish custom, that had long been established in Shiloh, in honour of some of their idols, or in consequence of some vain opinion that had prevailed in that place.

So Dr. Chandler has given us, in the same volume, many instances of the Greek Christians retaining many of the old practices of their idolatrous ancestors, only making some little changes, requisite for their more easy naturalization in the Christian church. Thus, as "Athens was anciently enlivened by the
 " choruses singing and dancing in the open
 " air, in the front of the temples of the gods
 " and round their altars, at the festivals of
 " Bacchus and other holy-days;" so "the
 " Greeks are frequently seen engaged in the
 " same exercise, generally in pairs, especially
 " on the anniversary of their saints, and often
 " in the areas before their churches," p. 133. In p. 220, speaking of a temple of Minerva, in which the virgins of Troezen consecrated their zones before marriage, he tells us, "The
 " same

“ same offering is still seen in the churches
“ at Athens, with towels richly embroidered,
“ and various other articles.” Upon speaking
of Esculapius, a few pages after ¹, he informs
us, that since he has failed faints have suc-
ceeded to the business: “ I have seen,” this
writer adds, “ patients lying in beds in their
“ churches at Athens.”

If Shiloh was, at this very time, the place
of their religious solemnities, this, though a
relique of heathen idolatry or superstition,
might be practised there. *Jerusalem* after-
wards did not maintain the purity of Mosaic
institutions at all times; if it was a memorial
of some deliverance, and perfectly innocent,
it might, certainly, be as well practised at
Shiloh as in any other Jewish district.

I will only add, that it should seem, by
their lying hid in the vineyards, that the vine-
yards were then in leaf, and that this solemn-
ity at Shiloh was between the time that
leaves first appeared on their vines, that is, in
that country about the beginning of March,
and the time of vintage in September; for we
find by Dr. Chandler, that the cattle in the
lesser Asia are turned into the vineyards im-
mediately after the vintage is over, and prema-
turely strip off the leaves ². More exactly the
time of this event cannot, I imagine, be de-
termined by us in this remote age.

¹ P. 226.

² Travels in Asia, p. 142.

OBSERVATION CXXXIX.

I have shewn, in my preceding observations¹, that vines in Judæa sometimes grow against low stone-walls; but I do not apprehend the ingenious Mr. Barrington can be right, when he supposes, in a paper of his on the patriarchal customs and manners², that Joseph is compared to a *vine growing against a wall*, Gen. xlix. 22.

As vines are sometimes planted against a low wall, they might *possibly* be planted against a low wall surrounding a well: though it is difficult to guess, why a wall should be built round a well, in a vineyard, of such a height as to be proper for the support of a vine; and if it were, why archers should direct their arrows against it, when it would be so easy to gather the fruit by hand, without injury.

But I should suppose this is not an exact representation.

In the first place, a *vine* is not mentioned; it is only a *fruitful-tree*, in general, to which Joseph is compared.

Secondly, The being situated near water is extremely conducive, in that dry and hot country, to the flourishing of vegetables in general; and *trees* among the rest. “We came,” says Maundrell³, “to the fountain

¹ Vol. 1, p. 456.

² Archæologia, vol. 5, p. 122.

³ P. 80, ed. 5.

“ of Elisha. Close by the fountain grows a
 “ *large tree*, spreading into boughs over the
 “ water, and here in the shade we took a
 “ collation.” A tree, we find, planted near
 plenty of water, grows there to a large size.

Thirdly, The wild Arabs of those countries are great plunderers of fruit. Maillet assigns that as the reason why the fruit of the land of Ægypt, in these later times, is not better, namely, that they are wont to gather it before it is properly ripened, on the account of the Arabs, who would otherwise rob them of it.

Fourthly, It is very well known, that *walls* easily stop Arabs, who are continually on horseback in their roving about, and do not care to quit them, nor are used to climb walls. They had no better way then to get the fruit of those trees, whose luxuriant boughs ran over the walls of their inclosures, than by throwing their bludgeons at them, and gathering up the fruit that fell on the outside of the wall. To these things should be added,

Fifthly, That the word translated arrows, means not only those things that we are wont to call arrows, but such sticks as are thrown by the hand, as well as those missile weapons that are darted by means of a bow; for we find the word is made use of to express the *staff* of a spear, 1 Sam. xvii. 7, and consequently any piece of wood long in proportion

* Obs. vol. 1, p. 89, 90.

to its diameter, especially if used as a missile instrument. The lords of arrows then, for that is the Hebrew expression, (conformable to an Eastern mode of speech,) which we translate archers, is a natural description of the wild Arabs, those lords of bludgeons, in committing their depredations on the Eastern gardens and vineyards.

But this manner of treating the vine, would not be advantageous: bunches of grapes are by no means thus to be dislodged; and the fall would spoil the fruit. But there are other trees whose fruit might *thus* be gathered; among the rest, I should suppose the *pomegranate*, whose fruit has so hard a shell, as neither to be injured by the fall, or destroyed by an accidental blow of the sticks they used for pelting the tree.

The destroying a man is sometimes compared to the cutting down a tree: "I knew not," said the prophet Jeremiah, "that they had devised devices against me, saying, Let us destroy *the tree with the fruit* thereof, and let us cut him off from the land of the living, that his name may be no more remembered," Jer. xi. 19. But the envious brethren of Joseph did not imbrue their hands in his blood, they did not destroy him as men destroy a tree when they cut it down, but they terribly distressed him—they sold him for a slave into *Ægypt*: he had *flourished* in the favour of his father and of his God, like a tree by a reservoir of water, but they for a time dishonoured

honoured him, as a tree is disgraced by the breaking it's boughs, and knocking off it's leaves, by the wild Arabs, who want to derive some advantage from battering it after this manner, when they cannot come at it to destroy it.

OBSERVATION CXL.

According to Dr. Richard Chandler's observations in the Lesser Asia, it should seem that their tame cattle are very fond of *vine-leaves*, and are permitted to eat them in the autumn: this may serve to illustrate a passage in the writings of Moses.

“ The wine of Phygela,” says the Doctor, “ is commended by Dioscorides; and it's territory was now *green* with vines. We had remarked, that about Smyrna *the leaves were decayed, or stripped by the camels and herds of goats*, which are admitted to browse after the vintage¹.”

He left Smyrna September 30², and it seems their vineyards were by that time stripped, though they still continued green at Phygela, the 5th or 6th of October³.

I believe we may be very sure, that the leaves of the vineyards of Smyrna had not disappeared from natural decay the 30th of

¹ Trav. in Asia Minor, p. 142.

² P. 110.

³ P. 141.

September, since they continue longer than that time in our climate; it must have been owing then *to their camels and goats*.

If those animals are so fond of *vine-leaves*, it is no wonder that *Moses*, by an express law¹, forbade *a man's causing another man's vineyard to be eaten, by putting in his beast*: since camels and goats are so fond of the leaves of the vine, and consequently the turning any of them in before the fruit was gathered must have occasioned much mischief; and even *after* it must have been an injury, as it would have been eating up another's *feed*.

If however these leaves were generally eaten by cattle, after the vintage was over, it seems to be rather difficult, how to explain the prophet's representing the dropping down of the stars of heaven, in a general wreck of the frame of nature, *by the falling of the leaf from the vine*, *Is. xxxiv. 4*. The leaves of many other trees fell in great numbers, but we are supposing few or none of the leaves of the vines in their vineyards dropped, the cattle being turned into their vineyards before these leaves were wont to drop, and being very fond of eating them.

I do not know how to account for this otherwise, than by reminding my reader, that though the ancient Israelites were in a manner universally concerned in *agriculture*, yet they did not live in *detached* habitations in the

¹ Exod. 22. 5.

fields, as many of our people of that class do, but in towns where the houses stood thick together, but with some trees planted near to them¹, whose shade their camels and goats were not permitted to destroy. To which is to be added, from St. Jerome, that the air is often so soft, even *late in the autumn*, as to admit, and even invite their sitting abroad, when the leaves were scattered on the ground, and consequently scattering from these *domestic trees*². And if not, they could not well avoid seeing them as they sat in their houses close by.

OBSERVATION CXLI.

The wines produced in the Holy-Land are, it seems, of different sorts, in consequence of the vines there being of different kinds.

This is common in other countries, and is expressly taken notice of by travellers as to the wine made by the monks of Canobine on Mount Lebanon, of which I have taken notice in another article: one sort being red, the best of the colour of gold.

There is, it is found, a like difference in the adjoining country. So the gentleman that travelled in these countries in 1774 remarked, that the grapes of the Holy-Land that he saw were chiefly *black*, while those of Cœlo-Syria are remarkable for their *size*, and mostly

¹ See Obs. 36. vol. 3. ² See Obs. vol. 1, ch. 1, obs. 5.

white. This implies that those he saw were, at least comparatively speaking, *small* to the Syrian, as well as of a different colour.

Accordingly the Scriptures speak of *red* wine, Is. lxiii. 2; as well as of the *blood* of the grape, Deut. xxxii. 14, which term may, possibly, be designed to indicate its colour¹.

The wine made from these black grapes he found very indifferent: whether from the real quality of the grape, or bad method of making the wine, he could not say.

But though this gentleman seems to have *seen* no grapes of a large size in *Judæa*, as he had^a in Cælo-Syria, yet there are some such growing there, though he happened not to see them; or at least ^{there} did a thousand years ago: for d'Herbelot tells us, in his *Bibliothèque Orientale*, from the Persian historian *Kbondemir*, “ that Jezid being in *Palæstine*, which he calls *Beled Arden*, or the “ country of *Jordan*, and diverting himself “ in a garden with one of his women, of “ whom he was passionately fond, they set “ before him a collation of the *most excellent* “ *fruits of that country*: during this little re- “ past, he threw a single grape to the lady, “ which she took, and putting it to her “ mouth to eat it, she let it slip down her

^a The term *blood* there seems to refer to the *colour* of the juice of the grape, or of the wine produced by it, since otherwise it should seem that a word signifying *tears* would have been used, answerable to the marginal translation of Exod. 22. 29.

“ throat, and being *very large*, such as *that*
 “ *country produced*, it stopped her breath, and
 “ stifled her in an instant ‘.”

This surprising accident, which it seems threw the Khalife into such a melancholy as brought that great prince to the grave, happened about the year of our Lord 723; but Palæstine has undergone great alterations since that time.

Doubdan, however, tells us, that travelling in the country about Bethlehem he found a most delightful valley, full not only of aromatic herbs and rose-bushes, but planted with vines, which he supposed were of the choicest kind, and that it was indeed the valley of Eshcol, from whence the spies carried that prodigious bunch of grapes to Moses, of which we read in the book of Numbers². “ It is
 “ true,” says this writer, “ I have seen no
 “ such bunches of grapes, not having been
 “ here in the time of vintage; but the monks
 “ assured me that they still find here some
 “ that weigh ten or twelve pounds. As to
 “ the wine, I have tasted of it many times,
 “ and have always found it the most agree-
 “ able of that made in the Holy-Land. It
 “ is a *white* wine, which has however some-
 “ thing of a reddish cast, is somewhat of the
 “ muscadel kind, and very delicious to drink,
 “ without producing any bad effects³.”

¹ Art. Jezid Ben Abdalmalek.

² Ch. 13. 23, 24.

³ Voy. de la Terre-Sainte, p. 154.

There are then different kinds of grapes produced in this country, some red, some white; and though they labour under great discouragements as to the making of wine in Mohammedan countries, and consequently much of it may be poorly managed, one sort, at least, appeared very delicious to one well acquainted with the wines of France.

OBSERVATION CXLII.

It is surprising to me, that St. Jerome should seem not to have been acquainted with that excellency of the *wine of Lebanon*, which gives it the superiority above all the wines of that part of the world; and it seems to me almost as astonishing, that commentators on the prophet Hosea should content themselves with quotations from ancient writers, of the most *vague* kind, instead of positive evidences of its exquisiteness.

That St. Jerome appears not to have been aware of the exquisiteness of this kind of wine, though he lived long in Judæa, is sufficiently evident from what he says in his Commentary, on Hosea xiv. 7:—“The scent thereof,” (or, according to the marginal translation, the memorial thereof,) “shall be as the wine of Lebanon;” on which he tells his readers¹, “We may call that the *wine of Lebanon*”

¹ Vinum autem Libani possumus appellare mixtum & conditum thymiamate: ut odorem suavissimum habeat: vel

“ *banon* which is mixed and prepared with
 “ some fragrant substance, that it may have
 “ the most delicious smell; or that may be
 “ called the *wine of Lebanon* which was
 “ poured out before the Lord in the temple,
 “ concerning which we read in *Zechariah*,
 “ ‘ Open thy doors, O Lebanon.’ ” Could
 the man that wrote after this manner, know any
 thing at all of the natural exquisiteness of the
 taste of one sort of wine produced in Le-
 banon, and *peculiar* to it, therefore distin-
 guished by the name of the place of it’s pro-
 duction ?

The remarks that some later commentators
 have made, on the words of the prophet, are
 almost as astonishing, being loose and indistinct
 accounts, of the excellency of some of
 the wines produced in that part of the world,
 not *appropriate* to Lebanon. David Kimchi,
 the celebrated *Jewish* Rabbi, is in particular
 quoted ¹, as citing a physician who affirmed,
*that the wine of Lebanon, of Hermon, of Car-
 mel, of the mountains of Israel, and of Jerusalem,
 and of Caphtor, for smell, taste, and usefulness
 for medical purposes, excelled all others.* Is this
 a proper proof of the superior excellence of
 the wine of Lebanon above others? Is this
 any thing more than the putting it on a *level*
 with the rest of the wines of Judæa, and those

vel vinum Libani quod Domino libatur in templo; de quo
 in Zacharia sub Libani vocabulo legimus: Aperi Libane
 portas tuas.

¹ Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

of *Caphtor*, which some of the learned have supposed to mean *Crete* ¹?

I should suppose the accounts of modern travellers, concerning the *wine of Lebanon*, must be much more satisfactory.

“The patriarch,” says Rauwolff, speaking of his visiting Mount Libanus, “was very merry with us, and presented us with some Venice bottles of *his* wine, whereof we drank a good deal, for it was so pleasant that I must confess that I never in all my life drank any like it ².” He afterwards mentions his supping with the patriarch, and some of his fraternity, at Canobine, adding, “They treated us very well, and gave us some *white-wine* to drink (which was better than that we drunk on the hill,” meaning some that was given him by the *common Maronites* in his ascent,) “in Venice glasses, the like whereof is not to be found, neither in *Candia* nor *Cyprus* ³.”

Le Bruyn is the next I would cite. His testimony is as follows. “But if it were only for what I am going to mention, *Canobin* ⁴ would be preferable to all other places; that is, on account of their having there better and more delicate wines than are to be found any where else in the world. They are red, of a beautiful colour, and so oily

¹ Vitrunga in *Jesaiam*, cap. 14. Travels, p. 205. ³ P. 207, monastery on Mount Lebanon.

² Ray's Coll. of ⁴ A celebrated

“ that they adhere to the glass. Accordingly
 “ the prophet Hosea derives a comparison
 “ from it, when he says, ch. xiv. 8, . . . the
 “ smell of each of them shall be as the wine
 “ of Lebanon. . . . The other wines are not
 “ near so good there, but in much greater
 “ abundance. As the patriarch appeared to
 “ have a great esteem for us, he always caused
 “ the best to be given us. I found it so ex-
 “ cellent, that I did not think I ever tasted
 “ any kind of drink more delicious ‘.”

I will only add one more, Monsieur de la Roque, who, in an account of his travels in Syria, speaking of his visiting Canobine in Mount Lebanon, tells us that, when he was there, *the greatest part of the monks were absent, engaged in their vintage. That they were invited by those that remained to dine there. That they accordingly eat with a venerable old man, who acted as the then superior of the house. That this good father entertained them very agreeably during the repast, which consisted of eggs and olives.* To which he adds, “ But it would be
 “ difficult to find elsewhere more excellent
 “ wines than what he gave us : which caused
 “ us to think the reputation of the wine of
 “ Lebanon, of which a prophet speaks, was
 “ well founded. These wines are of two
 “ sorts ; the most common is the *red*, and
 “ the most exquisite is of the colour of our

‘ Tome 2, ch. 57.

“ muscadine

“ muscadine wine : they call it *golden wine*,
 “ on account of it's colour ¹.”

After this no doubt can be made of the excellency of the wine of Lebanon, and it's superiority to those of the neighbourhood, and to those indeed elsewhere that have been most celebrated—the Cretan and that of Cyprus.

They are not indeed all the wines that grow on this mountain that are so superior in quality ; that presented by the peasants to Rauwolff was far inferior to that prepared for the patriarch. But when the wine of Lebanon is spoken of, by way of eminence, the best is undoubtedly meant. Le Bruyn seems to have been mistaken, when he supposed he was distinguished by the patriarch, who treated him with *red wine*, that, though very excellent, not being the best, which is, it seems, of the colour of gold, consequently a kind of white-wine.

All that is farther requisite to be added seems to be this, that it is the *celebrity*, or *memorial*, as it is translated in the margin, that seems to be meant by the prophet, the *scent* of this rich wine not being the most remarkable of it's qualities : to which is to be added, that the *smell* of Lebanon had been before mentioned ; and that the word more properly signifies it's being celebrated, or held in

¹ Voy. de Syrie & du Mont Liban. tome 1, p. 54, 55.
 remembrance,

remembrance, than the exquisiteness of its *smell*.

How it came to pass, that Jerome was not sensible of this superiority, of some of the wines of Lebanon to those of other places, may be a subject of curious enquiry, but not necessary to the illustration of the passage I am considering here. Whether *locusts* had injured their vines in that age, and sunk the reputation of what they produced, which Dr. Shaw tells us was the cause of great degenerating of the wines of Algiers in his time; or whether it was owing to civil commotions in this mountain, in the time of St. Jerome, and there being no person there of such consequence as to engage them to take due care in making their wines, in his time, I shall leave to others to enquire; but it is sufficiently plain that he was not aware of the superiority of this sort of wine.

OBSERVATION CXLIII¹.

Perhaps all the three verses of this paragraph of Hosea², relating to the promise of God to Israel, to recover that people from the low state into which their iniquities had re-

¹ N. B. This article, as well as the preceding, was written before the Bishop of Waterford paid me the obliging compliment of sending me his Translation of, and Comment on, the twelve Minor Prophets.

² Hof. 14. 5, 6, 7.

duced them, may be best illustrated by dividing it in some such way as this :

I will be as the dew to Israel :
 He shall flourish as the lily, and cast forth his roots ;
 As Lebanon his branches shall shoot out ;
 And his beauty shall be as the olive-tree ;
 And fragrance shall be to him like that of Lebanon.
 They that dwell under his shadow shall recover,
 They shall revive as a garden, and they shall flourish as
 a vine :
 His memorial * shall be like the wine of Lebanon.

St. Jerome has gone before me, in the manner in which I have divided the things contained in the second and third lines ; and as a caph is apparently wanting in the 7th verse, and is supposed to be so by our translators, who have supplied the want of it by inserting the particle *as*, which the caph signifies, “ they shall revive *as* the corn,” I think it is no harsh conjecture to suppose that the *daleth*, the first letter of the word translated corn, was originally a caph ; and if it were, the two remaining letters will signify a garden, which reading is extremely natural.

This reading, however, doth not appear in the various lections of Dr. Kennicott, and can only be considered as a conjecture.

The image in general made use of here by Hosea, is the change that takes place upon the descent of the dew of autumn on the before parched earth, where every thing appear-

* Israel's.

ed dead or dying, upon which they immediately become lively and delightful. Israel by their sins reduced themselves into a wretched disgraceful state, like that of the earth when no rain or dew has descended of a long time; but God promised he would heal their backslidings, and would recover them to a flourishing state.

The gentleman that visited the Holy-Land in autumn 1774, found the *dews* very copious then, as well as the rain, and particularly observed, in journeying from Jerusalem, a very grateful scent arising from the aromatic herbs growing there, such as *rosemary*, *wild thyme*, *balm*, &c. I will be, faith God, that to Israel that the *dew* is to the parched earth, when for a long time there has been neither dew nor rain. So Moses supposes the great advantage of dew to vegetation, in his blessing the posterity of Joseph¹.

If the fragrant herbs between *Jerusalem* and *Joppa* afforded such a grateful smell, as to engage this ingenious traveller to remark it in his Journal, the scent of *Lebanon* must have been exquisite, for Mr. Maundrell found the great rupture in that mountain, in which *Canobine* is situated, had “ both sides exceeding
 “ steep and high, cloathed with *fragrant greens*
 “ from top to bottom, and every where refreshed
 “ with fountains, falling down from the rocks
 “ in pleasant cascades; the ingenious work of

¹ Deut. 33. 13.

“ nature.”

“ nature ¹.” No other illustration is wanted of that line,

“ Fragrance shall be to him like that of Lebanon.”

It will, in like manner, be sufficient as to the second line, to set down a passage from Dr. Russell’s account of the natural history of *Aleppo*: “ After the first rains in the autumn, the fields every where throw out the autumnal lily daffodil; and the few plants which had stood the summer now glow with fresh vigour ².” Only adding, that *Rauwolff* found this kind of lily, which he calls *bemerocallis*, in the Holy-Land ³, as well as about *Tripoli* ⁴.

The other trees of *Lebanon*, as well as the cedars, are admired by travellers on account of their enormous size, which is the circumstance alluded to in the third line. So de la Roque, describing his ascending this mountain, says, *the farther they advanced, the more hermitages they met with, together with the little chapels belonging to them; and the loftier the trees, which for the most part were plane-trees, pines, cypresses, and ever-green oaks* ⁵: and *Rauwolff*, after mentioning several kinds of trees and herbs which he found there, goes on, *But chiefly, and in the greatest number, were the maple-trees, which are large, big, high,*

¹ P. 143.

² P. 42.

³ P. 228.

⁴ P. 47, where he describes them as a kind of wild white lilies, by the Latins and Greeks called *bemerocallis*.

⁵ Tome 1, p. 48, 49.

and expand themselves very much *with their branches*¹. But, above all, the size of the cedars attracts admiration: "I measured," says Maundrell, "one of the largest, and found it
 " 12 yards 6 inches in girth, and yet found;
 " and 37 yards in the spread of its boughs.
 " At about 5 or 6 yards from the ground,
 " it was divided into 5 limbs, each of which
 " was equal to a great tree²." No other comment is wanting for the line,

"As Lebanon his branches shall shoot out."

The beauty of the olive-tree is frequently mentioned in Scripture, and being considered in a preceding volume, I shall say nothing about it here.

And not only was Israel to regain its former prosperity, but those smaller tribes of people that were connected with Israel, and shared in its depression, which are described by the words dwelling under his shadow.

They were to revive as the *corn*, or rather as a *garden*. Corn is not at all remarkable for *reviving*. It can bear considerable *drought*, and it was wont to be reaped in Judæa, *before* the cessation of the rains, or immediately *after*. But a garden must have often suffered for want of proper supplies of water, and accordingly Isaiah threatens, "Ye shall be as an oak
 " whose leaf fadeth, and as a *garden that*
 " *hath no water*," ch. i. 30.

¹ P. 206.

² P. 142.

The last of these eight lines seem to refer to a vine that had been stripped of it's leaves, and afterwards flourished again, recovering it's lost verdure. Several trees will do this, but a vine, being of such consequence to the comfort of their lives, would be very particularly remarked, and might be oftener stripped of it's leaves than other trees. *Locusts* left many sorts of trees bare, when they came as a scourge to a country, as well as the *vine*, as we read Joel i. 12 ; but it may be that vines lost their leaves, not unfrequently, from some cause *peculiar* to them, as was the case with respect to young figs, according to the representation of a prophet, Is. xxxiv. 4. A vine's *recovering it's leaves*, after having lost them, from whatever cause it might proceed, was certainly a lively image of the recovering of the dependencies on the Jewish kingdoms, from that state of affliction which they had shared in common with Israel : *slowly*, perhaps, in *some respects*, as is the case with the vine, according to Dr. Shaw, but however to a very desirable degree. “ The wine of *Algiers*, before
“ the locusts destroyed the vineyards in the
“ years 1722 and 1724, was not inferior to the
“ best *hermitage* either in briskness of taste or
“ flavour. But since that time it is much de-
“ generated, having not hitherto (1732) re-
“ covered it's usual qualities ; though, even
“ with this disadvantage, it may still dispute
“ the preference with the common wines of
“ *Spain*

“ *Spain or Portugal* ‘.” As to the *wine* of Lebanon, it has been considered in another article.

OBSERVATION CXLIV.

It is a common management in the East, to set the dry herbage on fire, before the descent of the autumnal rains, which fires, for want of care, often do great damage. It is no wonder then that Moses has taken notice of fires of this kind², and, by an express law, made those liable to make all damages good, who either maliciously, or by great negligence, occasioned them, and may serve to illustrate that passage.

Dr. Chandler, speaking of the neighbourhood of Smyrna, says, “ In the latter end of “ *July*, clouds began to appear from the South. “ The air was repeatedly cooled by showers, “ which had fallen elsewhere, and it was easy “ to foretell the approaching rain. *This was “ the season for consuming the dry herbage “ and undergrowth on the mountains*; and we “ often saw the fire blazing in the wind, and “ spreading a thick smoke along their sides³.”

The same ingenious traveller, in another place⁴, mentions the alarming effects of a fire kindled by accident. Having been employed, the latter end of August, in taking a plan, and

¹ Shaw's Trav. p. 146.

³ P. 276.

² Exod. 22. 6.

⁴ P. 30, 31.

two views of a principal ruin at Troas ; he goes on, “ We dined under a spreading tree
 “ before the arcade, and had just resumed our
 “ labour, when we were almost reduced to
 “ fly with precipitation. One of the Turks,
 “ coming to us, emptied the ashes from his
 “ pipe, and a spark of fire fell unobserved in
 “ the grass, which was long, parched by the
 “ sun, and inflammable like tinder. A brisk
 “ wind soon kindled a blaze, which withered
 “ in an instant the leaves of the bushes and
 “ trees in it’s way, seized the branches and
 “ roots, and devoured all before it with pro-
 “ digious crackling and noise, and with a
 “ thick smoke ; leaving the ground black, and
 “ the stones hot. We were much alarmed,
 “ as a general conflagration of the country
 “ seemed likely to ensue. The Turks with
 “ their sabres cut down boughs, and we all
 “ begun buffetting the flames, which were at
 “ length subdued ; the ruins somewhat re-
 “ tarding their progress, and enabling us to
 “ combat them more effectually. The strug-
 “ gle lasted about an hour, and a considerable
 “ tract of ground was laid waste. Close by
 “ was an area with dry matted grass, where
 “ no exertion could have delayed it for a
 “ moment, but the fire must have acquired
 “ a mastery, and have ravaged uncontrolled,
 “ until repelled by the wind.”

These fires are mentioned in three or four other places of this volume of Travels, but they were all in autumn. However, as the summers
 of

of the East are perfectly dry, and the drought begins some time before harvest, the law of Moses very properly mentions *standing corn* as liable to be destroyed by fire. Two instances are accordingly mentioned in Scripture, in which the standing corn was set on fire and destroyed, Judges xv. 5, and 2 Sam. xiv. 30.

Moses, in that passage of Exodus, mentions *stacks of corn* along with the standing corn, and *other* damage that might be done to a field: "If fire break out, and catch in thorns, so that the stacks of corn, *or* the standing corn, *or* the field be consumed therewith; he that kindleth the fire shall surely make restitution." That part of the history of Samson just now cited, explains what kind of damage might be done to a field, besides the consuming the corn there: "And when he had set the brands on fire, he let them go into the standing corn of the Philistines, and burnt up both the shocks, and also the standing corn, *with the vineyards and olives* ¹."

So in one of the *conflagrations* Dr. Chandler saw in the Lesser Asia, he says ², "We had been exposed this day, without any shelter, to the sun. An accidental fire had scorched

¹ The Arabs now are wont, in making war, to cut down olive-trees, see vol. 2, ch. 8, obs. 20; but this passage shows the olive-trees were sometimes burnt, which is supposed also in Jer. II. 16, "A green olive-tree; with the noise of a great tumult he hath kindled fire upon it."

² P. 180.

“ the bushes by the way, and destroyed their
 “ leaves, and the ground was bare and parch-
 “ ed.” A few pages after¹ there is a stronger
 description of this fire : “ The slopes,” speak-
 ing of a mountain of marble over which he
 passed, “ were covered with large pines,
 “ many scorched or fallen, and some then on
 “ fire. The conflagration, we have before
 “ mentioned, had extended far into the coun-
 “ try, spreading wide, as driven on and di-
 “ rected by the wind.” How destructive is
 fire in those hot countries, in the summer
 heats, not only to the parched grass and weeds,
 but to shrubs and lofty trees too² !

It was highly necessary then to guard against
 such devastations, more especially, as nothing
 is more common there than the shepherds
 continuing abroad *all night* with their flocks,
 but not without fires : we have a multitude
 of instances of that kind in this volume.

It will be sufficient to quote one in the
 beginning³ of these Travels : “ We could
 “ discern fires on *Lesbos*, as before on several
 “ islands and capes, made chiefly by fisher-
 “ men and *shepherds*, who live much abroad
 “ in the air ; or to burn the strong stalks of
 “ the Turkey wheat and the dry herbage on

¹ P. 192.

² Severe as such devastations may be, something more
 terrible seems to be meant by Jeremiah, ch. 51. 25, name-
 ly, a volcano. To which St. John also seems to allude,
 Rev. 8. 8.

³ P. 10.

“ the mountains. In the day-time a column
 “ of smoke often ascends, visible afar.”

How requisite was great caution in a country where fires in the open air were so common, on the one hand; and the herbage of the ground so parched and dry on the other! and to make them cautious, how necessary was an express law!

It is well known that heaps of corn are not long left in their fields: they are soon trodden out. This writer himself takes notice of it. *The harvest*, he and his companions observed, in the neighbourhood of Smyrna, *was in June, and the heat then was excessive.* He adds, “ The harvest was presently over. “ The sheaves were collected in the field, “ and the grain trodden out by buffaloes.” P. 276. Moses then, by particularly mentioning the corn in it's heaps, after being cut, intimates, that in that law, he had a *particular* view to designed and malicious conflagrations, since the corn lies in the heap but a very little while, and yet it is expressly mentioned, as what might probably be it's state, when a fire was kindled.

This circumstance discovers an impropriety, in our translation of Exod. xxii. 6, where these heaps are called *stacks* of corn. The *stacking of corn*, in our agricultural language, means, the collecting corn in the straw into heaps, larger or smaller as it happens, designed to continue for some considerable space of time; whereas the heaps of the East are only

the disposing the corn into a proper form, to be *immediately* trodden out. They are not wont to stack corn, in our sense of the word, in those countries.

The term *shock*, by which it is translated in two other places, is *less* exceptionable, but not perfectly expressive of the original idea. We put together, or heap up our corn, not fully ripe, in parcels which are called shocks, that it may more perfectly ripen after being cut, but the original word means an heap of corn *fully* ripe, (see Job v. 26,) means, in a word, the heaps of the Eastern threshing-floors, ready to be trodden out.

The substances on which fire is supposed first to fasten, is expressed by a word which is translated in our version *thorns*, and is rendered so nine times out of the ten in which it occurs, (in the tenth it is *thistles*;) but as a kindred word is translated summer, and summer-fruits, may it not be queried then, whether it doth not properly signify, the vegetables that are wont to wither and grow so fear as easily to catch fire? of which many may be of the *prickly* kind, (which quality is undoubtedly pointed out, in some of the places in which this Hebrew word is used,) though not all, and among the rest *thistles*¹, which feared vegetables Dr. Chandler calls the undergrowth, p. 276.

¹ Which are represented by Dr. Russell, in his account of the natural history of Aleppo, p. 57, as *dry* in the deserts, and eaten by the camels in that state, as they pass through those parched places.

I will only add farther, that the setting the grafs and undergrowth on fire in the East, has been practifed in thefe countries to annoy their enemies, and has fometimes occafioned great terror and diftreff. I remember to have feen an account of the making ufe of this ftrata-gem in the *Gefia Dei per Francos*. It appears alfo, I think, to have been practifed anciently, from thofe words in Ifaiah: “When thou
“ paffeft through the waters, I will be with
“ thee; and through the rivers, they fhall
“ not overflow thee: *when thou walkeft through*
“ *the fire, thou fhalt not be burnt; neither fhall*
“ *the flame kindle upon thee,”* ch. xliii. 2.

So, we find in Dr. Hawkefworth’s account of the late voyages to the South-Seas, the wild inhabitants of New South-Wales endeavoured to deftroy fome tents and ftores, belonging to Capt. Cook’s fhip, when he was endeavouring to repair it’s damages, by fetting fire to the long grafs of that country, and it had like to have been attended with terrible confequences. It appears then to be a ftratagem naturally made ufe of, by nations little advanced in the arts of human life, and confequently, it may be fupposed, by the people of antiquity.

OBSERVATION CXLV.

We are fo little acquainted with the various fpecies of deftructive infects that ravage the Eastern countries, that it may be thought

extremely difficult to determine what kind was meant by Solomon, in his prayer at the dedication of the temple, by the word which our version renders *caterpillars*, and which is distinguished by him there from the *locusts*, which genus is so remarkable for eating up almost every green thing; but a passage of Sir John Chardin, may probably illustrate that part of Solomon's address to him whom he considered as the God of universal nature.

The paragraph of Solomon's prayer is this:
 "When heaven is shut up, and there is *no*
 "rain, because they have sinned against thee;
 "if they pray towards this place, &c. . . .
 "If there be in the land *famine*, if there be
 "pestilence, blasting, mildew, locust, or if there
 "be caterpillar; if their enemy besiege them
 "in the land of their cities, &c. . . . Then
 "hear thou in heaven thy dwelling-place,
 "and forgive, and do, &c."

The causes of famine, reckoned up here, are *want of rain, blasting, mildew, locusts, and caterpillars*, according to our translation; with which may be compared the following passage of the above-mentioned very observing traveller, in the 2d tome of his Travels¹.

"Persia is subject to have its harvest spoiled,
 "by *bail*, by *drought*, or by insects, either
 "locusts, or *small insects*, which they call *sim*,
 "which are very small white *lice*², which fix
 "themselves

¹ P. 245.

² *Puceron* is the French term, which is often translated *vine-fretters*; but as I apprehend many of the small insects

“ themselves on the foot of the stalk of corn,
 “ gnaw it, and make it die. It is rare for
 “ a year to be exempt from one or other of
 “ these scourges, which affect the ploughed
 “ lands and the gardens, &c.”

The enumeration by Solomon, and that of this modern writer, though not exactly alike, yet so nearly resemble each other, that one would be inclined to believe, these small insects are what *Solomon* meant, by the word translated *caterpillars* in our English version.

OBSERVATION CXLVI.

It should seem that the *movements of locusts* are not always the same way: they have sometimes been observed to come from the *Southward*; but those the prophet Joel speaks of were to come in an opposite direction¹, and they have sometimes been accordingly known to come from the *North*.

Some may have been ready to imagine, on this account, that Joel was speaking not of

sects which live upon various kinds of vegetables, as well as animals, are called *lice*, I thought these small insects which destroy the stalks of corn would be better expressed by the term lice, than vine-fretters, which by their name should be supposed rather to injure vineyards than corn-fields.

¹ Ch. 2. 20. “ But I will remove far from you the
 “ *Northern* army, and will drive him into a land barren
 “ and desolate, with his face towards the East-Sea, and his
 “ hinder part towards the utmost sea; and his stink shall
 “ come up, and his ill favour shall come up.”

real

real locusts, but of the Chaldæans¹, or some other desolating army of men that should come from the North. But the Baron de Tott assures us, in a late publication of his, that he found them coming in great numbers from *Tartary* toward Constantinople, which lies to the South of that country.

“ I saw no appearance of culture on my
 “ route, because the Noguais² avoid the cul-
 “ tivation of frequented places. Their harvest
 “ by the sides of roads would serve only as
 “ pasture to travellers horses. But if this
 “ precaution preserves them from such kind
 “ of depredation, nothing can protect their
 “ fields from a much more fatal scourge.
 “ *Clouds of locusts* frequently alight on their
 “ plains, and giving the preference to their
 “ fields of millet, ravage them in an instant.
 “ Their approach darkens the horizon, and,
 “ so enormous is their multitude, it hides the
 “ light of the sun. When the husbandmen
 “ happen to be sufficiently numerous, they,
 “ sometimes, divert the storm, by their agi-
 “ tation and their cries; but when these fail,
 “ the locusts alight on their fields, and there
 “ form a bed of six or seven inches thick.
 “ To the noise of their flight succeeds that of
 “ their devouring activity; it resembles the
 “ rattling of hail-stones, but its consequences
 “ are infinitely more destructive. *Fire* itself
 “ eats not so fast, nor is there a vestige of

¹ So St. Jerome in his Comment on Joel.

² The Tartars.

“ vegetation to be found, when they again
 “ take their flight, and go elfewhere to pro-
 “ duce like difafters.

“ This plague, no doubt, would be more
 “ extenfive in countries better cultivated ; and
 “ Greece and Afia Minor would be more fre-
 “ quently expofed, did not the *Black Sea*
 “ fwallow up moft of thofe fwarms which
 “ attempt to pafs that barrier.

“ I have *often* feen the fhores of the Pontus
 “ Euxinus, towards the Bosphorus of Thrace,
 “ covered with their dried remains, in fuch
 “ multitudes, that one could not walk along
 “ the ftrand without finking half-leg deep
 “ into a bed of thefe skinny fkeletons. Curi-
 “ ous to know the true caufe of their destruc-
 “ tion, I fought the moment of obfervation,
 “ and was a witness of their ruin by a ftorm,
 “ which overtook them fo near the fhore,
 “ that their bodies were caft upon the land,
 “ while yet entire. This produced an *infec-*
 “ *tion* fo great, that it was feveral days before
 “ they could be approached¹.”

They frequently then, according to this writer, in that part of the world pafs, or attempt to pafs, *from the North to the South*. In Judæa they have been fuppofed to go *from the South-eastward* in a contrary direction².

¹ Memoirs, part 2, p. 58—60.

² See le Bruyn, tome 2, p. 152 ; *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 424 ; and, I think, Haffelquift. St. Jerome in his Comment fuppofes the fame, and that their ufual progress is from the Southward.

And if this is the common route they take there, it must have struck the Jews very much when they found the prophet predicting the going of the locusts to the *Southward*; and still more so when they found it exactly accomplished, as it was a demonstration of the perfect foreknowledge of Jehovah, perhaps of his guiding and directing those vast bodies of insects. *The locusts*, it is said, have no king, yet go they forth by bands, (Prov. xxx. 27.) But if they have no king of their own species, they are undoubtedly under the direction of the God that made them: he is their king.

There is an account, in the 10th vol. of the *Philos. Trans.* abridged, of *locusts* that penetrated into *Transylvania* from *Walachia* and *Moldavia*, in which the writer tells us, that *in changing their place of residence they seem to tend to warmer climates*†. If that should be found to be the fact in those countries, their attempting to pass from *Tartary* into *Greece*, or the *Lesser Asia*, had nothing wonderful in it; but as it is generally observed they fly from the *South* in *Barbary* and other hot countries, there should be some intermediate country, in which the change in the temperature of the air may cause them in a warmer summer to fly *Northward*, and in one that is cooler to go *Southward*. Whether the *North* part of *Syria* may be of such a kind of temperature I do not find any where mentioned.

† P. 840.

The meeting with the observation of the Baron de Tott gave, I have found, extreme pleasure to an ingenious and very learned clergyman, as an happy illustration of this place in Joel. It would give me, I confess, a more entire satisfaction, if I could find that in *Syria* they had passed Southward, and so through *Judæa* into the nearer part of *Arabia*, in some years; as in others they have come from *Arabia*, and gone to the Northward.

After I had written the preceding paragraphs, I happened, in reviewing *Nieububr's* Description of *Arabia* on another account, to meet with his remarks on *locusts*, according to which they fly in different, and sometimes contrary directions, very much, it should seem, as the wind blows. The second time he saw them they came to *Cairo* (in *Egypt*) by a S.W. wind, consequently from the deserts of *Lybia*. In *November 1762* a great number of them passed over *Dsjidda*, by a westerly wind, consequently over the *Red-Sea*, which is very broad there, and where many of them perished. In *May*, when the dates began to ripen, many of them arrived at *Mokha*: commonly they return back again the next day, or else continue their flight to the mountains that lie Eastward. On *May 31, 1763*, a great number of them passed over that city from the South, Northward, and the first of *June* they went from the North to the South. Consequently they fly in all directions, and *Nieububr* found them sometimes flying from the North

to the South in Arabia¹. He afterwards informs us, that in the road from *Mosul* to *Nisfebin* he found a large extent of ground covered with young *locusts*, not bigger than bees, which might be called therefore the place where they had their nests². Now, according to this, if an East wind should have blown for some days, after they became capable of flying, they would have been brought into the North part of Syria, and a North wind would have drove them in the direction Joel mentions, or nearly so. From that place in Mesopotamia to Jerusalem, as he was informed, was only eight days journey in a West direction, somewhat inclining to the South. This was the very direction that the Assyrian and Babylonian armies were wont to take, when they came into Judæa. A similar description would do for both, as to the point of the compass to which they directed their march³.

OBSER-

¹ P. 148, 149.² P. 149.

³ Niebuhr, in the 1st of his three volumes of Travels, gives us an account, in like manner, of the locusts sometimes coming from the Eastward to the South-West, in Arabia. "Never," says he, "have I seen them in such numbers as in the dry plain between Mount Sumâra and Jerim; for there are places where they might be swept up with the hands. We saw an Arab who had gathered a sack full, in order to dry them, and keep for his winter provision. When the rain ceases but a few hours, on the West side of the mountain, there come such numerous legions from the side of the East, that the peasants of *Mensil* were obliged to drive them away from their fields, that they might not entirely destroy their fruits. . . . This precaution would have been useless in the country

" of

OBSERVATION CXLVII.

We, perhaps, may be a good deal surpris'd to find, that the *driving away of flies* should be thought by the inhabitants of the country about Ekron so important, that they should give a name to the idol they worshipp'd expressive of that property¹; more especially when this was not the only quality ascribed to him, but it was suppos'd the power of predicting such momentous matters, as the continuance of the life of great princes, or their approaching death, did also belong to him²: but possibly a passage in Vinisauſ may lessen this astonishment.

Vinisauſ, speaking of the army under our Richard the first, a little before he left the Holy-Land, and describing them as marching on the plain not far from the sea-coast, towards a place called *Ybelin*, which belonged to the Knights Hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem, pretty near *Hebron*, says, “The army stopping a while there, rejoicing in the hope of speedily setting out for *Jerusalem*, were assailed by a most minute kind of fly, flying about like sparks, which they called *cincenellæ*. With these the whole neighbouring region

“of *Jerim*, because they had established themselves there as in their proper abode, so long as that country is without rain.” P. 320.

¹ Baal-zebub, (Lord of the Fly.)

² See 2 Kings I. 2.

“ round about was filled. These most wretchedly infested the pilgrims, piercing with great smartness the hands, necks, throats, foreheads, and faces, and every part that was uncovered, a most violent burning tumour following the punctures made by them, so that all that they stung looked like lepers.” He adds, “ that they could hardly guard themselves from this most troublesome vexation by covering their heads and necks with veils¹.”

What these *fire-flies* were, and whether they shone in the dark, and for that reason are compared to *sparks* flying about, or whether they were compared to them on the account of the burning heat they occasioned, as well as a swelling in the flesh of all they wounded, I shall not take upon me to determine. I would only observe, Richard and his people met with them in that part of the country which was not very far from *Ekron*, and which seemed to be of much the same general nature: *a plain not far from the sea-coast*.

Can we wonder, after this recital, that those poor heathens that lived in and about *Ekron*, derived much consolation from the supposed power of the idol they worshipped, to drive away the *cincenellæ* of that country, which were so extremely vexatious to these pilgrims of the 12th century, and occasioned them so much pain. *Lord of the Fly, Lord of these cin-*

¹ Hist. Angl. Scrip. quinque, vol. 2, p. 396.

cenelle, must have appeared to them a very pleasing, and very important title.

I will only add, that Sandys, in his Travels in the same country, but more to the Northward, speaks of the *air's appearing as if full of sparkles of fire, born to and fro with the wind, after much rain and a thunder-storm, which appearance of sparkles of fire he attributes to infinite swarms of flies that shone like glow-worms*¹; but he gives not the least intimation of their being incommoded by them.

What this difference was owing to it is quite beside the design of these papers to enquire: whether it's being about two months earlier in the year, more to the Northward, or immediately after *much rain and a thunder-storm*, was the cause of the *innocuousness* of these animals when Sandys travelled; and even whether the appearance Sandys speaks of was really owing to *insects*, or an effect of electricity, I leave to others to determine.

OBSERVATION CXLVIII.

Dr. Russell observed two sorts of goats about Aleppo: *one that differed little from the common sort in Britain; the other remarkable for the length of it's ears. The size of the animal, he tells us, is somewhat larger than ours, but their ears are often a foot long, and broad in*

¹ P. 158.

*proportion. That they were kept chiefly for their milk, of which they yielded no inconsiderable quantity*¹.

The present race of *goats* in the vicinity of Jerusalem are, it seems, of this *broad-eared* species, as I have been assured by a gentleman that lately² visited the Holy-Land, who was struck with the difference between the goats there, and those that he saw in countries *not far distant* from Jerusalem. *They are, he says, black, black and white, and some grey, with remarkable long ears, rather larger and longer legged than our Welch goats. This kind of animal, he observed, in some neighbouring places, differed greatly from the above description, those of Balbec in particular, which were generally, if not always, so far as he observed, of the other species.*

These last, I presume, are of the sort common in Great-Britain, as those about Jerusalem are mostly of the long-eared kind; and it should seem they were of the same long-eared kind that were kept anciently in Judæa, from the words of the prophet, “As the shepherd
“ taketh out of the mouth of the lion two
“ legs, or a piece of an ear, so shall the chil-
“ dren of Israel be taken out that dwell in
“ Samaria, and in Damascus³.”

Though it is indeed the intention of the prophet, to express the *smallness* of that part of Israel that escaped from destruction, and were

¹ P. 52, 53.

² In 1774.

³ Amos 3. 12.

feated in foreign countries ; yet it would have been hardly natural, to have supposed a shepherd would exert himself, to make a lion quit a piece only of an ear of a common goat : it must be supposed, I should think, to refer to the large-cared kind.

It is rather amusing to the *imagination*, and a subject of *speculation*, that the same species of goat should chiefly prevail about *Jerusalem*, and the other at *Balbec* ; and that what are now chiefly kept in the Holy-Land, should have been the same species that were reared there two thousand five hundred years ago. Is it the nature of the country, or the quality of the feed of it, that is the occasion of the continuance of this breed, without deviation, from very remote times ?

Rauwolff observed *goats* about *Jerusalem* with hanging ears, almost two foot long¹ ; but he neither mentions their being all, or mostly of that species, nor that it is another species that is most commonly kept in some of the neighbouring countries.

Whether the *kids* of the two species are equally delicious, travellers have not informed us, but it appears from *Hariri*, a celebrated writer of *Mesopotamia*, that some kids at least are considered as a delicacy ; for describing a person's breaking in upon a great *pretender to mortification*, he found him with one of his disciples, *entertaining themselves, in much satisfac-*

¹ P. 234.

tion, with bread made of the finest of flour, with a roasted kid and a vessel of wine before them'. This last is an indulgence forbidden the Mohammedans, and with bread of the finest flour, proves that a *roasted kid* is looked upon as a very great delicacy.

This shows in what light we are to consider the gratification proposed to be sent to Tamar, Gen. xxxviii. 16, 17; the present made by Samson to his intended bride, Judg. xv. 1; and what was the complaint, made by the elder brother of the prodigal son, that his father had never given him a kid to entertain his friends with: he might have enabled him to give them some slight repast; but never qualified him to treat them with such a delicacy, Luke xv. 29.

OBSERVATION CXLIX.

In like manner Dr. Russell^a observes, there are two kinds of *sheep* about Aleppo: *the* Beduin sheep, *which differ in no respect from the larger kinds of sheep in Britain, except that their tails are somewhat longer and thicker; the other a sort often mentioned by travellers on account of their extraordinary tails, which are very broad and large, terminating in a small appendix that turns back upon it.* These tails, Russell informs

^a *Hariri*, translated by Chappelow, Arabic Prof. at Cambridge, 1st Assembly, p. 7.

^a P. 51, 52.

us, are of a substance between fat and marrow, and is not eaten separately, but mixed with the lean meat in many of their dishes, and also often used instead of butter. That a common sheep of this kind, (without the head, feet, skin, and entrails,) weighs 60 or 70 English pounds, of which the tail usually weighs 15 pounds, and upwards'. This species, he observes, are, by much, the most numerous.

It might then be thought very probable, that this species too may be most numerous about Jerusalem. We are not however left to conjecture; for the same ingenious and obliging gentleman, that gave me the account of the goats in the vicinity of Jerusalem, informed me, at the same time, *that the sheep of that country are, in general, white, with large tails, resembling those of Syria, and the Plain of Damascus.*

After this account of the kind of sheep that are found near Jerusalem, and Dr. Russell's account of the largeness and deliciousness of their tails, we shall not at all wonder, that since fat was reserved as sacred to God, by the Mosaic law, Moses, among other things, should order, *that when a sacrifice of peace-offerings should be made by fire to the Lord, the fat thereof, and particularly the whole rump, or tail, taken off hard by the back-bone, &c, should be burnt on*

▪ But such, he tells us in the same paragraph, as are of the largest breed, and have been fattened, will sometimes weigh above 150 pounds, and the tails of them 50, a thing to some scarce credible.

the altar’.” Though the ordering in particular, and by express words, that the tail of a British sheep should be presented in sacrifice to God might surprize us, the wonder ceases when we are told of those broad-tailed Eastern sheep, and the extreme delicacy of that part, and withal are informed that the sheep about Jerusalem are of that species.

OBSERVATION CL.

As Moses mentions only two sorts of quadrupeds, in our version, of those wont to be eaten, but forbidden the Jews, besides the camel and swine, and there are four or five sorts at least in those countries, of the *smaller* kind of animals, which are eaten there, and which seem equally to come under his intention, and some of them a good deal resembling each other, I should suppose it improbable, that two animals, so much like to each other as the *bare* and the *rabbit*, should be exclusively meant, by the two Hebrew words used in Lev. xi. ver. 5 and 6², and the other smaller beasts, very commonly eaten by other people, be pass’d over in perfect silence by Moses.

The two words are shaphan and arnebeth.

¹ Lev. 3. 9.

² “ And the *coney*, because he cheweth the cud, but divideth not the hoof; he is unclean unto you. And the *bare*, because he cheweth the cud, but divideth not the hoof; he is unclean unto you.”

Dr. Shaw supposes' the *shaphan* means an animal of Mount Libanus, which he saw, and which he tells us is *common in other places of Syria*; but I would remark, not so common, but that he describes it, in the preceding paragraph, as a *curious animal that he had the good fortune to see*. He says, "though this animal is known to burrough sometimes in the ground; yet, as it's usual residence and *refuge* is in the holes and cliffs of the rocks, we have so far a more presumptive proof, that this creature may be the *saphan* of the Scriptures than the *jerboa*," which he tells us, in a preceding page², "has been taken by some authors for the *saphan* of the Scriptures, though the places where I have seen them burrough have *never* been among rocks; but either in a stiff loamy earth, or else, where there haunts usually are, in the loose sand of the *Sakara*: especially where it is supported by the spreading roots of *spartum*, *spurge-laurel*, or other the like plants."

The same reason, which in a matter of this sort seems to be sufficiently decisive, holds equally, I apprehend, against the *rabbit*, which, if the other word *arnebeth* signifies the *bare*, may come under that denomination, as a different kind of *arnebeth*, smaller than the other, but of much the same appearance.

But though the circumstance of making

¹ P. 348.

² P. 177.

the *rocks it's refuge*¹ may determine the mind, as to that animal called *daman Israel*, that it comes under that denomination; it doth not therefore follow, that the *jird* and the *jerboa* are excluded, they might be considered as different sorts of the *shaphan*. They are both good to eat, *Shaw* tells us², which is more than he says of the *daman Israel*, but that circumstance, of it's being frequently eaten in those countries, is supposed in the prohibition of *Moses*: it being absolutely needless, to forbid the making use of an animal for food which no one ever used for that purpose.

Shaw describes the *daman Israel* "as an harmless creature, of the same size and quality with the *rabbit*; and with the like incurvating posture and disposition of the fore-teeth. But it is of a browner colour, with smaller eyes, and an head more pointed, like the *marmots*³."

Now this difference of the make of the head might be observed, and appears in fact actually to form a considerable distinction of this species from the *rabbit* and the *hare*, which extremely resemble each other. Thus *Doubdan*, in his account of an animal, taken at *Mount Tabor*, which, I apprehend, was of that species that *Dr. Shaw* calls the *daman Israel*, gives a description of it, in which this pointedness of the head is particularly marked

¹ Pf. 104. 18.² P. 177.³ P. 348.

out. It may be agreeable to set down a translation of the passage.

Speaking of this mountain he says, “ It is
 “ at present a place to which wild beasts re-
 “ pair, among which there is a certain kind
 “ of wild creature, one of which was taken
 “ there the very day we were at it, by a Moor,
 “ who brought it to the convent at Naza-
 “ reth, and the reverend Father Guardian de-
 “ fired me to carry it to Sir John d’Acre, and
 “ to make a present of it in his name to the
 “ captain of the vessel, in which we were to
 “ return into Christendom, which was then
 “ at that port. This animal was of that
 “ kind which the Holy Scripture, in the ele-
 “ venth chapter of Leviticus, calls *cherogryl-*
 “ *lus*¹, which somewhat resembles the *porcu-*
 “ *pine* and the *hedgehog*: for it has a *slender*
 “ *pointed head*, streaked with white and black,
 “ the ears small; the legs before low and
 “ short, those behind much higher; the
 “ claws long and sharp; the hair grey, like
 “ bristles, harsh and very long; as to the rest
 “ extremely savage, and which gave me a
 “ great deal of trouble, and a thousand
 “ scratches in the journey².”

It is an inhabitant of the Holy-Land, according to both writers; but not very common, being understood by both to be a curiosity. They also agree in their account of the

¹ He means the vulgar Latin, which so translates the word *shaphan* there.

² Voy. de la Terre-Sainte, p. 505.

remarkable difference, in point of length, between the hind and the fore feet; as also in the *pointedness* of the head, which, instead of comparing it to a rabbit, led Doubdan to liken it to the porcupine and the hedgehog, as well as on account of the roughness of the coating.

Both these animals, it seems, are very common in those countries, and the flesh of the *porcupine*, when fat and young, is very well tasted, and in *great esteem*, according to Dr. Shaw¹; and a paper in the Philosophical Transactions², written by Mr. Jezreel Jones, assures us, that among the Moors of West Barbary the *hedgehog* is a princely dish. They are both then wont now to be eaten in the Levant, and might be made use of for food before the time of Moses, and might be reckoned among the several species of the *shaphan*, and so expressly be forbidden to be eaten. But whether it be admitted or not, that the word *shaphan* includes all those smaller four-footed animals with a slender head that were used for food, and the word *arnebeth* those smaller quadrupeds used for food, which had large heads, I can never persuade myself, that those two Hebrew words in Leviticus mean two species of animals so nearly resembling each other, as the hare and the rabbit, that even modern naturalists put them under the single name

¹ P. 176.

² Phil. Trans. abridg. vol. 3, part 2, ch. 3, art. 35.

lepus¹, which in common Latin means an hare exclusively; and if the word *arnebeth* is to be taken in a like extensive sense, the word *shaphan* may naturally include more species than the *daman Israel*, if not all the several sorts of small sharp-nosed quadrupeds that were commonly eaten, particularly the *jerboa*, which is so common in the deserts, where the book of Leviticus was written, as the *leporine* kind, (including both hares and rabbits,) is also known to reside there in great numbers².

Our translation is evidently rather suited to our circumstances in England, where hardly any other wild quadrupeds of the smaller sort are eaten, but hares and rabbits, than to Asiatic customs, and the beasts that reside in the Arabian deserts.

OBSERVATION CLI.

It is supposed in the Old Testament, that if Judæa should be thinly peopled, the wild beasts would so multiply there as to render it dangerous to the inhabitants. Every body knows that country is not now very populous, and accordingly wild beasts are at pre-

¹ See Dr. Berkenhout's Outlines of the Nat. Hist. of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 1.

² So Doubdan found hares and rabbits both, in great numbers, in the plain of Jericho, which is now a desert, p. 287, 288.

sent so numerous there, as to be terrifying to strangers.

“ The Lord thy God will put out those
 “ nations before thee by little and little :
 “ thou mayest not consume them at once,
 “ lest the beasts of the field increase upon
 “ thee,” are the words of Moses, Deut. vii.
 22, and are founded on the supposition I have
 been mentioning. The prophet Ezekiel sup-
 poses the same, in a passage in which he
 describes the mercy granted to the land of
 Israel after it's being re-peopled, when the Lord
 should turn again the captivity of Sion, Ezek.
 xxxiv. 25, “ I will make with them a cove-
 “ nant of peace, and will cause the *evil beasts*
 “ *to cease out of the land*, and they shall dwell
 “ *safely* in the wilderness, and sleep in the
 “ woods.”

That wild beasts are at present in that
 country in considerable numbers, and terrify
 strangers, appears in that passage of Haynes,
 where, describing his arrival at *Cana of Galilee*,
 he says, “ The approaching *Cana*, at the close
 “ of day, as we did, is at once *terrifying and*
 “ *dangerous*.”

“ The surrounding country swarms with
 “ *wild beasts*, such as *tygers, leopards, jackals*,
 “ &c, whose cries and howling, I doubt not,
 “ as it did me, would strike the boldest tra-
 “ veller, who had not been frequently in a
 “ like situation, with the *deepest sense of hor-*
 “ *ror*, p. 118¹.”

¹ He went from Acri to Cana.

To which may be added the account he gives of his visiting Mount Tabor, on the top of which he found many ruins. “ I amused myself,” says this traveller, “ a considerable time in walking about the area, and creeping into several holes and subterraneous caverns among the ruins. My guide perceiving me thus employed, told me I must be more cautious how I ventured into those places, for that he could assure me those holes and caverns were frequently resorted to by tygers in the day time, to shelter them from the sun; and therefore I might pay dear for gratifying my curiosity.” P. 152, 153.

In the two next pages he mentions a terrible fright, into which the monks of Nazareth were put, some time before this, by the appearance of a tyger coming out of these ruins on the top of Mount Tabor, which place, it seems, the monks annually visit.

I have illustrated the other parts of this passage of *Ezekiel*, relating to the *sleeping in the woods*, under another Observation.

OBSERVATION CLII.

Among the birds that appear and disappear in this country, *storks* are mentioned in our translation, and accordingly Doubdan found them, in great numbers, in the month of May, *residing* in Galilee.

Returning

Returning from Cana to Nazareth on the 8th of May, in which journey he complains the heat was so great that they could scarcely breathe, he adds, "I would not forget to observe, that all these fields were so filled with flocks of storks, that they appeared quite white with them, there being above a thousand in each flock, and when they rose and hovered in the air, they seemed like clouds. The evening they rest on trees. There were thousands of them, in the meadow, which lies at the foot of Nazareth, which was quite covered with them. The Inhabitants do them no hurt, on the account of their devouring all kinds of venomous animals, serpents, adders, toads, and clearing the country of them¹."

Shaw saw them in the air, returning from the South, as he lay at anchor near Mount Carmel; Doubdan found them *settled* in Galilee, and positively affirms that they *roosted on trees*. Whether they build their nests there too, in that country, he doth not say: our version of Pf. civ. 17. has been understood to suppose this, and that therefore it is inaccurate, and that the *beron* must be meant by the Psalmist, which is according to the vulgar translation², which *Doubdan* must be understood to have considered as authentic; but after all, if it be true, that the storks of Palæstine *roost in trees*, as *Doubdan* affirms, our

¹ P. 513.

² *Herodii domus dux est eorum.*

English translation may be perfectly just —
 “ Where the birds make their nests : as for
 “ the *stork*, the fir-trees are her house :” where
 they rest, where they sleep, after the wander-
 ings of the day are over, there their house
 may said to be.

It would be however extremely agreeable,
 if some future traveller would strictly examine
 this matter, and communicate his observations
 to the learned world.

OBSERVATION CLIII.

The migration of birds has not only been
 attentively observed of late in Europe, but it
 was *remarked* anciently too, and in the Holy-
 Land, as is visible from a passage of the pro-
 phet Jeremiah¹, but it may be difficult to
 ascertain, with precision, the particular sorts
 he had in view: this indeed is by no means
necessary, with respect to the general moral or
 religious purposes, for which Jeremiah men-
 tions this phenomenon; but it considerably in-
 terests our *curiosity*, and distinctness here may
 add not a little to the *energy of the expostulation*.

The increasing the number of different sorts
 of birds that keep, with great regularity, the
 times of their appearing, gives strength to the
 expostulation : thus Isaiah mentions not only

¹ Jer. viii. 7. “ Yea, the *stork* in the heaven knoweth
 “ her appointed times, and the *turtle*, and the *crane*, and
 “ the *swallow*, observe the time of their coming; but my
 “ people know not the judgment of the Lord.”

that the *ox* knoweth his owner, but adds too, that the *ass* knoweth his master's crib, *Is. i. 3.* But if they appear and disappear at *different seasons*, and yet keep their stated times very exactly, it is giving still greater *life to the thought*. And as there are such differences in fact, it is not improbable that the prophet had such differences of time in view.

Many birds *migrate*, whose coming, or retirement is not attended to by *common people*; but there are others, whose presence is so remarkable, or the observing the time of their appearing or disappearing thought to be so useful, for the purposes of husbandry, or the conducting other economical matters, that the *common people* themselves, in a manner universally take notice of them.

Thus the ingenious Mr. *Stillingfleet*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, many of them translations of some celebrated *Swedish* papers, has this remark, that "the peasants of *Upland* " have this proverb: When you see the " *white wagtail* you may turn your sheep " into the fields" (which, it seems, are housed all winter in Sweden); "and when " you see the *wheat-ear* you may sow your " grain." Here we see the usefulness of observing the time of the appearance of the white wagtail in *Sweden*, for the better management of business in that country, which causes the coming of these birds to be remarked there; but these birds are little, or rather not at all noticed in *England*, at least in the north-west parts

parts of the county of Suffolk. But every peasant in that county knows that the *swallow* and the *cuckoo* are not seen or heard among us in winter, but appear in the spring when the weather grows warm : for the swallow upon its first coming repairs to our houses ; and the noise the other makes, at a distance from them, is too particular not to engage the attention of every ear.

There is reason then to believe, that the birds Jeremiah referred to were not only *migratory*, but such as some way or other attracted, in a more particular manner, the notice of the inhabitants of Judæa : either from the *numerousness* of those flocks in which they travelled ; the remarkable *distinctive quality of their notes* ; their coming more commonly under their eye ; or their being supposed to mark out the *proper season* for the applying themselves to this and that part of the business of civil life. And by this clue we shall more probably arrive at the meaning of the prophet, than by philological disquisitions concerning the Hebrew names. The utmost uncertainty, about the precise meaning of those names, appears in the writings of the various ancient Greek translators of the passage. Sometimes they do not attempt to translate a name, but merely express the original word in *Greek* letters ; and where they do translate, they widely differ about the meaning of the words : and if Jews in Ægypt, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and others in those early times,

were so indeterminate, little dependence can be admitted with regard to modern Jewish rabbies, and other laborious philologers. It must be much more satisfactory to attend to the facts travellers have given an account of, in modern or elder times.

Dr. Shaw saw the *stork*, returning in such numbers near to, or over the Holy-Land, as could not but attract his notice, when he was on the coasts of that country: "I saw," says this ingenious traveller, "in the middle of April, 1722, (our ship lying then at anchor under *Mount Carmel*,) three flights of them, some of which were more open and scattered, with larger intervals between them; others were closer and more compact, as in the flights of crows and other birds, each of which took up more than three hours in passing by us; extending itself, at the same time, more than half a mile in breadth. They were then leaving *Ægypt*, (where the canals and the ponds, that are annually left by the *Nile*, were become dry,) and directed themselves towards the N. E. . . . Those that frequent the marshes of *Barbary*, appear about three weeks sooner than the flights above mentioned, though they likewise are supposed to come from *Ægypt*; whither also they return a little after the autumnal *æquinox*." Here their numbers attracted notice.

Sir John Chardin has given us a short specimen of the *Persian* almanacks, in the 2d tome of his *Travels in French*¹. It contains only part of two months. But there, in that column which gives an account of the remarkable events that happen each month, the beginning of the *singing of the nightingale* is set down as one of those remarkables, which is supposed to be about a week after the opening of the *Sultanic* year, which begins with the entering of the sun into *Aries*², consequently, according to this almanack, these birds begin to be heard, in that country, the latter end of *March*, N. S. Sir John has not set down the rest of the remarkable events that happen in each month, by copying *the whole* of their almanacks, which it is to be wished he had done. He however informs us, in another page, after having told us there that *the beginning of the singing of the nightingale was a festival of the ancient Arabs, to solemnize the return of warm weather; and that they had another festival to express their joy at the departure of winter, which was marked out in this almanack as happening in the 12th month, and was called the coming of the storks, because that this bird, according to their observations, appeared not till the cold was over.* After which he observes, *that the Arabians did not count time at first, as has been done since, by the passing of the sun through the signs of the zodiac, which*

¹ P. 132.² P. 146.

makes our months ; or of the moon through them, which makes their's ; but by the seasons. If so, it is no wonder that the appearing or disappearing of *certain birds* was remarked with care ; or the *blossoming of certain plants*, which we find has been the practice of the wild people of *North America*¹.

This circumstance of the migration of the storks being mentioned after this manner by *Chardin*, in concurrence with other considerations, strongly inclines us to believe our translation of the first clause of this passage of *Jeremiah* may be right, “ The stork *in the heaven* knoweth her appointed times.”

The passage also which I have cited from *Dr. Shaw* shows, the propriety and the force of that circumstance, their being described by *Jeremiah* as *flying in the air*, in their passage from one country to another, whereas many *migratory* birds come and go in a more *private and concealed* manner. “ The stork *in the heaven*,” says the prophet, which is a description unapplied by him to those other birds which he mentions, and which therefore, *probably*, doth not belong to them. But if that be supposed, our translation should not have introduced the *crane*, for they are observed passing to and fro *in the heaven* equally with the *stork*, and in

¹ *Colden's Hist. of the Five Indian Nations of Canada* remarks, that they fix the time of such and such transactions, by saying it was when *strawberries* blossomed, p. 109; or when the chestnuts, *ib.* note; or when the sap began to run between the trees and the bark, *ib.* &c.

such numbers as to engage general attention in the Eastern countries.

So Dr. Richard Chandler, in the account he has given the world of his travels in *Asia*, tells us, that about the 27th of August he saw cranes flying in vast caravans, passing high in the air, from Thrace for Ægypt, as was supposed¹. On the other hand he tells us, in another page of that volume, that in the spring he saw cranes in the Lesser Asia picking up reptiles², or flying heavy with long sticks to build their nests³; this, it seems, was in the end of March. And two pages before he mentions some of them that had built their nests on an old fortress; and in another page⁴, that the return of the crane, and the beginning of bees to work, are esteemed there a token of the winter's being past.

On the contrary, *Stillingfleet*, in his Miscellaneous Tracts, has remarked in his preface to one of them, from *Aristophanes*, that that old Greek comedian tells us, “ that the crane points out the time for sowing, when she flies with her warning notes to Ægypt; she bids the sailor hang up his rudder and take his rest; and every prudent man provide himself with winter garments⁵.”

¹ P. 22.

² Mr. Ray supposes that the crane is *granivorous*, in his *Syn. Avium*; but perhaps Dr. Chandler did not mean to determine, with precision, that they feed on reptiles, but merely that he saw them picking somewhat from the ground, which he took, upon a slight observation, to have been insects.

³ P. 98.

⁴ The 81st.

⁵ P. 237.

The first clause then of that verse in *Jeremias* equally fits the *crane and the stork*; and as those birds considerably resemble each other in their form as well as habits of life, being both conversant in *watery places, long-necked and legged, short bodies and tails, feet not webbed, building their nests on houses and old ruined places*, I should think it by no means improbable, that the Hebrew word *chafidab* signifies neither the crane nor the stork *exclusively*, but both species, and their several varieties, and in one word the whole class of birds that come under the above-mentioned description¹.

The time of the return of these birds to the *South*, according to these accounts, marked out the *approach of winter*, and the time to *give over sailing*², as their flying Northward proclaimed the *approach of spring*. Agreeable to this, that prophet mentions the *times*, in the plural, appointed for the *chafidab*, which seems to express both the time of their coming from the South, and the time of returning thither again; whereas the *time of the coming* of the

¹ But whether this be admitted or not, it is certain that *cranes* are seen in Judæa as well as *storks*, for Hasselquist found them, in the beginning of April, in great numbers there, p. 120.

² St. Paul describes the time that sailing became dangerous, by the *fast being past*, Acts 27. 9, which being the 10th of the seventh month, called *Tizri*, fell out about the beginning of October, not far distant from the time that the *crane* and the *stork* retire into *Ægypt*.

other birds only is mentioned, which alone was remarkable.

There is no debate about the meaning of the second word, it is allowed on all hands the *turtle* is meant; and as I have elsewhere shown¹, that the *voice of the turtle and the singing of the nightingale* are coincident things, Jeremiah seems to design to mark out the coming of a bird later in the spring than the *chafidah*; for, according to the Persian almanack of Sir John Chardin, the nightingale begins to be heard *some days* later than the appearance of the *stork*, and marks out the beginning of spring, as the *stork* doth the departing of winter.

How happy might it have been, had Sir John Chardin given us that whole column, relating to the memorable events which happened in each month through the year, which he tells us formed, originally at least, a kind of *rustic* calendar, which guided them with sufficient exactness in the common concerns of life, and their ordinary occupations². If the modern Persian almanack-makers have not continued to set down *all* the ancient observations relating to things of this sort; the knowledge of the *whole* of what they have *retained* would, probably, have been of use, not only to those who would study Arabian antiquities, which Sir John speaks of, but to those

¹ The Outlines of a New Comm. on Sol. Song, p. 149.

² P. 147.

also that might be desirous to examine with care the sacred writings.

The Septuagint may, I think, be understood to have introduced only *three* kinds of birds in their translation of this passage of *Jeremiah*, whereas our's reckon *four*. For in the other place¹, where the two last Hebrew words appear, (there being but two places where they occur,) they translate them as signifying one bird.

Whatever this was owing to, it could not be because they knew but of *three* classes of migratory birds². There are not only several more in fact, but they must have taken notice of some of them. Mr. *Stillingfleet* has justly observed, that the coming of the *cuckoo* is so remarkable, and so applicable to the matters of *husbandry*, that *Aristophanes* says, “when the cuckoo sung the *Phœnicians* reaped wheat and barley³.” The *cuckoo* then, according to this ancient Greek writer, is heard in Phœnicia, adjoining to, or rather a part of the Holy-Land; is much taken notice of there, as indeed it's note is very particular; and it's coming was connected with a very important part of business—harvest.

The coming of the *fork*, from the South, announces the *speedy withdrawing of the winter*; the *coming of the turtle*, together with the *singing of the nightingale*, affirms that the *spring is*

¹ If. 38. 14.

² The chafidab, the turtle, and the nightingale.

³ Misc. Tracts, p. 296, note.

come; and the voice of the cuckoo, that it is so far advanced that it is then time to begin harvest. Where the prophet mentions the stork in the heavens, he may be considered as contrasting them with the other birds, which returned more secretly, flying low near the earth. The taking notice of this circumstance is natural.

In the *Swedish* calendar, given in the Collections of Mr. *Stillingfleet*, there are but three days between the coming of the *stork* and swallow, (which both arrived in one day,) and the hearing of the *cuckoo*, and the third day after the cuckoo the *nightingale* is said to have sung'. In the *Norfolk* calendar, formed by *Stillingfleet* on his own observations in that county, the *swallow* returned the 6th of April 1755, the *nightingale* sung the 9th, the cuckoo not heard till the 17th. According to this, as in the remote Northern countries, vegetables hurry on, when summer comes thither, with much greater rapidity than with us, as appears by a *Sibirian* or *Lapland* general calendar in the same writer²; so it should seem the coming of the various tribes of *migratory* birds follow each other in a greater hurry than with us, and our's, perhaps, in quicker succession than in *Judæa*, and it may be not exactly in the same order. But careful observations are wanting here.

I will only add farther, that though classi-

¹ P. 266, 267.

² P. 317.

cal readers, who are acquainted with *Ovid*, and the supposed metamorphosis of *Progne* into a *swallow*, may imagine the noise that bird makes is *very melancholy*, and therefore suppose the words of *Hexekiah* may very well be translated “like a *swallow* so did I *chatter* ;” yet I believe the unprejudiced mind will be disposed to think, that the note of the cuckoo much more naturally expresses the softly complaining Oh! of the afflicted, when doubled as it often is—Oh! oh! than the *chattering* of a swallow. Not to dwell on an observation that may be made, that the word translated *chatter*, appears rather to signify the *low, melancholy, interrupted* voice of the complaining sick, rather than a chattering noise, if we consult the other places in which it is used, which are Is. viii. 19, x. 14, and Is. xxix. 4. As for the *chattering of the crane*, it seems quite inexplicable. *Swallows* however appear in the Holy-Land: they were seen at Acre in 1774, in October, and, it should seem, were then about disappearing.

OBSERVATION CLIV.

A sacred writer supposeth that the turtle-dove is a *migratory* bird. Maillet does the same, as to many, not *all*: telling us that when the cold sets in here in Europe, many kinds of birds come to *Ægypt*, some fixing themselves near the mouths of the Nile, some taking up their abode near *Cairo*, and there are some that go
as

as far as Upper Ægypt, and among the migratory birds found in Ægypt upon the approach of winter, he mentions quails and *turtle-doves of passage*, which are, he says, very good¹.

Two things appear in this account of Maillet: 1st. That many turtle-doves do not migrate; and 2d. That they are eaten in Ægypt as food, and found to be very good.

The first point is confirmed, I think, by Dr. Chandler, at the same time that he found the singing of the nightingale and the cooing of the turtle-dove were coincident things, according to Cant. ii. 12, of which I have elsewhere given some account².

“ We set out,” says the Doctor³, “ from Magnesia, on the 23d at noon⁴. . . . On each side of us were orchards of fig-trees sown with corn; and many *nightingales* were singing in the bushes.” Again, p. 202, “ At ten⁵ our course was northward, on its bank” (the river Harpafus) “ in a valley. We were surrounded with the delightful trilling of *innumerable nightingales*.” On the same day, it seems, they arrived at *Guzel-Hissar*, at entering which town, he tells us,

¹ A peine le froid commence à se faire sentir en Europe, qu'on ne manque ici ni de canards, ni de farcelles, ni de becassines & de pluviers, ni même de cailles & de *tourterelles* passagères, qui sont fort bonnes. Descr. de l'Égypte, Let. 9, p. 21.

² Outlines of a New Comment. &c, p. 149.

³ Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor, p. 212.

⁴ He means the 23d of April, as appears, p. 199.

⁵ April 21,

they were surprised to see around them innumerable tame turtle-doves sitting on the branches of the trees, on the walls, and roofs of houses, cooing unceasingly, p. 205.

These, according to the Doctor, were *tame* turtle-doves. They were found *in a town*, not heard as they travelled in the country; and their number was *very large*: sitting every where—on trees, on walls, and on the roofs.

There is a difficulty which may have presented itself to some minds, and which this account of the *tame* turtle-doves of Guzel-Hissar may remove. They migrate on the approach of winter. Now in that season, it appears by a quotation from a Jewish writer, mentioned in a preceding volume¹, pigeons are not wont to have young ones: how then could that law of Moses be obeyed, which relates to matters that happen at all times of the year², and which enjoined them to bring for an offering to the Lord two *turtle-doves*, or two *young pigeons*? But now it may be observed from hence, that if young pigeons could not be procured, as being in the winter, *tame* turtle-doves might supply their place, there being doubtless great numbers of them then in *Judaea*; as there are now at *Guzel-Hissar*. A religious consideration must have engaged the Jews to keep them; which can have no influence on the inhabitants of Asia Minor of our time.

¹ Observ. on divers Pass. of Script. vol. 2, ch. 9, obs. 15.

² Lev. 12. 8. ch. 14. 22, &c.

As to the other point — their being eaten, that appears evident from *Maillet*, who could not otherwise have pronounced concerning their goodness; yet it should seem, from the answers I received from some I consulted on this point, who had been in the Holy-Land, that they are not very commonly used for food there at this time, since they did not *remember* ever to have eaten of them in that country.

They may be kept, possibly, at this time in such numbers in the Lesser Asia, merely for pleasure; but it is certain that St. Jerome, who lived long in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, speaks of fat turtles as luxurious eating¹, numbering them with pheasants, and another bird which has been supposed to be the Asiatic partridge by some; but by others a different kind of bird, but what they could not well determine², (*attagen* *Ionius* being the Latin name.)

It

¹ Procul sint a convivii tuis phasides aves, *crassi turtures*, *attagen* *Ionicus*, & omnes aves, quibus amplissima patrimonium avolant. Nec ideo te carnibus vesci non putes, si suum, leporum, atq; cervorum, & quadrupedum animantium esculentias reprobas. Non enim hæc pedum numero, sed *suavitate gustus* judicantur. Ep. ad *Salvinam* de *Viduitate* servanda.

² “We cannot with certainty,” says Francis in a note on the second Epode, “determine what the *rhombus*, *scarus*, “or *attagen* were.” If there are various birds not commonly known to us, even in our country, very delicious eating, as those called by the Scotch *caperkyly*, those called *black game*, and ptarmigans, (see *Append. to Pennant’s Tour*, 1769,) can it be any wonder we have not a very determinate knowledge of what the ancient Greeks and Romans meant, by some of the terms they made use of? *Norden* mentions

It may not be amiss to add to the preceding account, relating to the *tamenejs* of many turtle-doves, what the Baron de Tott says in the Prelim. Disc. to his Mem. p. xvii, and in p. 208 of the first part of them. In the first place he remarks, that pigeons are *more wild* in Turkey than with us, because they are more neglected. In the other, that turtle-doves, on the contrary, are *extremely familiar* there. The government, he tells us, while their subjects are treated with great rigour, is very compassionate to these birds, allowing so much per cent. in favour of them: “ A cloud of these birds constantly alight on
 “ the vessels which cross the port of Constantinople, and carry this commodity, uncovered, either to the magazines or the mills.
 “ The boatmen never oppose their greediness.
 “ This permission to feast on the grain brings
 “ them in great numbers, and familiarizes
 “ them to such a degree, that I have seen
 “ them standing on the shoulders of the

mentions a bird they shot in Ægypt called coramane, “ of the
 “ size of a woodcock, of a delicious taste; but still more
 “ esteemed on account of it’s *fine note*. The Turks give for
 “ them eight or ten sequins, when they are taken young and
 “ have been taught to sing. With regard to their beauty,
 “ it consists only in their large eyes; for their feathers do
 “ not differ from those of the wild duck.” Vol. 2, p. 37.
 According to Pliny, lib. 9, cap. 48, the *attagen* when abroad sings, though silent when taken, which much better agrees with the *coramane*s, than birds of the partridge kind. It is true *Ionia* and *Ægypt* are two very different countries, but there are other birds that pass from the one to the other: whether this species doth is not said.

“ rowers,

“rowers, watching for a vacant place, where they may fill their crops in their turn.”

It could not be difficult to detain in Judæa, through the winter, as many as they chose to do, by taking care to feed them.

OBSERVATION CLV.

Dr. Chandler seems to suppose, that the *olive-groves* are the principal places for the shooting of birds¹; and in his other volume, containing an account of his travels in Greece, he observes, that when the *olive* blackens, *vast flights* of doves, pigeons, *thrushes*, and other birds, *repair to the olive-groves for food*²: the connexion then between Noah's dove and an olive-leaf, Gen. viii. 11, is not at all unnatural.

The tops of olive-trees might alone, possibly, be in view of the place where the ark was then floating, though it is a tree of only a middling height; but if the dove saw a great number of other trees appear above the water, it was natural for it to repair to olive-trees, where it had been wont to shelter itself, preferably to others, according to this account. As to branches of olives being used afterwards as *symbols of peace*, that could be nothing to

¹ Trav. in Asia Minor, p. 84.

² P. 127. So Hasselquist heard the nightingale among the willows by the river Jordan, and among the olive-trees of Judæa, p. 212.

Noah, as, most probably, the associating the ideas of reconciliation and peace with an olive-branch was the work of after times.

OBSERVATION CLVI.

Ezekiel supposes¹ the *Great*, by which he means the *Mediterranean* Sea, was very full of fish: I would observe, that it was not necessary, as to the Jews, to derive this apprehension from the fish brought by the *men of Tyre* to Jerusalem²; their own people might draw this knowledge, from the fish they found near what were indisputably *their own shores*.

Doubdan, speaking of his going by sea from Sidon to *Joppa*, (or *Jaffa*, as he calls it,) in his way to *Jerusalem*, says, that on his entering into that port, they found it so abounding in fish, “ that a great fish pursuing one somewhat less, both of them sprung at the same time above three feet out of the water; the first dropped into the middle of the bark, and the other fell so near that they had well nigh taken it with their hands: this happened very luckily, as it afforded our sailors a treat³.”

Had he told us of what kind the two fishes were, it would not at all have been dis-

¹ Ch. 47. 10. — “ Their fish shall be according to their kinds, as the fish of the Great Sea, exceeding many.”

² Nehem. 13. 16.

³ *Voy. de la Terre-Sainte*, p. 40.

agrecable: for want of it I am not able even to *begin* a list of the species of fish which haunt, or which visit the *Jewish shores*. This is a *desideratum* in the natural history of that country. There is a vast variety in that sea, but they have particular places, in which many of the different sorts appear, and which are not to be found in other parts of the Mediterranean.

Though the coast of that part of Syria which is denominated Palæstine, is not remarkable for the number of it's ports, yet besides *Joppa*, St. John d'Acre, Caypha under Mount Carmel, and a few others that might be named, there are some *creeks*, and small convenient places, where little vessels, (and such are those that are used for fishing,) may shelter themselves, and land what they take, though there are very few rivers on all that coast¹. To these places *Deborah* seems to refer, when she says, "After continued on the sea-shore, and abode in his breaches," or creeks, as it is translated in the margin².

So we are told that Ali Bey, marching from Caipha to Joppa by land, set out on the 12th of August, and crossing Mount Carmel, came on the 16th near Joppa, and pitched his camp by a brook north-eastward of the town, at a little distance from it; but the ships anchored

¹ The History of Ali Bey's Revolt says, that from Cæsarea to Joppa are 15 or 16 miles, and that about a mile and half before you come to Joppa you cross a small rivulet, which is the only running water in all that fertile country, p. 185.

² Judges 5. 17.

in a *creek*, about six miles to the northward of Joppa¹.

So Rauwolff informs us, that when his vessel got clear of the frigates that came out from all sides near Caypha to seize upon it, and got about Mount Carmel, two ships pursued them, but were forced to leave them²: this shows there are several places where small ships may put in and anchor, and where the children of Asher might continue in their ships, pursuing their marine employments; while others of the neighbouring tribes were hazarding their lives in fighting for their country by land.

What *Doubdan* saith of the fish that jumped out of the sea near *Joppa*, in pursuit of another large fish, by which means one of them was taken, and feasted on by the seamen, and the other narrowly escaped, may put us in mind of the adventure of *Tobit*, on the bank of the Tigris: a fish leaping out of the water, and darting at him, as an object of prey³. If one fish threw itself out of the sea in pursuit of another, a voracious fish may possibly have thrown itself out of the water, darting at a naked man that stood on the margin of the river. Fish certainly frequently devour men that they find in the water, not only when they find them dead, but when they happen on them alive. But as the book of *Tobit* lays the scene of this very unusual event

¹ P. 126, 127.

² Ray's Travels, p. 224, 225.

³ Ch. 6. 2.

on the shore of the Tigris, it may not be improper to subjoin a quotation from *Thevenot*¹.

It relates to his voyage down the Tigris, the river that is mentioned in Tobit. “ This evening, about nine o’clock, one of the men in our *keleck*², with an hook took a *great fish*; it was about five foot long, and though it was as big as a man, yet he told me it was a young one, and that commonly they are much bigger. The head of it was above a foot long; the eyes four inches above the jaws, round, and as big as a brass farthing; the mouth of it was round, and being opened, as wide as the mouth of a cannon, so that my head could easily have gone into it; about the mouth, on the outside, it had four white long beards of flesh, as big as one’s little finger; it was all over covered with scales like to those of a carp; it lived long out of the water, died when they opened the belly to skin it, and was a female: the flesh of it was white, tasted much like a tunny, and was as soft and loose as flax.”

There are then very *large fish in the Tigris*. But if any of my readers, after all, should be disposed to consider this adventure of Tobit as apocryphal, he will not, I imagine, be guilty of a *mortal sin* in so doing.

Our translation however, it is but justice

¹ It is in part 2, book 1, ch. 13, p. 59.

² A particular sort of vessel used on that river.

to remark, has improperly given the English reader to understand, that Tobit and his companion, without the help of any others to assist them, eat up this whole great fish, ver. 5: “And when they had roasted the fish, they did eat it.” The Greek original only says, “And having roasted the fish, they eat:” eat what they thought fit of it.

OBSERVATION CLVII.

People of power in the East are wont to be mostly very oppressive, and the expensiveness of their *barans*, or, in other words, of their *wives*, appears to be one of the causes of their great oppressions; which seems to be exactly what the prophet *Amos* had in view, in the beginning of his fourth chapter, where he compares the ladies of Israel to *fatted kine*.

As commentators of former times seem, to me, to have most unhappily jumbled and confounded things together, in their explanation of this prophetic passage, (at least those that I have consulted,) it may not be disagreeable to collect together some observations upon it.

It is not at all uncommon for the prophets, to compare the great men of their own nation to *males of this kind of animal*, Pf. xxii. 12, Deut. xxxiii. 17, as well as those of other nations, Pf. lxxviii. 30, Is. xxxiv. 7. Here *Amos* uses a word that denotes the females of that species,

species, which *in course* should signify the women of distinction in Israel.

Their masters that were required to bring fattening food and drink points out, under the image of what was done to kine that were fattening, those supplies, with respect to food, which the luxurious ladies of that country would, it was to be expected, require of their lords. Nor is it to be imagined, that they would not equally demand splendid clothing, and expensive ornaments.

That, in consequence, occasioned the *oppressing the poor and crushing the needy*. So Le Bruyn describes the women of the Levant, “as having such a passion for dress, that they never think themselves richly enough attired, without any attention to their rank, or any consideration whether their circumstances will admit of it¹.” Chardin’s account of the Persian ladies is just the same. “The great luxury of the Persians is in their seraglios, the expence of which is immense, owing to the *number* of women they keep there, and the *profusion* their love to them causes. *Rich new habits* are continually procured for them, *perfumes* are consumed there in abundance, and the women, being brought up and supported in the most refined voluptuousness, use every artifice to procure for themselves whatever pleases them, without

¹ Tome I, p. 450. This follows the account of the extreme avidity of the men, so as to stick at nothing to procure money.

“ concerning themselves about what they “ cost’.” Such expensiveness occasions great oppression now, and, it seems, did so among the Israelites in the days of Amos.

Out of these fattening-stalls they were to be driven by the hand of an enemy, for breaches are supposed to be made in the buildings in which they were kept, through which they were to be driven, every one out of her stall through such a breach, prophetically marking out, by a continuation of the same image, the making breaches in the cities of their habitation, and forcing them out of those places of their luxury.

The 2d verse need not be so understood as to vary the image, and from comparing them to fatted kine in one verse, in the next to represent them as fishes taken away by hooks. The words in the original signify *thorns*, consequently any straight sharp-pointed thing as well as one bent, or an hook. And when it is remembered that animals of this kind, as well as asses, are driven along by a sharp-pointed stick, or some such kind of instrument, this 2d verse is decyphered, and brought to be of an homogeneous nature with the preceding and following verse.

That this is the custom in those countries we learn from Maundrell. “ Franks are “ obliged either to walk on foot, or else to “ ride upon asses. . . . When you are mount- “ ed, the master of the ass follows his beast to

* Tome 2, p. 55.

“ the place whither you are disposed to go ;
 “ *goad*ing him up behind with a sharp-pointed
 “ *stick*, which makes him dispatch his stage
 “ with great expedition¹.” *Oxen* are driven
 there, according to him, after the same man-
 ner. “ The country-people were now every
 “ where at plough in the fields, in order to
 “ sow cotton. ’Twas observable that in
 “ ploughing they used goads of an extraor-
 “ dinary size. Upon measuring of several,
 “ I found them about eight foot long, and at
 “ the bigger end six inches in circumference.
 “ They were armed at the lesser end with a
 “ *sharp prick*le for driving the *oxen*, and at the
 “ other end with a small spade, or paddle of
 “ iron, strong and massy, for cleansing the
 “ plough from the clay that encumbers it in
 “ working².” If *oxen* then, and *females* of that
 species, are wont to be driven along by *goads*,
 it cannot be wondered at that the prophet
 should represent the carrying away into capti-
 vity of the Israelitish ladies, (considered un-
 der the image of kine,) by the driving them
 along by *goads*: “ he shall take you away
 “ with sharp-pointed instruments,” for that
 seems to be the precise meaning of the word ;
 not *books*, nor even *thorns*, in an exclusive
 sense, but in general things that are sharp-
 pointed³.

¹ P. 130, edit. 5.

² P. 110, III.

³ Even *shields*, which anciently oftentimes had a sharp
 spike fixed in the middle of the outside surface. 1 Kings
 10. 16.

I can assign no reason why *thorns*, (or sharp-pointed things,) such as were used for taking *fish*, are mentioned in the last clause, unless it should be understood to mean the great severity with which the women of Israel would be driven away, in the last captivity of those of the ten tribes under *Hoshea*. Instruments not very unlike the Eastern *goads* have been used, I think, for catching fish, and were meant by our translators when they used the term *fish-spears*, Job xli. 7; but then they must have been much sharper than goads, in order to secure the fish¹. But a goad sharpened to a point like a fish-spear, must have been a dreadful instrument to drive cattle with, wounding them so as to occasion great anguish in their travelling along, and therefore not an improper representation, of the great severity used in driving the latter captives under *Hoshea* into Assyria.

My reader will observe here, that I suppose the word translated “posterity” in the 2d verse, means rather the *remainder*, those that came after them that were first carried away of the ten tribes: so the word is twice used, Ezek. xxiii. 25, once translated *remnant*, and the other time *residue*. And, agreeably to this, we find the people of the kingdom of the ten tribes were carried away at twice, the more

¹ So Camden, in his account of *our native island*, tells us, that those that live by the sides of Solway Frith hunt salmon, whereof there is great plenty there, with *spears* on horseback. Under his account of Niddisdale.

northern and eastern parts by Tiglath-Pileser¹, the rest several years after by Shalmaneser², and it is natural to suppose the treatment these last met with was more severe than what the first felt.

The last clause probably was designed to express *whither* they were to be driven, as some of the old translations understood it to mean, but it is not the design of these papers to examine matters of that kind. It is sufficient to observe, that the two words of the 2d verse, the one rendered *books* in our version, the other fish-hooks, I should suppose mean sharp-pointed instruments used for the driving away of cattle; but the last supposed to be more pointed than the first, and sharpened to such a degree, as even to be fit for the striking of fish. *Ye shall be driven away, ye fatted kine of Israel, as with goads; and the last parcel of you with instruments sharp as fish-spears.*

OBSERVATION CLVIII.

Among several of the smaller tribes of the Eastern people, who are a good deal independent, persons take upon them to do themselves justice, if they think they are injured, without much notice of it being taken by their superiors. A state of things so nearly resembling anarchy as appears very surprising to

¹ 2 Kings 15. 29.² Ch. 17. 3, 6.

Europeans. It seems to have been the same anciently.

Niebuhr says, that if two Schechs of the Druses' quarrel, "they send their peasants into the village of their enemy, cause the inhabitants to be massacred, cut down the mulberry and olive-trees, and the Emir² oftentimes doth not punish these excesses³." In other cases he mentions the *burning of houses*.

I should suppose we are to understand the Philistines burning the spouse of Samson and her father, not as the consequence of the regular decision of the nation; but the *tumultuary* exercise of justice like that of the modern Druses.—Samson, a principal Israelite, burnt, they were informed, some of their corn-fields, their vineyards and olive-yards, in consequence of an injury he had received; and those that suffered that loss revenged it, by setting fire to the house of him that provoked him to this vengeance, in which he and his daughter miserably perished. Judges xv. 6.

OBSERVATION CLIX.

A great likeness appears, between the managements of the Jews, when the chief captain

¹ The chiefs of their villages: each village having it's Schech. The Druses being one of the sorts of people that inhabit Libanus.

² The head of that nation.

³ Voy. en Arabie & en d'autres Pays, tome 2, p. 550.

of the Roman garrison of Jerufalem prefented himfelf in the temple¹, and the behaviour of the Perfian peafants, when they go to court to complain of the governors under whom they live, upon their oppreffions becoming intolerable, which refemblance may place that paffage of the Acts of the Apoftles in the particular *point of light*, in which in truth it ought to be viewed.

Sir John Chardin has given us an account of the behaviour of the Perfian peafants on fuch occasions, in the 2d tome of his printed Travels², where he tells us, *the people carry their complaints againft their governors by companies, confifting of feveral hundreds, and fometimes of a thoufand; they repair to that gate of the palace near to which their prince is moft likely to be, where they fet themfelves to make the moft horrid cries, tearing their garments, and throwing duft into the air, at the fame time demanding juftice. . . . The king, upon hearing thefe cries, fends to know the occafion of them. The people deliver their complaint in writing, upon which he lets them know, that he will commit the cognifance of the affair to fuch, or fuch an one.* In confequence of which it feems juftice is wont to be done them.

Thus when the Jews found St. Paul in the Temple, prejudiced as they were againft him in general, and then irritated by a miftaken notion, that he had polluted that holy place

¹ Acts 22. 23,

² P. 222.

by the introduction of Greeks into it, they raised a tumult, and appeared to be on the point of tearing the apostle in pieces; but no account of *throwing dust into the air*, or any mention of their *garments*, or *long-continued cries*; there was only an exclamation of the Asiatic Jews stirring up the people of Jerusalem against the apostle, a running of the people together upon that, a dragging him out of that court in which the Jews worshipped into the court of the Gentiles, and then falling upon him, and beating him with such violence as would have ended in the loss of his life; when the chief captain of the Roman soldiers, who resided in a castle adjoining to the Temple, hearing the tumult, immediately hastened thither, upon which they left beating the apostle, and applied themselves to him as the principal person in the government then there, with confused cries that he knew not what to make of; but upon his giving leave to Paul to explain the affair in their hearing, they grew into more violent rage than ever, but not daring to attempt doing themselves justice as before, they demanded justice much in the same manner as the Persian peasants now do: by *loud cries*; throwing down with apparent anguish *their clothes on the ground*, after *tearing* them in pulling them off with violent emotions, and *throwing up dust*.

I have, in another volume, touched upon *this circumstance* of the history of St. Luke, and recited the sentiments of two different gentlemen

gentlemen on this *throwing up the dust*; but as both of them may appear rather too refined and far fetched, I thought it might be agreeable, to set down Sir John Chardin's account of the way of applying for *justice* in Persia, which very exactly tallies with the account here given of the Jews, and leads us to consider their conduct, merely as a *demand of justice* from the Roman commandant in Jerusalem, according to the usual Asiatic form, which continues to this day.

OBSERVATION CLX.

The feet as well as the hands of criminals are wont to be secured, some how or other, by the people of the East, when they are brought out to be punished, to which there seems to be a plain allusion in the Old Testament.

Thus when Irwin was among the Arabs of Upper Ægypt, where he was very ill-used, but his wrongs afterwards redressed by the Great Sheik there, who had been absent, and who, it seems, was a man of exemplary probity and virtue, he tells us, that upon that Sheik's holding a great court of justice, about Irwin's affairs and those of his companions, the bastinado was given one of those that had injured them, which he thus describes in a note, p. 271: "The prisoner is placed up-
" right on the ground, *with his hands and feet*
" bound

“ bound together, while the executioner stands
 “ before him, and, with a short stick, strikes
 “ him with a smart motion on the outside of
 “ his knees. The pain which arises from these
 “ strokes is exquisitely severe, and which no
 “ constitution can support for any continu-
 “ ance.”

As the Arabs are extremely remarkable for their retaining old customs, we have just grounds of believing, that when malefactors in the East were punished, by *beating*, and perhaps with *death by the sword*, *their hands were bound together*, and also *their feet*.

How impertinent, according to this, is the interpretation that *Victorinus Strigelius* gives of 2 Sam. iii. 34! as he is cited by Bishop Patrick in his Commentary on those words: “ The
 “ king lamented over Abner, and said, Died
 “ Abner as a fool dieth? Thy *hands were not*
 “ *bound*, nor thy *feet put into fetters*: as a
 “ man falleth before wicked men, so fellest
 “ thou. And all the people wept again over
 “ him.”

Strigelius, says the Bishop, “ thinks that
 “ *David*, in these words, distinguishes him
 “ from those criminals, whose hands being
 “ tied behind them, are carried to execution;
 “ and from those idle soldiers, who being
 “ taken captive in war, have fetters clapt
 “ upon their legs, to keep them from run-
 “ ning away. He was none of these; neither
 “ a notorious offender, nor a coward”. . . .
 Patrick adds, “ The plain meaning seems to

“ be; that if his enemy had set upon him
“ openly, he had been able to make his part
“ good with him.”

How impertinent the latter part of what Strigelius says! how foreign from the thought of David, not to say inconsistent with itself, the explanation of the English prelate! What is meant appears to be simply this: Died Abner as a fool, that is, as a bad man, as that word frequently signifies in the Scriptures? Died he as one found on judgment to be criminal dieth? No! Thy hands, O Abner! were not bound as being found such, nor thy feet confined; on the contrary, thou wert treated with honour by him whose business was to judge thee, and thy attachment to the house of Saul esteemed rather generous than culpable: as the best of men may fall, so fellest thou by the sword of treachery, not of justice!

OBSERVATION CLXI.

Britons, who are used to slowness, and solemnity of procedure, with regard to supposed criminals; who always expect a number of independent persons should be concerned in determining their fate, and those their equals in rank¹; who find a considerable length of time is wont to intervene between condemnation

¹ A jury of their peers.

and execution ; and this execution openly performed, in the presence of all that choose to attend ; are wont to be surpris'd, as well as pained, on reading accounts of the Oriental privacy, rapidity, and silent submission of their great men, when they are put to death, which appear both in the Turkish and Persian Histories.

What Thevenot¹ says, concerning the manner of putting great men among the Turks to death, is confirmed by a multitude of other writers. When, it seems, the enemies of a great man have gained influence enough over the prince to procure a warrant for his death, a *capidgi* (the name of the officers who execute these orders) is sent to him, who “ shews
 “ him the order he has to carry back his
 “ head ; the other takes the Grand Signior’s
 “ order, kisses it, puts it upon his head in
 “ sign of respect, and then having performed
 “ his ablution and said his prayers, freely
 “ gives up his head : the *capidgi* having
 “ strangled him (or caused servants whom he
 “ brought purposely with him to do it) cuts
 “ off his head, and brings it to Constantino-
 “ ple. Thus they blindly obey the Grand
 “ Signior’s order, the servants never offering
 “ to hinder the executioner, though these
 “ *capidges* come very often with few or no
 “ attendants at all.”

Sir John Chardin gives a similar account of

¹ Part 1, ch. 46.

the *silent, hasty, and unobstructed* manner of putting the great men of *Persia* to death. Much the same method, it seems, was used by the ancient *Jewish princes*. *Benaiah* was the *capidgi*, to use the modern Turkish term, that was sent by *Solomon* to put *Adonijah*, a prince of the blood, to death¹; and *Joab*, the commander of the army in chief². A *capidgi*, in like manner, beheaded *John Baptist* in prison, and *carried his head away* with him to the court of *Herod the Tetrarch*³. So a *capidgi* was sent to take off the head of the prophet *Elisba*, by King *Jehoram*, but the execution was prevented, by the king's immediately following, and receiving a prophetic assurance, that the famine that then most terribly distressed the city should terminate in four and twenty hours⁴.

Great energy will be given to the term *messengers of death*, mentioned by *Solomon*, Prov. xvi. 14, if we understand those words of the *capidgis* of the ancient *Jewish princes*: “The
“wrath of a king is as messengers of death,
“but a wise man will pacify it”—*His wrath puts a man in danger of immediate death, and may chill the blood like the appearance of a capidgi; but by wisdom a man may sometimes escape the danger.*

The behaviour of *Elisba* may be supposed to be a proof, that the ancient *Jews* were not

¹ 1 Kings 2. 25.

³ Matt. 14. 10, 11.

² Ver. 29, 30, 34.

⁴ 2 Kings 6. 32, 33.

so submissive to the orders brought by the messengers of death, of that country, as the *Turks and Persians* of later times. *Jehoram's* sending however only a *single* person, to take off the head of the prophet, seems to show that they were, or nearly so. It is to be remembered, that the *capidgis* of later ages, have been persuaded sometimes to delay an execution, or attempts at least have been made use of to persuade them to do it, in hope of a *counter-order*; and at other times the condemned person may have delayed a while the making his appearance, imagining there might be a relenting in the prince. *Chardin* has given us an example of the first, in the case of a black servant, that went along with his master to take off the head of a Persian general, and who joined with the supposed criminal in begging for a little delay, but who could not prevail, when scarcely was the messenger of death remounted on his horse, when a counter-order was brought, and the general's death very much regretted by the prince that commanded it'.

Elisha, it should seem, begged the elders of Israel that were with him, to detain the messenger of death a few minutes at the door, 'till the king should arrive, who was closely following him, probably as repenting of what he had commanded. He could not, however, forbear exclaiming, when he saw the prophet,

† *Voy.* tome 3, p. 148.

who, I should apprehend, had given him hopes of deliverance out of the hands of the king of Syria, who had been promising him favour if he yielded, and at the same time threatening him if he persisted in holding out the city against him, exclaiming, I say, This calamity is of God! it cannot be avoided! why should I wait any longer in a vain expectation of escaping from him, by depending, O Elisha, on thy flattering assurances of not falling into his hands, through which assurances my people are expiring with hunger, and even mothers constrained to eat their own children? Then the prophet persuaded him to wait twenty-four hours longer, declaring, with great positiveness and precision, upon pain of being put immediately to death, that within that time plenty should be restored to Samaria. After some such a manner as this, I should think, this passage is to be understood.

OBSERVATION CLXII.

None of the commentators I have seen, seem to me to have given the true explanation of that expression of sacred history, relating to the *extermination* of ancient royal families in the East, which describeth *every male* as cut off, “There was no one remaining, either *shut up* or *left* in Israel:” the expression being to be understood, I apprehend, as signi-

fyng, that no one should remain, in a situation from whence it might be expected he would assert, and endeavour to make good, his claim to the crown; nor any one left of those from whom nothing was apprehended, either on the account of mental or bodily imperfection, or the unsuspecting temper of the conqueror.

The expression is made use of in relation to the families of Jeroboam¹, and Ahab², kings of Israel; and occurs also in some other places of holy writ³, which may be illustrated by explaining the phrase as used in relation to those two ancient royal families of the Jewish nation.

The explanations of commentators are very various, but none of them satisfactory. That which I have to propose, and would submit to the reader, is founded on Eastern historical events.

Sometimes, when a successful prince has endeavoured to extirpate the preceding royal family, some of them have escaped the slaughter, and have secured themselves in some impregnable fortress, or place of great secrecy; while others have sought an asylum in some foreign

¹ 1 Kings, 14. 10. "Therefore behold, I will bring evil upon the house of Jeroboam, and will cut off from Jeroboam him that pisseth against the wall, and him that is shut up and left in Israel, and will take away the remnant of the house of Jeroboam, as a man taketh away dung, 'till it be all gone.

² 1 Kings 21. 21, 2 Kings 9. 8.

³ Deut. 32. 36, 2 Kings 14. 26.

country, from whence they have occasioned, from time to time, great anxiety and great difficulties to the usurper of their crown.

The word *shut up*, strictly speaking, refers to the two first of these cases. When Athaliah endeavoured to destroy all the seed royal of Judah¹, that she might herself reign, one child alone was preserved, Joash by name, who was kept with great secrecy for some years, *shut up* in a private apartment of the Temple, from whence he was brought forth in due time, and actually recovered the crown.

Other princes have shut up themselves in impregnable fortresses, and from thence have given great alarm to their rivals, and, it may be, at length re-established themselves in the government of their hereditary countries, or of part of them.

Those of royal blood in either of these situations come, strictly speaking, under this description, of persons *shut up*. But the term may be used in a more extensive sense, for those princes that, by retiring into deserts, or into foreign countries, preserve themselves from being slain by those that have usurped the dominions of their ancestors. Thus the term is applied to David, when he lived in Ziklag, in the time of King Saul, 1 Chron. xii. 1: "Now these are they that came to David to Ziklag, while he yet *kept himself close*," or more exactly according to the Hebrew, as the

¹ 2 Kings II. 1.

margin observes, *being yet shut up*, “because
 “ of Saul the son of Kish; and they were
 “ among the mighty men, helpers of the
 “ war.” David did not shut himself up,
 strictly speaking, in *Ziklag*. It is described
 as a town *in the country*, in contradistinction
 from the royal city of the Philistines, 1 Sam.
 xxvii. 5, perhaps then an unwallèd town;
 but however that was, it is certain he did not
 confine himself in *Ziklag*, he was, on the
 contrary, continually making *excursions* from
 thence, as we are informed, ver. 8, &c. But
 being there in a *state of safety*, from whence he
 might in some favourable moment seize the
 kingdom, the term *shut up* is applied to him,
 in a less exact sense.

In this sense, in like manner, *Hadad* of the
king's seed in Edom, might be described as one
shut up, in the time of King David, and his
 son Solomon: for retiring into Ægypt, he
 continued there waiting for some opportunity
 of repossessing himself of that country. “And
 “ the Lord stirred up an adversary unto Solo-
 “ mon, *Hadad* the Edomite; he was of the
 “ *king's seed in Edom*. For it came to pass
 “ when David was in Edom, and Joab the
 “ captain of the host was gone up to bury
 “ the slain, after he had *smitten every male in*
 “ *Edom*. . . . That *Hadad* fled, he and cer-
 “ tain Edomites of his father's servants with
 “ him, to go into Ægypt; *Hadad* being yet
 “ a little child. And they arose out of Mi-
 “ dian,

“dian, and came to Paran; and they took
 “men with them out of Paran, and they came
 “to Ægypt unto Pharaoh king of Ægypt,
 “which gave him an house, and appointed
 “him victuals, and gave him land.” 1 Kings
 xi. 14, 15, 17, 18.

But as to the families of *Jeroboam and Abab*, God threatened, not only that they should be despoiled of the kingdom, but that the destruction should be without any hope of recovery, none being preserved, either in some secret place of concealment among their friends; or by flying to some strong city, from whence they might excite great alarm, if not much trouble; or by escaping into some foreign country, from whence their antagonist might dread their return; none by whose means it might be supposed those families might recover themselves, and regain the possession of the throne of the ten tribes.

And not only so, but that no branch of those families whatsoever should remain, none *left* of those from whom no danger was apprehended. In later times in the East, sometimes persons of royal descent have been left alive, when the rest of a family have been cut off, because it was thought there were no grounds of suspicion of any danger resulting from them, either on account of defects in their understandings¹; blindness, or some other great

¹ *Supposed intellectual weakness* probably saved the life of *David*, when among the Philistines of Gath, 1 Sam. 21. 12—15.

bodily disqualification¹; or exquisite dissembling²: but none of the families of *Jeroboam* or *Abab* were to be permitted to live on these accounts—none should escape; none should in pity, and from unsuspectingness, be left alive. The destruction was to be universal. Such, I should think, is what is to be understood by the terms *shut up* and *left*.

This prophetic declaration is the more remarkable, as the entire extinction of a nume-

¹ Blindness saved the life of *Mohammed Khodabende*, a Persian prince of the sixteenth century, when his brother *Ismael* put all the rest of his brethren to death, being spared on the account that he had lost his eye-sight. D'Herbelot, p. 613.

² And one of the ancestors of this blind prince, of the same name of *Ismael*, escaped by his having so much art, as to make a prince who had him and another son of that ambitious family, (which was almost extirpated on the account of it's high pretences and great restlessness,) believe that he intended to retire from the world, and devote himself to religious retirement. D'Herbelot, p. 504. "*Ismael*, " and *Ali Mirza* his brother, having been made prisoners by "*Jacoub Begh*, the son of *Ufuncassan*," says this writer, from the Oriental histories, "who had killed their father "*Haidar* in battle, were some time after set at liberty by "*Rostam Begh*, who had succeeded *Jacob* his uncle. It " was not long before *Rostam Begh* repented of his having " unchained these two young lions, who immediately set " out for *Ardebil* their native country, and the burial- " place of their ancestors, under the pretence of spending " the rest of their days, in the habit of dervishes, in la- " menting the death of their father, but in fact to give " new vigour to the *Haidarian* faction, which was very " powerful there, when *Rostam* sent people after them, " who killed *Ali*, but never could come up with *Ismael*, " who took refuge in *Ghilan*, where one of the friends of " the late *Scheikh Haidar*, his father, governed."

rous royal family, such as those of the East are wont to be, is not easily accomplished. Great havock was made, from time to time, among the descendants of *Ali*, the son in law of their prophet Mohammed, whose family claimed the khalifate, or supreme power among the Mohammedans, by a supposed divine right, but it could never be effected, and it's descendants are very numerous at this very day, and reign in several of those countries.

The *Ommiades*, or family which, in the opinion of many, usurped what of right belonged to the family of *Ali*, which family of *Ommiah* was the first that possessed the khalifate in an *hereditary* way, were dispossessed of this high dignity by another family, called *Abassides*, or the children of *Abbas*, but could not be extirpated, though the Abassides took great pains to do it, and were guilty of *great barbarity* in the attempt, without being able to accomplish it.

For we are told, that an uncle of the first of the khalifes of this new family, after the defeat of the before-reigning prince, *assembled about fourscore of the house of Ommiah, to whom he had given quarter, and caused them to be all knocked on the head, by people intermixed among them armed with wooden clubs; after which covering their bodies with a carpet, he gave a great entertainment upon that carpet to the officers of his army, in such a manner as to spend that time of joy amidst the last groans of these miserable*

*miserable wretches, who were still breathing*¹. But though the *Abassides* destroyed all those of the house of *Ommiah*, on whom they could lay their hands, as we are informed in a preceding part of the same, and in the following page, and endeavoured to extirpate it, they could not effect it, for some escaped, and appeared with great lustre elsewhere, reigning both in Spain and Arabia.

It was otherwise with the houses of *Jeroboam*, *Baasha*², and *Abab*.

If this explanation be admitted, it will enable us *more clearly* to understand two or three other passages of Scripture. For when it is said, 2 Kings xiv. 26, that “the Lord saw
“ the affliction of Israel, that it was very
“ bitter: for there was not any shut up, nor
“ any left, nor any helper for Israel,” the words should seem to mean, that before the time of the prince there spoken of, Jeroboam the second, there was no one of their more eminent people, from whom they *might have great expectations*; nor any of those in a *more obscure station*, from which class of people great deliverers have sometimes been raised up to save their native country; nor any helper for Israel *among foreign princes, or generals*; but they seemed quite lost, and devoted to ruin by the hand of the Syrian princes.

In like manner, when Moses says in his last song, “The Lord shall judge his people, and

¹ D’Herbelot, p. 692.

² 1 Kings 16: 3.

“repent himself for his servants, when he
“seeth that their power is gone, and there is
“none shut up, or left”—None able to
make head against their enemies, by means
of strong holds, or left among the people at
large, from whom any support could be ex-
pected; the Lord will then, says Moses, re-
pent concerning his servants, that is, change
the tenor of his conduct towards them.

OBSERVATION CLXIII.

It has been a frequent complaint among
learned men, that it is commonly diffi-
cult, and oftentimes impossible, to illustrate
many passages of the Jewish history, referred
to in the annals of their princes, and in the
predictions of their prophets, for want of pro-
fane historians of the neighbouring nations
of any great antiquity; upon which I have
been ready to think, that it might not be al-
together vain, to compare with those more
ancient transactions, events of a later date
that have happened in those countries, in
nearly similar circumstances, since human na-
ture is much the same in all ages, allowing for
the eccentricity that sometimes arises, from
some distinguishing prejudices of that parti-
cular time.

The situation of the Christian kings of Je-
rusalem, in particular, in the twelfth century,
bears in many respects a strong resemblance to
that

that of the kings of Judah, and the history of the Croifades may ferve to throw fome light on the tranfactions of the Jewish princes. At leaft the comparing them together may be amufing.

It is faid of King *Uzziab*, 2 Chron. xxvi. 6, that “ he went forth and warred againft the “ Philiftines, and brake down the wall of “ Gath, and the wall of Jabneh, and the wall “ of Afhdod, and *built cities about Afhdod, and “ among the Philiftines.*” Thus we find, in the time of the Croifades, when that ancient city of the Philiftines called *Afcalon*, had frequently made inroads into the territories of the kingdom of Jerufalem, the Chriftians built two ftrong caftles not far from Afcalon, and finding the ufefulness of thofe ftructures, *King Fulk, in the fpring of the year of our Lord 1138, attended by the patriarch of Jerufalem and his other prelates, proceeded to build another caftle, called Blanche Guarda¹, which he garrifoned with fuch foldiers as he could depend upon, furnifhing them with arms and provifions. Thefe watching the people of Afcalon, often defeated their attempts, and fometimes they did not content themfelves with being on the defensive, but attacked them, and did them great mifchief, gaining the advantage of them. This occafioned thofe who claimed a right to the adjoining country, encouraged by the neighbourhood of fuch a ftrong place, to build many villages, in which*

¹ Or the White Watch-Tower.

many families dwelt, concerned in tilling the ground, and raising provisions for other parts of their territories. Upon this the people of *Ascalon*, finding themselves encompassed round by a number of inexpugnable fortresses, began to grow very uneasy at their situation, and to apply to *Ægypt* for help by repeated messages¹.

Exactly in the same manner, we may believe, *Uzziah* built cities about *Ashdod* that were fortified, to repress the excursions of it's inhabitants, and to secure to his people the fertile pastures that laid thereabout, and which pastures, I presume, the Philistines claimed, and indeed all the low-land from the foot of the mountains to the sea, but to which Israel claimed a right, and of a part of which this powerful Jewish prince actually took possession, and made settlements for his people there, which he thus guarded from the *Ashdodites*: “ He built cities about *Ashdod*, even among “ the Philistines,” for so I would render the words, as the historian appears to be speaking of the same cities in both clauses.

Uzziah did more than King *Fulk* could do, for he beat down the walls not only of *Gath* and *Jabneh*, two neighbouring cities, but of *Ashdod* itself, which must have cut off all thoughts of their disturbing the Jewish settlers, protected by strong fortresses, when they themselves laid open to those garrisons. *Ascalon*, on the contrary, remained strongly forti-

¹ *Gesta Dei, per Francos*, p. 886, 887.

fied, though furrounded by Christian fortresses.

OBSERVATION CLXIV.

In the time of the Croifades, *Afhkelon* appears to have been by far the moft powerful of the five great cities of the ancient Philiftines; and it fhould feem to have been fo in the time of the prophet *Amos*, from his manner of describing it—“ I will cut off the inhabitant from *Afhdod*, and him that *holdeth the fceptre* from *Afhkelon*.” Ch. i. 8.

As the *fceptre* among the Jews belonged to the tribe of *Judab*¹; fo among the Philiftines, in the days of *Amos*, it belonged to *Afhkelon*, which appears, in great part, to have been owing to it's fituation on the fea-fhore².

This may be thought fomewhat ftange, by thofe that read the account the Archbifhop of Tyre gives of the nature of the coaft there. He fays *that city was of a femicircular form, the fhore forming the chord, or femidiameter; the circular part being to the Eaftward (or towards the land). Though feated on the fhore, yet it had no port, nor a fafe ftation for fhips in the fea oppofite to it; but a fandy coaft, and dangerous when the wind was confiderable, and very much to be fufpected unlefs the fea was very calm*³.

¹ Gen. 49. 10.

² See Jer. 47. 7, Zeph. 2. 6, 7.

³ *Gesta Dei, per Francos*, p. 924.

Notwithstanding all this, it appears in that history to have been looked upon as a most important town, by both the Ægyptians and Christians of the Holy-Land, the first at great expence endeavouring to retain it, the others to get it into their hands, which at length they effected, but it was the last of the maritime towns of Syria that they got into their possession, and a long time before they could accomplish it, being frequently succoured from Ægypt by sea. In p. 829 the archbishop tells us, all the maritime towns were then reduced under the Christian power, excepting Tyre and Ascalon; in p. 841 he informs us, Tyre was taken by them in 1124; and in p. 929, 930, we have an account of the surrender of Ascalon, but not 'till the year 1154.

At the beginning of these Croisade wars, it seems indeed that hardly any but Ashkelon remained of the five great cities of the Philistines: *Ashdod* is spoken of, p. 819, as a place whose situation was known, but the town gone; p. 886 mention is made of a hill on which, according to tradition, *Gath* stood, where they erected a castle which they called *Hibelin*; p. 917 speaks of the rebuilding *Gaza*, in the time of King Baldwin the third, which town then laid in ruins, and quite uninhabited.

The traces of great previous changes, in the country of the Philistines, may be remarked in
the

the Holy Scriptures, and should be observed with care by commentators.

OBSERVATION CLXV.

The possessing some place on, or near the *Red-Sea*, was not only thought an object of importance in elder times to *Judea and Damascus*, but has been so esteemed in later ages.

That it was so reckoned anciently appears from what the prophetic historian saith, 2 Kings xvi. 6. “At that time Rezin king of Syria recovered Elath¹ to Syria, and drave the Jews from Elath: and the Syrians came to Elath, and dwelt there to this day.” It was restored to Judah not long before by King Amaziah, great grandfather to Ahaz, from whom Rezin recovered it, and appears to have been in a ruined state when Amaziah regained the possession of it, for he is said to have built Elath, as well as restored it to Judah, 2 Kings xiv. 22. When it was lost by Judah we are not, that I recollect, any where distinctly told, but we find it in the hands of Solomon, 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18, who appears to have made that a station for his shipping on the Red-Sea, as well as Ezion-geber, another place on that Sea: “Then went Solomon to Ezion-geber, and to Eloth (or Elath) at

¹ On the Eastern gulf of the Red-Sea, which is distinguished from the Western by the name of the Flanitic, so denominated, it is believed, from this town of Elath.

“ the sea-side in the land of Edom. And
“ Hiram sent him by the hands of his ser-
“ vants, ships, and servants that had know-
“ ledge of the sea; and they went with the
“ servants of Solomon to Ophir.”

The two kingdoms of Jerusalem and Damascus appear to be equally concerned, in later ages, to gain a footing in the country bordering on the Red-Sea.

So Baldwin, the first Christian king of Jerusalem of that name, was desirous, according to the Archbishop of Tyre, to enlarge the bounds of his kingdom, by making a settlement in that part of Arabia that was called by the name of Syria Sobal, and which laid on or near the Red-Sea.

Petra, the capital of the second of the Arabias, according to the reckoning of the Croifaders, (known in those times by the name of Crak,) according to St. Jerome, was but ten miles from *Elatb*¹. This was an exceeding strong place, which having been ruined, was rebuilt by one of the nobles of Fulk, the fourth Christian king of Jerusalem², those princes being desirous, we find, to establish themselves in the country beyond Jordan towards the South, which brought them near the Red-Sea. *Noradine*, the king of Damascus at that time, had similar views, it should seem, and went and besieged Petra in the time of

¹ Vide Relandi Pal. illust. p. 932.

² *Gesta Dei, per Francos*, p. 1039.

King Amalric, the sixth of those princes, but was obliged to raise the siege by the constable of the kingdom, in the absence of the king¹. Some years after Saladine, who united Damascus and Ægypt together under his government, marched through *Baschan and Gilcad*, then through the countries of *Ammon and Moab* to *Crak*, in order to besiege that city, which however he thought fit to abandon, upon the approach of the Christian army, after doing great damage to the town, and killing many of the inhabitants, but without being able to take the citadel².

Though the gaining the possession of a strong place on, or near the Red-Sea, might be of little consequence to his Ægyptian subjects, who had some ports at that time on that sea, and carried on a great traffic for rich Eastern commodities, in that age, by means of the port of *Aideb* in Upper Ægypt, from whence they were conveyed cross the desert to the Nile, and from thence down that river to Alexandria³; yet it must have been of great consequence to the people of Damascus: it is therefore no wonder that *Noradine* first, and *Saladine* afterwards, at the head of his *Syrian* troops, strove so hard to get possession of *Crak*; or that the Christian princes should take such pains to extend their dominions on that side, and after having gained that town, that they should be so solicitous to preserve it:

¹ P. 992, 993.² P. 1039, &c.³ P. 972.

Damascus being a distinct and quite separate state from *Ægypt*, when *Saladine* first set up for himself, and becoming again quite distinct from it upon his death, one of his family succeeding him at *Damascus*, and another branch of it in *Ægypt*¹, and a desert of several days journey over intervening, and another state too, while that part of Arabia was held by the princes of the *Croisades*.

But these princes did not limit themselves to that part of this country which they called the second Arabia, and of which *Crak*, anciently called *Petra*, was the capital; they went on still more to the Southward, passing through the second into the *third Arabia*², where they built a very strong fortress in a very healthful, pleasant, and fertile place, producing plenty of corn, wine, and oil, by means of which fortresses they expected to hold the adjoining country in subjection³. They erected also another castle in that country, to which castle they gave the name of the *Valley of Moses*⁴.

Unfortunately *Bongarsius* (the editor of *William of Tyre*, and the other historians of those times) has not given us a good map of those countries; nor are the accounts of the *Archbishop of Tyre* so clear as could be wished, but it should seem that this third Arabia laid near, or perhaps about, the Eastern

¹ D'Herbelot, art. *Salaheddin*.

² Called also in those times *Syria Sobal*.

³ *Gesta Dei*, p. 812.

⁴ P. 893.

gulf of the Red-Sea, in which case it must have included *Aila* or *Elath*, for that town (called the Valley of Moses) the Archbishop tells us, was supposed to be near the Waters of Strife, which Moses brought forth out of the rock, and “the congregation drank, and their beasts also.” This circumstance is mentioned Numb. xx. 1—13, and was when they were in *Kadesh*, in the *border of Edom*, and but a little before their entering into Canaan.

This third Arabia, or Syria Sobal, certainly laid considerably to the East of the Western gulf of the Red-Sea, and the country between them was a wild uninhabited desert, for we are told that after King Baldwin had built his chief fortress in this third Arabia, which was called Mount-Royal, he being desirous to acquire a more perfect knowledge of those provinces, took proper guides, and a suitable train of attendants, and passing over Jordan and through Syria Sobal, he went through that vast desert to the Red-Sea, (the historian evidently means the Western gulf of that sea,) and entering into Helim, a most ancient city, where the Israelites found twelve wells and seventy palm-trees, the inhabitants of the place were so terrified by the coming of Baldwin, that they immediately betook themselves to the vessels they had in the adjoining sea. The king having made his observations, returned

* *Gesta Dei*, p. 893.

the way he came thither, going to Mount-Royal, which he had built a little before, and from thence to Jerusalem¹.

Though no mention is made of views to commerce in the making these settlements in the third Arabia, and though those princes were much more of a martial turn, than attentive to trade, yet they highly valued the productions of *India* and of *Arabia Felix*, when they happened on them among the spoils of the Ægyptian camps, with which people we find they often fought, and therefore could not but be well pleased, with the facilitating the conveyance of those commodities into their kingdom, from the Elanitic gulf of the Red-Sea, whose navigation was much easier than on the Western, up to Suez; and saved the crossing the desert from the port of Aideb to the Nile, and from Alexandria cross the desert between Ægypt and Gaza, if they disembarked those precious commodities on the coast of Upper Ægypt, and sent them from Alexandria by land.

Accordingly the author of the *History of the Revolt of Ali Bey* has lately taken notice, of the much greater facility of conveying things by the Eastern gulf than by Suez, recommending to our East-India company to send their dispatches by way of Cyprus to Gaza, from whence they might be sent in eight days by a camel, and in four by a drome-

¹ P. 815.

dary, to *Raitbu*, which lies on that Eastern gulf, according to his map, from whence their letters could be forwarded to *Mocha* much sooner than they can from *Suez* ¹.

OBSERVATION CLXVI.

The Bishop of Waterford has observed, in his notes on Hab. i. 8, that an ingenious author, whom he cites ², supposes that the clause, “ their horsemen *shall spread themselves*,” is a faulty addition to the words of the prophet, as the Syriac translation omits the word *spread themselves*; and the Septuagint, he says, knew not what to make of it. But nothing is more easy to be conceived, if we consider the Chaldæan army as rather engaged in pillaging and destroying a country, after the manner of the *modern Tartars*, than deciding their dispute with Judæa by set and regular battles.

Habakkuk says, “ Their horses also are “ swifter than the leopards, and are more “ fierce than the evening wolves: and their “ horsemen shall *spread themselves*, and their “ horsemen shall come from far; they shall “ fly as the eagle that hasteth to eat.”

With this account, particularly the *spreading themselves*, I would compare the Baron de Tott’s description of the manner in which an

¹ Rev. of Ali Bey, p. 203, 204.

² Mr. Green.

army of *modern Tartars*, in which he was present, conducted themselves; which may be seen in the following extracts.

“ These particulars informed the *cham*¹
 “ and the generals what their real position
 “ was; and it was decided, that a *third of the*
 “ *army*, composed of volunteers, commanded
 “ by a sultan and several mirzas, should pass
 “ the river, at midnight, *divide* into several
 “ columns, *subdivide successively*, and, thus,
 “ *overspread* New Servia, *burn the villages,*
 “ *corn and fodder*, and *carry off the inhabi-*
 “ *tants and cattle, &c*².

The rest of “ the army, in order to follow
 “ the plan concerted, marched ’till it came to
 “ the beaten track, in the snow, made by the
 “ detachment. This we followed ’till we
 “ arrived at the place where it *divided into*
 “ *seven branches*, to the left of which we con-
 “ stantly kept, observing never to mingle, or
 “ confuse ourselves, with any of the *subdivi-*
 “ *sions*, which we successively found, and
 “ some of which were only small paths,
 “ *traced by one or two horsemen, &c*³.

“ Flocks were found, frozen to death, on
 “ the plain; and *twenty columns of smoke*, al-
 “ ready rising in the horizon, completed the
 “ horrors of the scene, and announced the
 “ *fires which laid waste New Servia, &c*⁴.

¹ The prince to whom the *Tartars of the Crimea* are subject.

² Memoirs of de Tott, part 2, p. 170, 171.

³ P. 174.

⁴ P. 175, 176.

“ The care, the patience, the *extreme acti-*
 “ *vity* with which the Tartars preserve their
 “ *booty*, are scarcely credible. Five or six
 “ slaves of all ages, sixty sheep, and twenty
 “ oxen, seem not to embarrass the man by
 “ whom they have been captured. The chil-
 “ dren, *with their heads out of a bag*, at the
 “ pommel of the saddle, a young girl sitting
 “ before him sustained by his left arm, the
 “ mother behind, the father on a led horse,
 “ the son on another, the sheep and oxen be-
 “ fore, all are watched, all managed, nothing
 “ escapes the vigilant eye of the conductor.
 “ He assembles, directs, provides subsistence,
 “ walks himself to give ease to his slaves;
 “ nothing seems painful to him, and the
 “ picture would be truly interesting, if ava-
 “ rice and the most cruel injustice did not
 “ furnish the subject, &c¹.

“ All researches after the inhabitants of Ad-
 “ jemka were useless, 'till the second day,
 “ when, at the moment of departure, the
 “ *ricks of corn and forage, which concealed the*
 “ *poor people, were set on fire*. Then it was
 “ that they came and cast themselves into
 “ the arms of their enemies to escape the
 “ flames, which devoured their harvests and
 “ their homes. The order to burn Adjemka
 “ was executed so suddenly, and the blaze
 “ caught the thatched houses with so much
 “ violence and rapidity, that we ourselves, at

¹ P. 181, 182.

“ leaving it, were obliged to pass through
 “ the flames. *The atmosphere was loaded with*
 “ *ashes*, and the vapour of melted snow,
 “ which, after having darkened the sun for a
 “ time, united and formed a *grey snow* that
 “ crackled between our teeth.

“ A hundred and fifty villages, which, by
 “ being, in like manner, burnt, produced the
 “ like effect, sent forth their clouds of ashes,
 “ *twenty leagues into Poland*, where our arri-
 “ val only could explain the phenomenon ‘.”

I do not know that the Septuagint interpreters found any difficulty, in understanding the meaning of the Hebrew word which signifies *spreading themselves*, though they have not used a word in their version of a very determinate sense; but Mr. Green certainly was embarrassed; which, I believe, few of my readers will be, after having read the extracts given above from the Memoirs of the Baron de Tott. They will also serve to illustrate other parts of the description the prophet gives of the Chaldæan army, and the just cause the prophet had for lamentation and apprehension, the incursions of the Chaldæans and of the Tartars manifestly bearing a great resemblance to each other.—“ I will raise up the Chaldæans,
 “ that *bitter and hasty* (or swift) nation, which
 “ shall march through the breadth of the land,”
 ch. i. 6—“ They are terrible and dreadful,”
 ver. 7—“ Their faces shall sup up (or consume)

‘ P. 183, 184.

“ as the East wind, and they shall gather the
 “ captivity (or captives) *as the sand,*” ver. 9.—
 “ When I heard, (of their coming,) my
 “ belly trembled; my lips quivered at the
 “ voice, &c. — Although the fig-tree shall
 “ not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the
 “ vines; the labour of the olive shall fail,
 “ and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock
 “ shall be cut off from the fold, and there
 “ shall be no herd in the stalls” (expressing a
 devastation like what might be expected from
 an incursion of *Tartars*): “ yet will I rejoice
 “ in the Lord,” ch. iii. 16, 17, 18.

OBSERVATION CLXVII.

If we are to explain the sacred Jewish history by *modern Eastern* managements, and by those of *other nations* in ancient times, we may suppose the appointment of every tenth man in the congregation of Israel, when gathered together to punish the tribe of Benjamin, mentioned Judges xx. 10, was not so much to *collect* food for the use of their companions in that expedition; as to *dress* it, to *serve* it up, and to *wait* upon them in eating it.

In the present Barbary camps, which march about their territories every year, we find by Pitts¹, twenty men are appointed to each tent:

¹ P. 28, 29.

two of them officers of different ranks, sixteen common soldiers, one a *cook*, and another a *steward*, who looks after the provisions. Here every tenth man is concerned in the management of their provisions: half as store-keepers; the other half as cooks.

Among the Greeks, according to Homer¹, they seem to have divided their troops into companies of ten each, one of whom waited upon the rest, when they took their repast, under the name of the *οἰνοχοῦς*, which I think is usually translated *cup-bearer*; but perhaps the person that was so characterized, not only gave them their wine, when they took their repasts, but had the care of their provisions, set out their tables, and perhaps had the principal share in cooking their food.

For it will be difficult to assign a reason, why Agamemnon should think of dividing the Greeks into companies of *tens*, if they had not been wont to divide them ten to a *tent and mess*, of which one ministered to the rest, when, comparing the numbers of the inhabitants of Troy and the Greeks together, he observed, that the Trojans were not sufficiently numerous to furnish cup-bearers to the Greek companies, of ten each.

It was, probably, for the same reason, that Israel are supposed to be divided into companies, and that one of each company was to take care to provide victuals for the rest—

¹ Il. 2, v, 126, &c.

not, it may be, as our translators seem to have imagined, by fetching provisions from their *distant towns*; but dressing that part of their food that wanted dressing, setting out their repasts in due order, giving them drink when requisite, and performing all the offices of the Grecian *οινοχοοι*.

Among the people of Barbary, the care of their provisions is divided between stewards and cooks; among the old Jews and Greeks, it should seem, one set of people discharged the functions of both offices.

So the word translated in our version *fetch*, (to fetch victual for the people,) is used for *preparing food*, 2 Sam. xiii. 8; and for *taking provisions when dressed, in order to set out a repast in a proper manner*, Gen. xviii. 8; and doubtless in other places.

Such an explanation agrees best with their expectation of *speedily* accomplishing their undertaking against Benjamin; whereas the sending home, by each company, for provisions, would have been a work of some time. Nor were the Israelites wont to assemble together, on public occasions, without taking provisions, since they were wont to do so when two or three only travelled together, as appears by the account of the Levite's journey¹, which unhappily proved the occasion of this dreadful slaughter of the Benjamites.

How odd, after this, the expression of Bishop

¹ Judges 19. 19.

Patrick must appear, who supposes the tenth part of the army was to *forage* for the rest, as if they had been in an enemy's country!

OBSERVATION CLXVIII.

A modern piece of Arab history very much illustrates the defeat of the *Midianites* by *Gideon*, and at the same time points out wherein the *extraordinary* interposition of God appeared.

The Arab story is to be met with in Niebuhr's History of Arabia, and relates to a contest between two chiefs for the imamship (or sovereignty) of Oman, a considerable province of the Southern part of that country. The substance of it is¹, *That one of them, whose name was Achmed, finding himself at first too weak to venture a battle, threw himself, with a few soldiers, into a little fortress built on a mountain, where he had deposited his treasures. Bel Arrab (his rival) at the head of 4 or 5000 men, invested the place, and would have forced the new imam to surrender, had he not quitted the fortress, with two of his domestics, all three disguised like poor Arabs, who were looking out for grass for their camels. Achmed withdrew to a town a good day's journey from the besieged fortress, where he was much beloved; he found no difficulty in gathering together some hundreds of men, with which he marched against his ene-*

¹ P. 263.

my. Bel Arrab had placed his camp between some high mountains near to the above-mentioned fortrefs. Achmed ordered a coloured string to be tied round the heads of his soldiers, that they might be distinguished from their enemies. He then sent several small detachments to seize the passes of those mountains. He gave each detachment an Arab trumpet to sound an alarm on all sides, as soon as the principal party should give the signal. Measures being thus laid, the imam's son gave the signal at day-break, and the trumpets sounded on every side. The whole army of Bel Arrab being thrown into a panic at finding all the passes guarded, and judging the number of the enemy to be proportionate to the noise that was made, was routed. Bel Arrab himself marched with a party to the place where the son of the new imam was keeping guard; he knew Bel Arrab, fell upon him, killed him, and, according to the custom of the Arabs, cut off his head, which he carried in triumph to his father¹.

The very learned *Michaelis*, in an extract he made from this description, which he published in his *Bibliothèque Orientale*, and which extract is placed at the end of that edition of this work of *Niebuhr* which is in my possession, takes notice of this story in the following way. “P. 304, mention is made of a stratagem, entirely like Gideon's, Judges vii, and which oftentimes appeared incredible

¹ See 1 Sam. 17. 57.

“ to those who are accustomed to our method
 “ of making war, because not practicable in
 “ our times’ .”

There is a *likeness* undoubtedly, and such as *very much* illustrates the affair of *Gideon*, but the stories are not perfectly similar, nor should they be so represented, as the one is supposed to bear the marks of a dependence on an immediate divine interposition, the other only considered as a stratagem that might probably be successful, and turned out so.

The taking notice of each, with some distinctness, may not be disagreeable.

The army of *Midian*, as well as that of *Bel Arrab*, seems to have been encamped in some valley, or open place, *surrounded with mountains dangerous to pass*; while *Gideon* and his people were placed in an adjoining mountain difficult of access, for the sake of security. The sacred text expressly tells us, *that the host of Midian was beneath Gideon in the valley*, Judges vii. 8. The 12th verse also mentions *their lying in vast multitudes in a valley*. This Arab story leads us to apprehend it was a place *encompassed* with lofty hills, difficult to get over, and the passages into the plains in both cases few and narrow. Nothing can be more probable than this supposition. The term *valley* supposes hills on each side, by which circumstance it is distinguished from that part of a flat open country which lies at the foot of a range of

’ P. 36.

mountains. The descriptions of Judæa answer this account—a great part of it very mountainous, with large vallies among them with narrow passës. The placing Gideon's people round about the camp, ver. 21, means placing them in *all* the passës.

The seizing the passës, and making use of an artifice to make the enemy believe they were more numerous than in truth they were, were like circumstances in both cases; as was the making an extraordinary noise with *trumpets*. Gideon's trumpets, and those used by this Arab, might, very possibly, be exactly the same; but the number of those of the Jewish judge was by far the greatest.

But there was an essential difference between the two stories with regard to the being *armed*. The imam's people kept the passës, and being armed, were qualified to kill those that attempted to escape, 'till the leader of their enemies was killed, or his forces reduced to such a number as not to be formidable; but Gideon's people were *unarmed* at the time of the alarm, or at least *incapable* of using any arms, one hand being employed in holding a trumpet, the other a torch. There must then have been, in that case, an entire dependence on their destroying one another, in the confusion and terror of this sudden nocturnal alarm. They were not disappointed: a divine agency made the scheme effectual. But had the kings of Midian, like *Bel Arrab*, made up to one of the parties that kept guard

at the passes, nothing there could effectually have prevented their escape, and the cutting off those that stood with their trumpets and lights in those narrow defiles.

One party's taking another party belonging to the same army for enemies, and by that means occasioning a fatal overthrow, has happened too often to render the account at all *incredible*, upon the foot of a mere natural event. The supposing an extraordinary divine agency cannot make it less so.

How many were destroyed when thus fatally inclosed doth not appear. About 15,000, out of 120,000, were collected together on the other side Jordan, Judges viii. 10, 11; but many of the slain were killed in their flight, and at the ford over Jordan, before they could reach that place of supposed security. What way they escaped, whether by clambering over the rugged hills, by ways they would not have ventured upon had they not been so terrified, but which they knew pointed towards Jordan, or how else, we are not told, but there is nothing in that circumstance *neither* that is beyond belief.

There is then a great resemblance between the Arab and the sacred story; but the learned and ingenious Gottingen professor¹ has been rather too hasty, when he asserts that they are *wholly* alike².

¹ Michaelis:
used in this Extract.

² Totalement is the word that is

OBSERVATION CLXIX.

The suspicion the sacred historian ascribes to Joram, 2 Kings vii. 12, that the Syrians had left their camp, when they besieged Samaria, well stored with provisions, in order to entice the famished Israelites to quit that strong hold, that the Syrians might by this stratagem get them into their power, appears natural enough in itself; but it's probability is pleasingly illustrated by what lately happened in that very country, and not far from Samaria. The reciting it indeed explains no *difficulty*, but as I imagine it may give many readers a very sensible pleasure, I will, without making any scruple about it, set down the relation that the History of the Revolt of *Ali Bey* gives of the transaction.

Having given some account of Ali's connexions with an eminent Arab sheik, named *Daber*, who resided in St. John d'Acre, and governed the adjoining country, and appears to have been united with Ali Bey, in the design of setting their respective countries free from the Ottoman yoke, against which Arab prince therefore the pasha of Damascus marched, in order to defeat the design, this author tells the following story.

“ The pasha of Sham ^a found himself much

^a He means Damascus, or Syria.

“ harassed

“ harassed in his march by Sheik *Ali*, the
“ second son of *Daber*; and when he got
“ near the sea of *Tiberias*, he found *Sheik*
“ *Daber* encamped there. When the sheik
“ beheld the enemy near enough, he deferred
“ an engagement ’till the next morning; and,
“ during the night, divided his army into
“ three bodies, one of 3000 to the East, upon
“ the hills of *Gadara*, under the command of
“ *Sheik Sleby*; a second, of 3000 men also, on
“ the West, towards *Mount Libanus*, com-
“ manded by Sheik *Crime*, his son-in-law.
“ The third, or main body, under himself,
“ crossed the sea of *Tiberias*, to the South,
“ towards *Galilee*, leaving the camp with
“ great fires, all sorts of provision, and a
“ large quantity of spirituous liquors, giving
“ strict orders not to hinder the enemy from
“ taking possession of the camp, but to come
“ down and attack them just before dawn of
“ day.

“ In the middle of the night the pasha of
“ *Sham* thought to surprize Sheik *Daher*, and
“ marched in silence to the camp, which, to
“ his great astonishment, he found entirely
“ abandoned, and thought the sheik had fled
“ with so much precipitation, that he could
“ not carry off the baggage and stores. The
“ pasha thought proper to stop in the camp
“ to refresh his soldiers. They soon fell to
“ plunder, and drank so freely of the liquors,
“ that, overcome with the fatigue of the day’s

“ march, and the fumes of the spirits, they
 “ were not long ere they were in a found
 “ sleep. At that time Sheik *Sleby* and Sheik
 “ *Crime*, who were watching the enemy,
 “ came silently to the camp; and Sheik *Da-*
 “ *ber*, having repassed the sea of Tiberias,
 “ meeting them, they all rushed into the
 “ camp, and fell on the confused and sleep-
 “ ing enemy, 8000 of whom they slew on
 “ the spot; and the pasha, with the remainder
 “ of his troops, fled, with much difficulty, to
 “ *Sham*, leaving all their baggage behind’.”

To this should be added, that the *pasha* had 25,000 men, and that *Daber's* scarcely exceeded 9000.

The camp of the ancient *Syrians* was left in much the same situation with *Daber's*, and *Joram* was afraid with the same fatal design: only we read of *fires* in the one case, and in the other of their beasts of burden being left tied behind them. The small quantity of Arab luggage, commonly made use of by that alert nation, might well occasion no suspicion in the Turkish pasha, as to the want of the last of these two circumstances; the difference as to the *fires* might arise from the different season of the year. No doubt but that *Daber* gave all the probability he could to the artifice he made use of, and which succeeded so well.

* P. 99, 100, 101.

OBSERVATION CLXX.

Morgan, in his History of Algiers, gives us such an account of the unfortunate expedition of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth against that city, so far resembling a passage of the prophet *Joel*, as to induce me to transcribe it into these papers.

That author tells us, that besides vast multitudes that were butchered by the Moors and the Arabs, a great number were made captives, mostly by the Turks and citizens of Algiers; and some of them, in order to turn this misfortune into a most bitter taunting and contemptuous jest, parted with their new-made slaves for an onion apiece. “ Often
“ have I heard,” says he, “ *Turks and Afri-*
“ *cans* upbraiding *Europeans* with this disaster,
“ saying scornfully, to such as have seemed to
“ hold their heads somewhat loftily, ‘ What!
“ have you forgot the time, when a *Christian*,
“ at *Algiers*, was scarce worth an *onion*’ .”

The treatment of the Jewish people by the heathen nations, which the prophet *Joel* has described, was in like manner contemptuous and bitterly sarcastic, “ 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,” *Joel* iii. 3.

They that know the large sums that are

* P. 305.

went to be paid, in the East, for young slaves of either sex, must be sensible, that the prophet designs, in these words, to point out the extreme contempt in which these heathen nations held the Jewish people,

OBSERVATION CLXXI.

There is no difficulty in comprehending the account that is given, in the book of Genesis, of the *filling up the wells* Abraham had dug, and which Isaac was obliged to open again¹; but it may seem extraordinary to us, that men should be disposed to do mischief of this kind: it may therefore be *amusing* just to observe, that the same mode of taking vengeance on those that were disagreeable to them, or whom they would prevent coming among them, hath been put in practice many ages since.

Niebuhr, in his account of Arabia not long since published, tells us, in one place², that the Turkish emperors pretend to a right to that part of Arabia, that lies between Mecca and the countries of Syria and Ægypt, but that their power amounts to very little. That they have however *garrisons in divers little citadels, built in that desert, near the wells that are made on the road from Ægypt and Syria to Mecca, which are intended for the greater safety of their caravans.* But in a following page³ he

¹ Gen. 26. 15, 18.² P. 302.³ The 330th. gives

gives us to understand, that these princes have made it a custom, to give annually, to every Arab tribe which are near that road, a certain sum of money, and a certain number of vestments, to keep them from destroying the wells that lie in that route, and to escort the pilgrims cross their country.

They are apprehensive then, that if the Arabs should be affronted, and be disposed to do mischief, they might fill up those wells, which have been made for the benefit of their numerous caravans of pilgrims, and are of such consequence to their getting through that mighty desert.

It is true indeed that they have not always taken this step. The commander of the caravan of Syrian pilgrims, not long ago, Niebuhr thinks in the year 1756, instead of paying the shechs of the tribe of *Harb*, (one of the principal of their tribes on this road,) who had come to receive the accustomed presents, cut off their heads, which he sent to Constantinople, as trophies of his victory. This year then the caravans went in triumph to *Mecca*, and returned without being disturbed by the Arabs. They did the same the next year. But the year after, upon the return of the pilgrims, fatigued with their journey, and many of them having sold their arms on account of their expences, the Arabs assembled, to the number it is said of 80,000, and pillaged the whole caravan. From that time the Turks have submitted to pay the Arabs of that coun-

try the ordinary tribute, and perhaps more than that¹.

Here is no account of preventing the pilgrimage, by filling up the *wells*. As the Arabs themselves believe it to be a duty of religion, it would have been impious in them to have done it². They therefore contented themselves with punishing the Turks, who they thought had defrauded them, and making themselves ample amends, for the loss of two years tribute.

But we have accounts of the *wells* being actually filled up in some other cases. So we find in d'Herbelot, that *Gianabi*, a famous kharegite or rebel in the 10th century, gathering a number of people together, seized on Bassora and Coufa, (two considerable cities;) afterwards insulted the then reigning khalife, by presenting himself boldly before Bagdet, his capital; after which he retired by little and little, *filling up all the pits with sand which had been dug in the road to Mecca, for the benefit of the pilgrims*³.

We may be perhaps surpris'd, that the Philistines should treat such friendly and upright people as Abraham and Isaac after this sort: but, it seems, they were afraid of their power, and wanted to have them removed to a distance⁴, and the filling up the wells they had

¹ P. 330, 331.

² Nor would it have been *politic*, since they did not want to prevent their making use of that road, but to make the Turks pay them *well* for that liberty.

³ P. 396.

⁴ Gen. 26. 16.

dug for their cattle, however useful they might be to themselves, they thought the best expedient to keep them at a distance.

OBSERVATION CLXXII.

The account that Pietro della Vallé gives¹, of the manner of carrying two of the bells of the church of Ormuz into Persia in triumph, affords us a pleasing illustration, I apprehend, of what is said of the *carrying about* of the captive ark, by the Philistines, in the time of the judges².

Every body almost knows, that bells are considered as *sacred things* among the Roman Catholics, and as much disliked among the Mohammedans, who will not allow them to be used by Christians that live among them, except in a very few extraordinary cases. The Portugueze had possessed themselves of a small island called *Ormuz*, in the Persian gulf, belonging properly to an Arab prince, from whence they were so troublesome to the Persians, that the celebrated Persian king *Abbas* was determined to dislodge them thence, which at last he effected by the help of some *English ships*; and when della Vallé was in the southern part of Persia, he saw the spoils of *Ormuz* carried with great triumph to be presented to *Abbas*; and, it should seem, there was a good deal of solemnity made use of, as they were carried

¹ Let. 16, tome 6, p. 40.

² 1 Sam. 5. 1, 8, 9, 10.
from

from town to town in their way to the capital.

Della Vallé tells us, that when he was at *Lar*, the 28th of May, 1622, he saw arrive there two bells of the church of Ormuz, which were carrying in triumph to the king of Persia, with the rest of the booty of that place, where they were received with great solemnity; the *calenter*¹, with his attendants, going to meet them, and receiving them with the music of fifes and drums, amidst a great concourse of people. They were placed upon two small waggons made for that purpose, with very low wheels.

I should suppose, that most probably the ark was in a like triumphant manner carried from *Ebenezer* to *Ashdod*, and from thence to *Gath*. Whether they continued their triumph, when they removed it to *Ekron*, may be more doubtful: but we can hardly suppose but that, upon it's first being carried into the land of the Philistines, it was in a triumphant manner; and the word that is made use of to express it's removal to *Gath*, seems to intimate it's being surrounded by great crowds of people, as the bells of Ormuz were by crowds of Persians.

That word is translated in our version *carried about*, but elsewhere is used to express the *surrounding a thing*²; and it is used, 1 Chron. xiii. 3, to express the *bringing* the ark of God

¹ A great officer in the Persian cities.

² So it is used four times just together in the 118th Psalm, to express the *compassing* the Psalmist about like bees, ver. 10, 11, 12.

from Kirjath-jearim to the city of David, attended by all Israel, *with music and with songs*; and after the like manner, I should think, the ark was carried to *Gath from Ashdod*, as to external appearances, but with this difference, that the compassing it about with music and with songs, by David, expressed the *reverence of religion*; by the Philistines, as among the Persians, the *triumph of victory*.

The construction of the Hebrew words will accordingly be more regular, if understood after this manner: “ Let Gath compass about
 “ the ark of God, and *they* compassed about
 “ the ark of God. And it came to pass, after
 “ *they* had compassed it about, the hand of
 “ the Lord was also upon the city, &c.”
 The men of Ashdod were so intimidated, that they did not care to carry away the ark of God in triumph to another city, they left it to the lords of the Philistines to appoint some other of their towns to receive it, who directed that the people of Gath should do it, who accordingly went and fetched it away, to their sorrow, or at least met it as a captive in solemn pomp. It's being carried to Ekron, from Gath, is expressed in very different terms: They *sent* the ark of God to *Ekron*, and when the Ekronites *saw it, they cried out* with fear.

OBSERVATION CLXXIII.

The same celebrated traveller gives such an account, of the manner of introducing a captive

tive prince into the towns of the victorious kingdom, as may serve to illustrate another passage of Scripture.

When della Vallé was at *Lar* in Persia, he not only saw two of the bells of a Christian church at *Ormuz* brought thither in triumph, but the Arab king of *Ormuz* himself conducted thither, a few days before, in the same triumphant manner. *This poor unfortunate king, he tells us, entered Lar, with his people, in the morning, music playing, and girls and women of pleasure singing and dancing before him, according to the custom of Persia, and the people flocking together with a prodigious concourse, and conducting him in a pompous and magnificent manner, particularly with colours displayed, like what the Messenians formerly did to Philopoemen, the general of the Achæans, their prisoner of war, according to the report of Justin. . . . The king of Ormuz appeared at this time with a very melancholy countenance, dressed in a rich Persian habit of gold and silk, with an upper garment on his back, of much the same form with the old-fashioned Italian cloaks worn in bad weather, which are very little in use among the Persians, with silk stockings according to our European mode. He went singly on horseback, according to the custom of the great, followed by the principal people of his household, without any mark of his being a prisoner, excepting that he had, on each side, a file of Persian musqueteers to guard him*’.

* Let. 16, tome 6, p. 32, 33.

There is certainly a good deal of resemblance, between the manner in which the Mefsenians treated *Philopoemen*, and that in which the Persians treated the king of *Ormuz* about eightscore years ago; but I would rather apply the account to the elucidation of a passage of the prophet Jeremiah, in which he describes the treatment in part, which *Zedekiah*, the king of Judah, was to experience upon his being made a captive by the *Babylonians*, which he thus prophetically sets forth, according to our version: “ If thou refuse to go forth, this is the word
 “ that the Lord hath shewed me. And be-
 “ hold, all the women that are left in the
 “ king of Judah’s house, shall be brought
 “ forth to the king of Babylon’s princes; and
 “ those women shall say, Thy friends have set
 “ thee on, and have prevailed against thee:
 “ thy feet are sunk in the mire, and they are
 “ turned away back.” Jer. xxxviii. 21, 22.

Now these bitter speeches much better suit the lips of women belonging to the conquering nation, *singing* before a captived prince, than of his own wives or concubines. If we are to understand them in the sense in which they are commonly understood, those ladies must have had *no feeling*, thus to insult their king, their *husband*, in the depth of distress; and who had shown such a dread of being insulted by those *vulgar* Jews, who had fallen away to the Chaldeans, ver. 19, “ I am afraid
 “ of the Jews that are fallen away to the Chal-
 “ deans, lest they deliver me into their hand,
 “ and they mock me.”

It may indeed be imagined, that it was a just rebuke upon him, that had been so afraid of the reproaches of some of the rabble of his own nation, as on that account to refuse obedience to the direction of a prophet of God, that he should be insulted by the *women of his own haram*; but it is not natural to suppose they should have any opportunity of this kind, after the king had left them in the palace, and they came into the power of the princes of the king of Babylon, it should seem as their prey, and to do honour to their harams; and if they had such an opportunity, it seemeth not very likely they should be so unfeeling. But it is perfectly natural to suppose, that the women that sung before Zedekiah, when carrying from town to town, till he was brought to Riblah, where the king of Babylon then resided, might make use of such *taunts*. That they are *women*, that sing and dance before captive princes, appears from this account of the Arab king of Ormuz; and the Hebrew word here made use of, shows that those that used these insulting words were *females*: but it is not certain that the word translated *those* so signifies, (*those women shall say,*) unless we depend on the certainty of the Hebrew points, since the same letters signify *behold*, “ Behold, “ I say”, the women of the king of Judah’s “ house shall be brought forth to the king

¹ See 2 Chron. 20. 11, and Noldius on this compound word.

“ of Babylon’s princes ; and *behold* women” (such as are wont to sing on public occasions) “ shall say,” (in those processional songs,) the “ men of thy peace have set thee on, &c.” Nay the same points may be retained under the letters, and the word then may be understood not as a *pronoun*, but an *adverb*, and be rendered *here*¹: *Behold, I say, thy women shall be given up to the possession and the arms of thine enemies ; and here the women that are wont to sing on public occasions, and to celebrate their praises, shall sing before thee such words as shall pierce thy heart.* So in the following verse Zedekiah and his women are supposed to be separated from each other, as in fact they were, the king flying from the city, as far as the plains of Jericho, before he was overtaken, while his women fell immediately into the hands of the princes of Babylon.

OBSERVATION CLXXIV.

Some part at least of the sea-coast, *between* St. John d’Acre and Joppa, is liable to be very much incommoded by *clouds of dust*, which arise from time to time : I would recommend it then to the curious to consider, whether some city, or perhaps some district there, may

¹ So the word is used in this sense, Gen. 21. 23, and is so translated in our version ; and is used again in the sense of *here* in the 29th verse, according to Noldius.

not be what the prophet *Micah* calls the *house of dust*, ch. i. 10, “In the house of *Aphrah* roll thyself in the dust;” for we find in the margin, that *the house of Aphrah* may be translated the *house of dust*.

I would verify the fact, that that coast, or part of that coast, is wont to be incommoded with dust, by two quotations from *Vinisauf*, who has given us an account of the expedition of our *Richard the First* into the Holy-Land. In p. 349 he saith, “The army passed along near the sea, which was on the right hand, and the *Turks* observed all our motions from the mountains on the left. Suddenly the air was disturbed by the coming on of a dangerous cloud;” when, it seems, the enemy took that advantage, and fell upon the *Croisade* army. This happened, he tells us, when they came to a strait place¹.

He does not tell us, whether this was a cloud of dust, or a thick mist; but it should seem most probably to have been dust: especially when we remark what is said in a succeeding page, “Journeying, they were thrown into great perturbation, by the air’s being thickened with dust, as well as by the heat of the season².” This was on the 7th of September.

¹ “*Exercitus itinerabat juxta mare, quod eis erat à dextris, et gens Turcorum à sinistris omnes gestus nostros à montanis prospiciebant. Ingruente subito nebula periculosa turbabatur aer.*” *Hist. Anglicanæ Scrip.* quinque, vol. 2, p. 349.

² “*Obducto nubilo pulveris aere æstuabant itinerantes, & insuper fervore temporis,*” p. 360, or rather 356.

Can it be any wonder that Micah has described some great town on this coast, or perhaps an extensive district, as the *house of dust*, and called it's inhabitants to *roll themselves in the dust* in token of anguish of heart?

It is well known that some large towns, in which there were *many* houses, have been called by a name which expresses one single house, with an epithet adjoined, which marks out some distinguishing property of that town. Thus the native town of David was called Beth-lehem, the *house of bread*, it should seem, on account of the fertility of the *cornlands* about it; another town was called Beth-el, the house of God, because of a divine appearance there to Jacob, Gen. xxviii. 19. For a similar reason, a town built in that strait where the dust so terribly incommoded the Croisaders, of the time of Richard the First, might have been called the house of dust; or a town built in the place where that army was afterwards, on September 7th.

And if a town, containing *many* distinct houses, might be called the *house of bread* in the singular number, and another the *house of God*, I do not see why an whole district might not be called the *house of dust*, as being remarkable for the clouds of dust arising there from time to time, and especially in the language of *prophetic story*. *Beit* in Arabic means the same thing with *Beth* in Hebrew, and we find in Niebuhr's account of Arabia, cities, villages, caravanserais, and even *districts*.

distinguished from others by compound names, of which the first part is *beit*. So he describes *Beit ibn Schämſân* as *two portions of land*¹ belonging to the family of this name, of which the most considerable person is the Nakîb Khâffen, p. 229.

So in *Reland's Palæstina*², according to *Epiphanius*, the prophet Obadiah was born in Sychem, in the district of *Bethachamar*, which perhaps signifies the *house of bitumen*, from it's being produced in that country.

The *house of dust* in Micah then means, I apprehend, either some principal city on the sea-coast between *Acco* and *Joppa*, or that *part* of the sea-coast which was remarkable for the *clouds of dust*, with which it was at times troubled, from which name of description, which the prophet gave it, founded on a circumstance of it's natural history, he takes occasion to call the people there to *roll themselves in the dust*, which was wont to be done by people in that country when in bitter distress³; just as he had immediately before called the people of *Acco* not to weep, the *vulgar* and *proper* name of that town being near akin, in sound, to the Hebrew word which signifies *he sweeps*, and the people of *Gath* not to declare or show forth in songs, the Hebrew word for

¹ Deux terres appartenantes à la famille de ce nom, &c.

² P. 627.

³ Lam. 3. 16, 29; where we shall find the *marginal* translation of the 16th verse is, he hath *rolled me in the ashes*.

that action being in like manner in found somewhat resembling *Gath*.

For though our translation supposes one town only is mentioned, in the first part of the 10th verse, namely *Gath*, I cannot but accede to the opinion of those that suppose two are intended, *Gath and Acco*¹, or St. John d'Acre, as it has been called in later times: *Hadrian Reland* appears to be of that opinion², and it seems much the most natural and forcible construction to put on this very imbroiled passage, which St. Jerome seems to have despaired of thoroughly explaining. I will not by any means suppose myself capable of doing it, but some illustration may possibly arise from the remarks I would propose under this Observation.

The word we render *declare*, (“declare ye not at *Gath*,” for the word *it* is not in the original,) seems to answer that celebrating, with singing, the martial prowess, and consequent victories of *their people*; and sometimes those consolatory songs that were made use of in times of disappointment, unwilling to forget the courage of some of their heroes who perished in combating, cheering their hearts with the remembrance of the successes of former times, and deriving hope from thence of a revolution in their favour.

Thus *Niebuhr* tells us, in his account of Arabia³, that the Arabs yet sing sometimes

¹ Or Ptolemais, as it is called in the New Testament.

² *Palæstina*, p. 534.

³ P. 93.

the warlike deeds of their sचेchs. So, after a victory that the tribe of Chafaël had gained some time before over Ali, the pacha of Bagdad, they presently made a song, in which “ they celebrated the exploits of each chief. “ Fortune having forsaken them the year after, “ and the Turks having defeated them, there “ was not wanting a poet of Bagdad to give “ an opposite description of the Arab sचेchs, “ in exalting the heroic virtues of the pacha, “ and of his officers. His poem, however, “ was only a parody of the first. They sung, “ even in my time, *that of the Arabs*, not only “ in the territory of the tribe of Chafaël, but “ at *Bagdad*.”

Here we see the genius of the Eastern people leads them to compose verses on public occasions; and when fortune changes, they are not always forgotten, but still continue to be sung; and even sometimes in the territories of their enemies.

In the second volume of his Travels, Niebuhr in like manner describes the Arabs of Mesopotamia, as *singing the valour of one of their sचेchs, who was taken by the Turks, and his head cut off, (after vaunting of the nobility of his extraction to the Turkish officer,) and sent to Constantinople. This prince was, we are told, the brother of the then reigning sचेch*¹.

In another place of the same volume he

¹ Voy. tome 2, p. 199, 200.

tells us, that an Arab tribe so thoroughly defeated a *pascha* of Bagdad, that the Arab poets made a song upon this victory, which became so common as to be heard in Bagdad itself¹. He speaks of it also in a preceding page².

Now that the word, translated here *declare*, is used for *setting things forth in solemn commemorative speeches, and in songs*, appears from several passages of Scripture. Exod. xiii. 8, and Deut. xxvi. 3, may be brought as proofs of the first assertion; and Ps. li. 14, 15, of the second: "Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God, thou God of my salvation; and my tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness. O Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise." So Is. xlvi. 20.

But, above all other places, the 2 Sam. i. 20. ought to be introduced here: "Tell (it) not in Gath, publish (it) not in the streets of Ashkelon: lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph." The word *it* here too is not in the original, but added by our translators; however it evidently appears, that the Hebrew poet is speaking of songs that he supposed the Philistines would be ready to compose, on occasion of the death of Saul, which was such a matter of triumph to them,

¹ P. 260.

² P. 257. There he tells us, that the Arabs made funeral songs on the death of *Soleiman Pascha*, which were still, (at the time he was there,) often heard in the coffee-houses and streets of Bagdad.

and to sing in the public-places of *Gath*, and in the streets of *Asbkélon*.

The turn of this passage in 2 *Samuel* may have unfortunately led many people, to misunderstand the spirit and intention of this clause in *Micah*. Because *triumph* is evidently supposed in *Samuel*, and the words just the same, they have been ready to suppose the declaratory songs at *Gath*, to which *Micah* refers, must be of the same kind, and that therefore the prophet is to be considered as *dehorting* them from triumphing over Israel and Judah, since affliction was not far off *themselves*. But the words may be understood, I think, and more naturally, in a somewhat different view, not as triumphing over Israel and Judah, then not their enemies; but the want of apprehension from the Assyrians as to themselves, and denoting a *careless* state, agreeable to the description given of the people of *Laisb*, "who dwelt *careless*, after the manner of the Zidonians, quiet and secure," and united perhaps in the case of *Gath*, with a vain recollection of their former successes, celebrating their *dead* heroes, and intermingling perhaps the praises of some of their countrymen that were alive, who had done great exploits, according to the practice of the *modern Arabs*. Instead of this, the prophet says to *Gath*, Lay aside your songs of pleasing *commemoration* of past times, and those that are expressive of *present consolation*, derived

* Judges 18. 7.

from the great qualities of some of your fellow-citizens: the *silence of apprehension* better becomes you.

From Gath he turns to *Acco*, and alluding to it's name, he bids that city not to *weep*, the Hebrew word signifying *he weeps*, resembling in sound *Acco*: a figure of speech formerly much in use, and greatly admired.

This, however, most certainly is to be explained, in a manner consistent with what is said to the other cities and districts of that country; for I can by no means suppose, that *Acco* was to be exempted from having a share in the afflictions that were coming on the other cities of the sea-coast, and the adjoining country. Now if that be supposed to be determined, it's not weeping must be understood in a sense consistent with their *feeling bitter sorrow*.

Accordingly we may observe, that when *Ziklag* was taken by the *Amalekites*, “ David
“ and the people that were with him lift up
“ their voice, and wept, until they had *no more*
“ *power to weep*. . . . And David was greatly
“ distressed: for the people spake of stoning
“ him, because the soul of all the people was
“ grieved (or bitter) every man for his sons,
“ and for his daughters.” 1 Sam. xxx. 4, 6.
Here was great anguish of soul without weeping; nay, it was it's extreme bitterness that *stopped their tears*. In like manner, when *Ezekiel* was a *sign* to Israel, and was to represent to them, by what he did, the extreme distress they should feel from the Chaldæans, the word of the

Lord came unto him, saying, "Son of man, behold, I take away from thee the desire of thine eyes with a stroke; yet neither shalt thou mourn nor weep, neither shall thy tears run down;" for, says he, "the desire of your eyes, and that which your soul pitieth, and your sons and your daughters whom ye have left, shall fall by the sword. And ye shall do as I have done: . . . ye shall not mourn nor weep, but ye shall pine away for your iniquities, and mourn one towards another (or secretly)." Ezek. xxiv. 16, 21, 22, 23. In some such sense, I apprehend, we are to understand the clause concerning *Acco*. O *Gath*, lay aside singing the praises of your heroes! *Acco*, let excess of grief and terror put a stop to thy tears! Thou country *between Gath and Acco*, thou *house of dust*, roll thyself in the dust through bitterness of heart!

We may go on, I think, and conformably to the explanation I have been giving of the *house of dust*, understand the inhabitant, or, according to the margin, the inhabitress of *Saphir*, of the people of the country lying on the more *southern* part of the sea-coast, as those of the house of dust mean those to the north of it. For that country is represented by modern travellers as *extremely pleasant*, and the margin of our translation tells us, the *inhabitrress of Saphir* means *thou that dwellest fairly*, or hast a *goodly heritage*, according to our version of the 16th Psalm, ver. 6, "The lines are
" fallen

“ fallen unto me in pleasant places ; yea, I
 “ have a *goodly* heritage.”

Where the *house of dust* ends, and the more *delightful* country may be supposed to begin, I shall not attempt to determine with precision ; but would transcribe a passage from *Signior Lusignan's* account of Palæstine, at the close of his History of the Revolt of *Ali Bey*. “ About
 “ a mile and an half before you come to
 “ Joppa¹, you cross a small rivulet, which
 “ is the only² running water in all this fertile
 “ country ; you then descend an hill, and get
 “ into a road, which is covered on each side
 “ with orange and lemon-trees³.” He describes the road from *Joppa to Rama*, whose present state, he tells us, is very deplorable, but it's situation however *very pleasant*⁴ ; I say, he describes that road as “ very smooth and
 “ pleasant ; the fields on each side abound
 “ with several sorts of flowers, and are plant-
 “ ed with *olive groves*, and in some parts with
 “ cassia and fenna trees, and other aromatic
 “ plants⁵.” The road from Joppa or Rama to *Azotus*⁶, which is called by the Arabs *Hasaneyun*, “ is pretty much of the same kind
 “ as that from Joppa to Rama and Lidda,
 “ except in some part of the country, where
 “ there are no large trees⁷.” As to *Azotus*,

¹ He means from the northward.

² No wonder the country before they came to this water might be denominated the house of dust.

³ P. 185.

⁴ P. 190.

⁵ P. 189.

⁶ Or Ashdod.

⁷ P. 197.

he says, “ the town is but thinly inhabited, “ though the situation is *very pleasant*’.” From Azotus to Gaza are twelve miles more: “ the fields on each side of the road, “ as in the others, are planted with olive, “ and some palm-trees².” The Baron de Tott travelled very little in the Holy-Land, only from Joppa, or *Jaff*, as he calls it, to *Rames*, by which we are to understand Rama; nevertheless the description he gives of this part of the country shows it’s agreeableness. “ The space between the sea and the moun- “ tain is a flat country, about six leagues in “ breadth, *extremely* fertile. The fig-tree of “ India supplies it with hedges, and furnishes “ impenetrable barriers, which secure the “ fields of the different proprietors. Cotton “ is here the principal branch of commerce, “ and the industry of the inhabitants employs “ itself in spinning. This part of the Holy- “ Land is very remarkable for the remains of “ the Crusades, with which it is covered³.”

To this delightful situation the prophet Micah opposes the wretchedness of the state of this people, when carried away into captivity: “ Pass ye away, thou inhabitant of a “ very pleasant country, not *naked*, but *cloth-* “ *ed with trees*, and *highly ornamented* with “ flowers; being almost quite uncovered to

¹ P. 199. ² P. 200. ³ Memoirs, tome 4, p. 93.

Lady M. W. Montague confirms this, telling us “ this “ plant grows a great height, very thick, and the spikes or “ thorns are as long and sharp as bodkins.” Vol. 3, p. 73.

“ thy dishonour, yea having your shame
 “ naked, and exposed to the mocking eyes of
 “ your enemies ‘.”

If the inhabitant of Saphir, or the goodly country, means the people that dwelt near Joppa, and onwards to the southward on that coast; and *Zaanan* is truly translated in the margin of our version the *country of flocks*, the accounts of modern travellers will lead us to suppose *Gaza and it's environs* is the country that is meant.

For *Thevenot*, in going from Ægypt to Jerusalem, tells us, that having spent some days in the desert, on the 5th of April they came to a place, where, says he, “ we began to see
 “ a very pleasant country, and some corn-land:
 “ some time after we found a sibil of bitter
 “ water, which is close by Cauniones, where
 “ we arrived about three in the afternoon:
 “ they have so many marble pillars there al-
 “ so, that their coffee-houses stand all upon
 “ such. There we began to see abundance
 “ of trees, and a great deal of good meadow-
 “ ground; and, indeed, both the *cattle and*
 “ *inhabitants* of that place, from the biggest
 “ to the least, are *extremely fat*. There is a
 “ very fair castle there, with a large open
 “ place in it. The Turks lodge in the castle,
 “ where there is a faki of very good water,
 “ and the Moors and Felas live in the houses

• Of this very indecent treatment of captives anciently, we read in several places of Scripture. *Is.* 47. 3, *ch.* 20. 4, &c.

“ without. . . . *Cauniones* is in *Ægypt*, which
 “ here ends.

“ We parted from *Cauniones* on Saturday
 “ the 6th of April, before five in the morn-
 “ ing, guarded by seven or eight Turks of
 “ the place, who went with us to *Gaza*, for
 “ fear of the *Arabs*. About six o'clock we
 “ found a sibil of bitter water, and about
 “ seven another better; a little after, we dis-
 “ covered the town of *Gaza*: half an hour
 “ after eight we found a bridge, under which
 “ runs the water of the *meadows*, which are
 “ very spacious, and at the end of that bridge
 “ there is a well of good water; the country
 “ abounds in fair cattle, and all sorts of fruit-
 “ trees: about an hour after we found two
 “ sibilis not far distant from one another; and
 “ about half an hour after ten, we arrived at
 “ *Gaza*, where we encamped near the castle,
 “ in a little burying-place walled about¹.”

It is not a little remarkable, that this celebrated traveller should be so struck with the *meadows*, the extent of them, and the goodness of the cattle in the neighbourhood of *Gaza*, expressly remarking, that some part of this country, so suited to the feeding of cattle, belonged to *Ægypt*. *Isaiab*, who lived and prophesied in the same time with *Micah*, speaks of the king of *Assyria*'s sending *Tartan* against *Ashdod*, who fought against it and took it; and in the same chapter he speaks of the king

¹ Trav. part 1, book 2, ch. 35.

of Assyria's leading away Ægyptians and Ethiopians (or Arabians) captives, young and old, naked and barefoot, even with their *buttocks* uncovered, to the shame of Ægypt¹.

Thevenot is not the only writer that describes the country about Gaza as proper for the feeding cattle; *de Toti* plainly intimates the same, when, describing the present commerce of Jaff (or Joppa), he says, it only consists of "linen and rice, sent from Damietta for the consumption of Napolooose, Rames, Jerusalem, and numerous hordes of Arabs, who encamp in the plains of GAZA. Damietta receives, in exchange, glass-ware fabricated at Ebrom, raw cottons, cummin, and, especially, soap of Jaff²."

The plains of *Gaza* must be proper for the feeding of cattle, since *numerous hordes* of Arabs are described as dwelling there, whose great, and almost sole employment, is breeding and tending cattle.

It should seem, from that 20th of Isaiah, those Ægyptians that the Assyrians carried away captive, came not to the assistance of *Ashdod*, and *suffered for their neglect* some little time after. Is not this the sense, in general, of those words of Micah, "The inhabitant of the country of flocks came not forth in the mourning of Beth-ezel," (the place near, says the margin of our Bibles, or, we may say, of the neighbouring district, a just description

¹ Chap. 20.

² Mem. tome 4, p. 94.

of *Ashdod* and its dependencies,) “ he shall receive of you his standing?” though it is not easy perfectly to make out the explanation; and perhaps in the word translated *of you* there is a corruption¹.

Marab

¹ For it doth not appear of any consequence here, for the prophet to point out the persons from whom they were to receive the reward of their neglect; and if it were of consequence, the pronoun here made use of seems to be hardly admissible, since Micah appears to be speaking, not of petty wars, and the taking revenge upon one another, common enough among the Arab clans and little Eastern principalities, but of the ravages of some mighty conqueror enveloping them all in one general calamity. The Bishop of *Waterford*, in his translation, introduces the word *reward* here as necessary to make the sense complete: “ He shall receive of you *the reward* of his station against you.” If instead of מִיְּכֶם (michehem) from you, we read מְכָרָא (mechea) which is only the change of one letter in the Hebrew, then the translation will be, “ He shall receive the price (the reward) of his station.” The unnecessary pronoun will disappear, and the word *reward* will be found, not as a supplemental word, but in the original text. Farther, it doth not appear to me, that the supplemental words *against you*, which are not in our version, should have been introduced by this very respectable prelate; for I should think it is rather to be understood of *neglect*, tending his flocks when he should have been helping them, than of encamping as an *open enemy* against the *house of his neighbour*. In short, I apprehend, the word here used represents him as acting just as *Reuben* did in the time of *Deborah and Barak*, when *Zebulun and Naphtali*, two other tribes, were jeopardying “ their lives in the high places of the field.” There was a *neglect*, not *engaging* in war against them. The verb from which the word translated *station* is derived, is not unfrequently applied to the business of shepherds: so *Is. 61. 5*, “ Strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and the sons of the alien shall be your plow-men, and your vine-dressers;” so in

Micah

Marab every body knows was a name given to a place in the desert of *Arabia*, on the account of the bitterness of the water there, who has read the 15th of Exodus. “And when they came to *Marah*, they could not drink of the waters of *Marah*, for they were bitter; *therefore the name of it was called Marab:*” that is, says the margin, bitterness, verse 23. As *Marah* signifies bitterness, *Maroth*, which is its plural, must signify the country that had many places of bitter water, which is a just and lively description of that part of *Arabia*.

The *pits of Moses*, we are told by *Niebuhr*, in his description of *Arabia*, are two German leagues to the Southward of *Suez*, which is at the end of the *Red-Sea*, bearing somewhat to the East. They find water there in many places upon digging a foot in depth; but the *Arabs* say, that of the five pits that are found there, one pit only affords water that is drinkable. He adds, it may be the *Marab* men-

Micah himself, ch. 5. 4, “And he shall stand and feed in the strength of the Lord.” The *standing* then of *Zaanan* is not to be understood in a warlike sense, but a pastoral one; which perfectly suits the description of this part of the country lying about *Gaza*, but inhabited by *Ægyptians*. As, more anciently, *Dan* was complained of for remaining in his ships, and *Asher* for continuing on the sea-shore, *Judges* 5. 17, they being maritime tribes, and *Reuben*, a tribe of shepherds, for abiding among the sheepfolds, to hear the bleatings of the flocks, ver. 16, and not coming to help the other tribes of *Israel*; so *Zaanan* is complained of for abiding in their shepherd’s stations, instead of helping their neighbours in their affliction. This appears to me a probable explanation. It lays claim to nothing farther.

tioned

tioned in the 15th of Exodus is to be fought for here, p. 348. Whether it be, or be not the exact place, it *might* certainly have been called *Marab* on the account of the bitter water there, and even *Maroth*, in the plural, as there are no fewer than four of these pits of bad water.

But these are not the only places of bitter water in this country: for Egmont and Heyman say, (speaking of a place called *Pharaoh's Baths*, which, according to Niebuhr's map of the country between Suez and Mount Sinai, is considerably farther to the South,) "the water seems to boil as it issues from the ground, and afterwards forms little rivulets, in which, where the heat is not too violent, many bathe themselves: no crystal is clearer than this water; but it is so saturated with *saline and sulphurous* particles, that the taste is extremely disagreeable." This place, which *Wortley Mountague* supposed was the *Marah* of the Scriptures, but which is ten German leagues farther to the South, or about forty English miles, according to Niebuhr's map, from the place Niebuhr supposed to be *Marah*, is thus described by Mr. Mountague²: "These waters at the spring are somewhat *bitter* and brackish; but as every foot they run over the sand is covered with

¹ Vol. 2, p. 183.

² Phil. Transf. vol. 56, p. 53.

"bituminous

“ bituminous salts, grown up by the excessive heat of the sun, they acquire much saltness and *bitterness*, and very soon become not potable’.” Egmont and Heyman speak of these waters only as *saline and sulphureous*, but Mr. Mountague expressly describes them as *bitter*.

About sixteen German leagues farther, according to that map, is *Tor*, a well-known port in the Red-Sea. Not far from it, according to Thevenot, are many wells of bitter water. It seems odd, that he should suppose this place to be the *Elim* of the Scripture, but the fact I suppose we may depend upon, that there are several wells of bitter water in that place. He says they are all hot, and are returned again to their *bitterness*, for he *tasted* of one of them, where people bathe themselves, which, by the Arabs, is called *Hamam Mousa*, that is to say, the bath of *Moses*.

If we should suppose this last place rather too *far off*, I would remark, that Dr. Shaw tells us, that at *Adjeroute*, which is nearer the *land of the Philistines* than any of the places I have been mentioning, and is one of the first stations of the Mohammedan pilgrims from *Ægypt*, the water is *bitter*².

Such being the nature of this part of the country—remarkable for many places of *bitter water*, it may well be understood to have been

¹ Trav. part I, book 2, ch. 26.

² P. 477.

called by the prophet *Maroth*. And as the *Midianitish* wife of Moses, is called an *Ethiopian* woman, who came from this neighbourhood, we may easily perceive who were the *Ethiopians*, that, according to the 20th of *Isaiah*, were to be led away captive with the *Ægyptians*, by the *Assyrians*, about the time that *Ashdod* was taken by them.

Nor is there any difficulty here of making out the connexion, between the occasional name of description the prophet gives this country, and what is said to have happened to it: *The inhabitant of Maroth (the country of bitter waters) waited carefully for good, but (the bitterness of) evil came down from the Lord unto the gate of Jerusalem, and threatened their speedy ruin.*

I will only add one remark more, and that is, that if it should be objected, that this explanation supposes, that some towns or countries are called by their common names, and that others have invented names of description given them, which seems very strange, I would beg leave to refer such readers to the 25th of *Jeremiah*, where, after many princes are named by their proper titles, at last the king of *Babylon* appears to be spoken of, under the *cabalistical* denomination of the king of *Shefbach*. This is generally, I think, understood to be the meaning of the prophet, and the 12th verse of that chapter seems to prove it. In like manner we find a country pointed out by a

poetic description, and another in the same verse mentioned by it's direct and common name, in the 18th of Isaiah: "Wo to the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia'."

This last is incontestible: why then may we not suppose Micah mingled things together in the same manner, in the paragraph I have been considering?

C H A P. IX.

*Concerning Ægypt, the adjoining Wilderuess,
and the Red-Sea.*

OBSERVATION CLXXV.

ONE would have been ready to suppose, the Ægyptians should not have been desirous of extending their territories beyond the natural limits of that country; but we find them not only represented as doing so in the Scriptures, but the same humour has continued through succeeding ages, down to our own times.

The limits of Persia, according to Sir John

¹ Ver. 1.

Chardin, differ from those of small states, which are separated from their neighbours by, it may be, a rivulet or a stone pillar. Persia has almost on every side of it a space of three or four days journey uninhabited, though the soil be, in many places, the best in the world, particularly on the side of the East and the West. The Persians look upon it as a mark of true grandeur, to leave thus abandoned the countries that lie between great empires, which prevents, they say, contests about their limits, these desert countries serving as walls of separation between kingdoms¹.

Ægypt has naturally such grand boundaries: great deserts, which admit not of cultivation, divide it from other countries on the East and the West; which circumstance, united with the consideration of the natural fertility of it's own soil, and of it's convenient situation for commerce by means of the Mediterranean and of the Red-Seas, might have made it's princes, one would have thought, content with their own country. But the fact has been quite otherwise.

Pharaoh, whose daughter Solomon married, took Gezer and burnt it with fire, and slew the Canaanites that dwelt in it, and then made a present of it unto his daughter, Solomon's wife². But this might, possibly, have been his original design, and not have been intended as any enlargement of his own king-

¹ Voy. tome 2, p. 4.

² 1 Kings 9, 16.

dom. Another *Pharaoh*, after that sinote *Gaza*¹, which will not admit of such an interpretation. But what is more decisive, is the account that is given us of *Pharaoh Necho*, who seems to have been willing to make the *Euphrates* the boundary of his kingdom².

Answerable to this we find, in the book of Maccabees, the Greek kings of Ægypt, the *Ptolemies*, striving to join the kingdom of Syria to Ægypt, getting possession of all the cities on the sea-coast as far as *Seleucia*, and setting two crowns on their heads, that of Asia and of Ægypt³, &c. In like manner, we find at the time of the beginning of the *Croisades* all the *sea-coast of Syria*, from *Laodicea*, was under the dominion of Ægypt⁴. *Saladine* afterwards, though possessed of Ægypt, struggled hard for the cities of Syria⁵. After that Sultan *Bibars*, of the Mameluke princes of Ægypt, continued the same contests, and carried his views as far as *Bira* in Mesopotomia, (otherwise called *Beer*, I presume, on the *Euphrates*,) and twice obliged the Tartars to raise the siege of that place. And in our own time, *Ali Bey*, who had possessed himself of Ægypt, and whose great aim as to Syria seems to have been, to erect some states there independent of the Ottoman empire, as a barrier between him and the Turks, yet is

¹ Jer. 47. 1. ² 2 Kings 24. 7, and 2 Chron. 35. 20.

³ 1 Mac. 11. 1, 3, 8, 13.

⁴ *Gesta Dei*, p. 835.

⁵ D'Herbelot, art. *Salaheddin*.

⁶ Art. *Bibars*.

said to have designed to have kept *Gaza* himself, while he thought of establishing *Shek-Taher* over *Syria*, *Damascus*, and all that country as far as *Gaza*. Such is the account of the *Baron de Tott* ¹.

Notwithstanding then the commodiouness of having a desert country, of the breadth of several days journey, between *Ægypt* and *Asia*, as a boundary to their kingdom, the princes of *Ægypt*, of various ages, and indeed in a long succession, have struggled hard for some parts of *Syria*, and even as far as the *Euphrates*. An examination then of the grounds on which they proceeded, and the nature of their politics, may illustrate, in the best manner now in our power, those passages of Scripture that relate to similar managements of the more ancient *Ægyptian* princes.

OBSERVATION CLXXVI.

A title that was given to *Ali Bey*, by the sheriff of *Mecca*, (a Mohammedan kind of *sacred prince*,) deserves attention, as it illus-

¹ Mem. tome 4, p. 81. I might have mentioned too *Ahmed Ben Tholoun*, a century or two before the *Croisades* began, who not content with acquiring *Ægypt*, by dispossessing the khalife of it, was so ambitious as to push on into *Syria*, where he seized on it's principal cities, *Damascus*, *Emessa*, *Kennasserin*, *Aleppo*, extending his conquests even to *Raccab*, in *Mesopotamia*. *Voy. d'Herbelot*, art. *Kennasserin*. *Biblioth. Orientale*.

trates a passage in the apocryphal book of *Judith*.

The title given to *Ali* by the *sheriff*, in gratitude for his being raised by *Ali* to that honour, was “ Sultan of Ægypt and the “ *Two Seas*’.” The Mediterranean and the Red-Sea, near the last of which the territory of Mecca laid, while the principal ports of Ægypt were on the other, are, undoubtedly, the two seas that were meant. The answerable passage to this title in the book of *Judith* is in it’s 1st chapter, ver. 12, “ Therefore Na-
“ buchodonosor was very angry with all this
“ country, and sware by his throne and king-
“ dom that he would slay with the
“ sword all the inhabitants of the land of
“ Moab, and the children of Ammon, and
“ all Judæa, and all that were in Ægypt, ’till
“ you come to the borders of *the two seas*.”

It appears then to have been an *ancient practice*, to describe Ægypt as bordering on those two seas; nor has that way of pointing it out sunk into oblivion in these later ages.

OBSERVATION CLXXVII.

The people of Ægypt, particularly the females of that country, express their veneration for the benefits received from the Nile, by *plunging into it*, at the time of it’s beginning

¹ Revolt of Ali Bey, p. 104.

to overflow the country: is it not probable, that the daughter of Pharaoh's going into that river¹, when Moses was found in his bull-rush ark, arose from something of the same cause? a veneration, perhaps carried farther than that of the present inhabitants of *Ægypt*, and of an idolatrous kind?

It has ever appeared somewhat strange to me, that a princess of *Ægypt* should bathe in the river itself, and in the neighbourhood of a royal city, in waters so remarkable in all ages for being *covered with boats and crowds of people*; and that in the East, where the women so scrupulously concealed their faces, by large veils, from the sight of men: a practice then in use, as well as now.

Much freer as the Northern nations are in exposing themselves, it would have been thought, I should imagine, a most indecent thing in a princess of England to have gone from Whitehall, with her attendants about her, to bathe in the Thames, while those attendants amused themselves by walking on the side of the river.

This has so struck commentators, that some of them have seemed to suppose she did not bathe in the Nile, but in some basin of water in the royal gardens, which had a communication with the river, and might therefore be considered as a part of it; but, in such a case, the ark with the infant would not have been

¹ Exod. 2. 5.

in view. Others suppose some highly ornamented edifice of wood might have been constructed in the river, something like our modern bathing machines, into which the princess might enter, and bathe there in perfect security from the prying eye; at the same time that through some small latticed window she might see the little vessel, in which the babe laid: her attendants walking about on the banks, not merely for their diversion, but that the princess might not be disturbed in her privacy.

Vain accounts these! as we find no mention made of any such conveniences anciently, nor even now, though the present inhabitants of Ægypt bathe as much, both for their health, and from superstition, as they could do in the time of Pharaoh; and have a very distinguishing regard still for the Nile. But instead of any structures of this sort, the present race of Ægyptians, notwithstanding the nearness of the Nile, have just such hummams, or structures for bathing, in their cities, as are found in other Eastern countries, to which those of the lower ranks resort, those in higher life having such conveniences at home, so fond are the great of retirement in bathing, as well as those in other situations.

Perhaps the following passages, from Irwin's Travels, may lead to the true solution of what appears so extraordinary, in this account of the Ægyptian princess.

“ Wednesday,

“ Wednesday, 13th August We were
 “ awakened from our first sleep by the sounds
 “ of tinkling instruments, accompanied by a
 “ chorus of female voices. I looked out of the
 “ window, and saw a band, of thirty *damsels* at
 “ least, come tripping towards us, with mea-
 “ sured paces, and animated gestures. The
 “ *moon* shone very bright, and we had a full
 “ view of them, from their entering the gate
 “ of our street, until they reached our house.
 “ Here they stopped, and spreading them-
 “ selves in a circle before the door, renewed
 “ the dance and song with infinite spirit, and
 “ recalled to our minds the picture which is
 “ so fully given of these dancing females in
 “ holy writ. After they had favoured us a
 “ few minutes with their lively performance,
 “ they moved on to the Hakeem’s¹ house,
 “ and serenading him with an air or two,
 “ this joyous band quitted our quarter, and
 “ went, as the dying sounds informed us,
 “ to awaken the other slumberers of the
 “ town, to melody and joy! &c.

“ Thursday, 14th August. We were im-
 “ patient to know the cause of the agreeable
 “ disturbance we met with last night, and
 “ learn from one of our guard, that the danc-
 “ ing girls observe the ceremony we were
 “ witness to, on the *first visible rise of the*
 “ *Nile*. It seems that they took our house in

¹ A principal officer of the town of Ghinnah, in Upper Ægypt, where they then were.

“ their

“ their way to the river, where they went
“ down to bathe at that late hour, and to
“ sing the praises of the benevolent power,
“ who yearly distributes his waters to sup-
“ ply the necessities of the natives.” P. 229,
230.

“ I learn,” says this author in a succeeding page, “ that the crocodile is a most formi-
“ dable tenant of the Nile, and held in great
“ dread by the fishermen; one of them told
“ us, that he was present at the death of a
“ crocodile a short time ago, *in whose belly*
“ *were found the gold rings and ornaments of*
“ *a dancing girl, who was devoured by the*
“ *monster, as she was bathing in the river,*”
p. 259.

I would make a few remarks here upon these accounts.

In the first place, Though hummums, erected for bathing, with many conveniences for that purpose, commonly called bagnios, are very common in Ægypt, yet going into the Nile, at particular times, is still practised by the Ægyptian females.

Secondly, That it should seem, at those times they do not divest themselves of their clothing, though their going into the Nile is at night, and when men are supposed to be asleep in bed, or at least shut up in their respective houses. The *gold rings and ornaments* of the girl, that was devoured by a crocodile, were found in that destroying animal when killed soon after; whereas in the Eastern bagnios,

baginos, according to Lady Mary Wortley Mountague, the women are naked¹. It should seem then, on the contrary, when the women go into the Nile, they are not disrobed, but enter it with their clothes, and even ornaments upon them.

Thirdly, Consequently this entering into the Nile, on these occasions, is not so much with a naturally *purifying* or *refreshing* view, but to express their veneration for that river, when they find it apparently risen, and about to distribute it's important benefits to Ægypt. The Indian women that go into the Ganges, to purify themselves, are stripped, we are told, though it is done with such art and quickness, as to be as little injurious to modesty as possible; but these Ægyptian Arabs do not strip, consequently they go not into the water for *purifying*. The heat of those sultry countries make the bathing in cold water very pleasing, but we do not find, I think, that they go into cold water with their clothes on, in order to render the coolness more lasting, and especially would they not do so that go into the cold water in the evening. It was done then, it should seem, from *devotion*, or *veneration*. So, according to Pitts, many of the devout Mohammedans that visit Mecca, have five or six buckets of the sacred water there poured upon their heads, not properly

¹ Letters, vol. 1, p. 162; and vol. 3, p. 30—32.

for the *purifying* themselves, nor for *refreshment* from the heat, but from *devotion* ¹.

Fourthly, Though they are only the dancing girls, or public women now, so far as appears by this account, that go into the Nile upon the rising of it's waters; an Ægyptian princess, in ancient times, when the Nile was adored as a *deity*, might enter it, at that time of the year, with music and singing. So King David did not disdain to dance before the ark of God, though it was an action that Michal, Saul's daughter, thought would better have been left to the common people to practise ².

Fifthly, If this solution be admitted, and the ceremony that Irwin saw be a relic of ancient Ægyptian devotion, then as Moses was hid about three months before he was committed to the Nile ³, he must have been born about the middle of May. The conduct of Providence also claims our attention, which made the *idolatrous devotion* of Thermuthis ⁴, the daughter of Pharaoh, the means of rescuing from death a child, whom God intended to make the great *Iconomachus* ⁵ of the Old Testament times, and whose religion was the great preparative to the gospel, by which the worship of idols has been set aside among so many of the heathen nations.

¹ P. 135.

² 2 Sam. 6. 16.

³ Exod. 2. 2.

⁴ So called by Josephus.

⁵ Image destroyer.

Lastly,

Lastly, Then also the walking of Pharaoh's daughter to the Nile, and along it's banks, was not for mere pleasure, but is to be understood to have been a sacred procession, united with music and songs of praise.

The 16th verse of the 23d of Isaiah may also perhaps receive some illustration from these dancing females, when we recollect their profession: "Take an harp, go about the city, " thou HARLOT that hast been forgotten, " make sweet melody, sing many songs." These Ægyptian harlots went about Ghinnah, with instrumental music and with songs.

OBSERVATION CLXXVIII.

The crocodile is very terrible to the inhabitants of Ægypt; when therefore they appear, they watch them with great attention, and take proper precautions to secure them, so as that they should not be able to avoid the deadly weapons the Ægyptians afterwards make use of to kill them.

To these watchings, and those deadly after assaults, I apprehend Job refers, when he says, "Am I a sea, or a tannin," (that is a *whale* according to our translation, but a crocodile is what, I make no doubt, is meant there,) "that thou *settest a watch* over me?" Ch. vii. 12.

"The crocodile," says Maillet', "is very

¹ Lett. 9th, p. 32, 33.

"common

“ common in Ægypt; but it is chiefly found
“ in the Upper Ægypt, and very seldom in
“ the *Delta*¹, hardly even within a day’s
“ journey above Cairo. It is extremely
“ dangerous, and makes a great ravage where-
“ ever it is met with, especially above *Gir-*
“ *gey*, which is the place where the ancient
“ Sais stood. They have been known to
“ carry off men themselves, and other ani-
“ mals, when they met with them on the
“ borders of the Nile. Credible persons have
“ assured me, that towards *Essené* there are
“ some so prodigious, that they sometimes
“ stop small troops of travellers.

“ Different methods are used to take them,
“ and some of them very singular. The most
“ common is to dig *deep ditches* along the
“ Nile, which are covered with straw, and
“ into which the crocodile may probably
“ tumble. Sometimes they take them with
“ *hooks*, which are baited with a quarter of a
“ pig, or with bacon, of which they are very
“ fond. *Some hide themselves in the places*
“ *which they know to be frequented by this*
“ *creature, and lay snares for him. As soon as*
“ *he is taken*, the hunter runs with loud
“ cries, and says to the crocodile in a strong
“ and threatening tone, *childraak-scynche*, that
“ is, *lift up your fore-leg*; this the animal

¹ The triangular part of Ægypt, whose base is the sea-coast of that country, consequently stiled the Lower Ægypt.

“ does,

“ does, upon which the hunter pierces him,
 “ in the hollow part under the shoulder,
 “ with a bearded dart, and kills him. Some
 “ are even so bold as to go to the crocodile,
 “ when he is asleep, and fix the dart in
 “ him without his being taken in any toils.
 “ Others take him by some different method,
 “ with which I am unacquainted; but cer-
 “ tainly not with nets, for they are not in
 “ use in this country¹.

“ One of the inhabitants of the Upper
 “ *Ægypt* took one of them, the last year, in
 “ a manner which deserves to be mentioned,
 “ both on account of it's singularity, and
 “ the danger to which the man exposed him-
 “ self. He placed a very young boy, which
 “ he had, in the spot where the day before
 “ this animal had devoured a girl of fifteen,
 “ belonging to the governor of this place,
 “ who had promised a reward to any one
 “ that should bring him the crocodile dead
 “ or alive. *The man at the same time con-*
 “ *cealed himself very near the child, holding a*
 “ *large board in his hand, in readiness to exc-*
 “ *cute his design.* As soon as he perceived
 “ the crocodile was got near the child, he
 “ pushed his board into the open mouth of
 “ the creature, upon which his sharp teeth,
 “ which cross each other, entered into this
 “ board with such violence, that he could

¹ This, I apprehend, is by no means true, but a proof of his inattention to common things.

“ not disengage them, so that it was impos-
“ sible for him after that to open his mouth.
“ The man immediately farther secured his
“ mouth, and by this means got the fifty
“ crowns the governor promised to whosoever
“ could take this creature.

“ Finally, this animal is without con-
“ tradiction possessed of most extraordinary
“ strength. But a few days ago they brought
“ me one alive, only a foot and half long.
“ He was secured by a cord. I caused his
“ snout to be set free, and he immediately
“ turned to bite him that held him ; but he
“ only seized on his own tail, into which his
“ teeth entered so far, that it was necessary
“ to make use of an iron instrument to open
“ his mouth. This creature might be no
“ more than a fortnight old. What might
“ a crocodile of 20 feet, or more, do ! I last
“ year saw one of 12 feet, which had eat no-
“ thing of thirty-five days, having his mouth
“ muzzled all that time. With one stroke
“ of his tail he threw down five or six men,
“ and a bale of coffee, with as much ease as
“ I could throw down half a dozen pawns
“ on a chess-board.”

With what eagerness must the people of those countries watch these formidable animals, and with what repeated efforts endeavour to demolish them when ensnared in their toils !

For though, according to Maillet, they are sometimes killed by darts, they are at other

times *knocked on the head with clubs*, according to Father *Sicard*, in his *Memoirs of the Missionaries*, cited by *Egmont and Heyman*, vol. ii. p. 218, 219.

In this view, how forcible is the complaint of *Job*, that God had dealt with him as men do by crocodiles, who watch them with great attention, and fall upon them with *repeated* blows, and give not over till they have destroyed them¹.

It

* Those *pictures of the fancy*, which we are wont to call dragons, are not very unlike creatures of the lizard kind, and in particular a crocodile, excepting their having *wings*; and when we consider the swiftness of their motion straight forwards, it is no wonder the affrighted fancy of those that but just escaped them, clapped a *couple of wings* on those crocodiles, which they found to be so extremely difficult to be avoided. Whether there was as specious a foundation for those other embellishments, which are deviations from the true figure of a crocodile, I leave to others to enquire.

As some species of the lizard kind inhabit the *water*; while others are found in old buildings, &c. on the *land*; as some are supposed to be of a poisonous nature; as the crocodile (the chief of the lizard-kind) is extremely voracious; and as ancient, as well as modern poets, have supposed they enticed unwary travellers by their dissembled lamentations, or at least wept over those they devoured, the same apprehension, whether founded in nature or mistake, might be as ancient as the days of the prophet *Micah*, ch. i. 8, or even the times of *Job*, ch. 30. 28, 29: if, I say, we recollect these circumstances, we have all the properties ascribed in Scripture to the tannin, except the *watching* for them, mentioned in the passage I am now endeavouring to illustrate; and *their suckling their young*, which *Jeremiah* speaks of, Lam. 4. 3. As to this last, if it be admitted that the seal and the otter, though not properly of the lizard kind, do yet so far resemble them, as that it is by
no

It is more difficult to illustrate the other part of the complaint, "Am I a sea?" Some have supposed the word sea is to be understood of the Nile. Admitting this large sense of the word translated *sea*, it may be said, that the Nile indeed is watched with extraordinary care, but in the season of it's increase, which was the time they so attentively watched it, they beheld it's rising with pleasure, and looked to this river with grateful veneration: the watching the Nile then by no means resembled the watching the crocodile, which they considered as an object of terror, and whose approach filled them with dread. One can hardly therefore imagine they would be joined together in one and the same complaint: the one watched with anxiety and dread as a terrible destroyer; the other watched with hope and pleasure, as the great benefactor of Ægypt, and it's approaching them, by it's rising, nearer and nearer, celebrated with great joy.

But there might be cases in which the overflowing of the Nile might be watched *with dread*. And Herodotus has, it seems, expressly remarked this with respect to *Memphis*, that celebrated Ægyptian city, accord-

no means unnatural to suppose, that in those days, of remote antiquity, they might be classed together under one genus, this difficulty will be removed, (and the ancients, we know, were by no means very accurate in their arrangement of natural objects,) for the seal and the otter are reckoned, in these exact times, among the mammalia, or the animals that give their young suck.

ing to a note in *Norden's History of Ægypt*, p. 75, vol. i, in which we are told, that Herodotus said, *that at the time when he wrote, the Persians (then the masters of Ægypt) attended with great observance, to a mound thrown up one hundred stadia above Memphis, the mound being repaired every year. For if the river should break down that mound, there would be a great deal of danger that all Memphis would be drowned*¹.

If so important a city, so often mentioned in the Old Testament, was in such *continual* danger, and it's defending mound watched with *so much anxiety* in the time of Herodotus, something of the like sort might be in earlier time, and the *crocodile* and it's *parent stream* be mentioned together here on that account.

There might be like anxious watchings in *Arabia*, and in that part of it called the *Land of Uz*; but we are not sufficiently acquainted with those countries positively to determine this. Some learned men in France² have observed, that the *Arabian* history makes mention of the destruction of a *great city*, and a *most delightful territory*, upon the breaking down a mighty mound by the weight of the incumbent water. This mound was a prodigious bank, reaching from one mountain to

¹ See also Shaw's Travels, p. 302, 303.

² The Royal Academy of Inscriptions and of the Belles Lettres. See the 94th question proposed by *Michaelis* to the Danish academicians, and the Memoir of the Academy of Inscript. &c. in the close of that collection.

another, raised in order to keep in the water that poured down the neighbouring hills, and to form a large lake. This event made a celebrated æra among the Arabs, and the Royal Academy of Inscriptions desired the Danish academicians to enquire into it, when they went into the East.

But this was too late an event to be referred to in the book of Job; nor was that mound, so far as we are told, watched with anxious uneasiness; but broke down unexpectedly. It doth not however follow from hence, but that there might have been other reservoirs of water, from which danger might be apprehended.

It is certain such *destructive events* were not unknown to the ancient Jews. *David* plainly refers to such¹. Job might equally well be supposed to have heard of them: but it is to be hoped, a more accurate acquaintance with those countries may hereafter illustrate what is at present almost lost in obscurity.

OBSERVATION CLXXIX.

The Bishop of Waterford, in his illustration of the writings of the minor prophets, supposes, that “the pestilence after the manner of Ægypt,” mentioned Amos iv. 10, meant “the unwholesome effluvia, on the

¹ 2 Sam. 5. 20.

“ subsiding of the Nile, (which) caused some
 “ peculiarly malignant diseases in this coun-
 “ try.” But, unhappily, he has produced no
 proof of this from those that have travelled
 into, or resided in that country; there is
 however some foundation for such a suppo-
 sition, and I doubt not, but so friendly and be-
 nevolent a prelate will allow me to endeavour
 to supply the omission.

Maillet, or rather, perhaps, the Abbot *Mas-
 scrier*, the enthusiastic encomiast of Ægypt,
 in an extravagant paragraph of praise, allows
 this: “ It is of this country, which seems to
 “ have been regarded by nature with a favour-
 “ able eye, that the gods have made a sort of
 “ terrestrial paradise. The air there is *more*
 “ *pure and excellent* than in any other part of
 “ the world. This goodness of the air com-
 “ municates itself to all things, living or in-
 “ animate, which are placed in this fortunate
 “ region. The women, and the females of
 “ other species, are more fruitful than any
 “ where else; the lands are more productive.
 “ As the men commonly enjoy there perfect
 “ health, the trees and plants never lose their
 “ verdure, and the fruits are always delicious,
 “ or at least salutary. It is true, that this
 “ air, good as it is, is nevertheless subject to
 “ be corrupted in some proportion as other
 “ climates. I even acknowledge that it is *bad*
 “ in those parts, where, when the inunda-
 “ tions of the Nile have been very great, this
 “ river,

“ river, in retiring to it’s channel, leaves
 “ marshy places, *which infect the country round*
 “ *about.* The dew is also very dangerous in
 “ *Ægypt* ¹.”

But though the air is, by the acknowledgment of this partial writer, unwholesome in some places in November and December, when the Nile returns into it’s channel, on the account of some marshy places which infect the air; yet these disorders, whatever they may be, surely hardly deserve to be described by a word that signifies the *pestilence*, or to be spoken of as something *peculiar to Ægypt*. It is, according to this author, and I imagine his assertion will not be contested, about the time the Nile begins to rise, and when the south wind blows, that the *sickly season* begins: then fevers rage, and it is then the pestilence makes it’s ravages in *Ægypt* ². The *Ægyptian* autumnal complaints then are not to be compared with those of the summer, and consequently it will hardly be admitted that the prophet refers to them, as his lordship supposes.

Nor is there indeed any thing so particular in the pestilence in *Ægypt*, as to distinguish it from that disease in other countries; since then the original phrase is ambiguous, and may as well be translated *in the way of Ægypt* as *after the manner of Ægypt*, I should apprehend that this 10th verse refers to some severe

¹ Let 1, p. 14, 15.

² Let. 2, p. 57.

chastisement Israel received, in the way to *Ægypt*, not the way from Judæa by Gaza, or the land of the Philistines¹, but the way by the Eastern side and Southern end of the Dead Sea, in which march, in that part of the desert, they were at once assailed by some mortal disease, which carried off great numbers; by the sword, either of the wild Arabs, or some other enemy; their horses unexpectedly carried off in the night, according to the Arab custom, in whose swiftness and usefulness in war Israel was wont to place no little confidence; and their camp rendered a scene of complete desolation and ruin.

The books of Kings and Chronicles make no distinct mention of such an event; but as they are very short accounts of the Jewish princes, so several things are referred to in the prophets which are not mentioned there. The succeeding verse, of this 4th of Amos, is a proof of the truth of such omissions.

It becomes the more necessary to adopt such an interpretation of Amos, as supposes he refers to the ravages of the pestilence among the Israelites, as they were marching in the wilderness in the more Southern road to *Ægypt*, on some warlike expedition, since the recent publication of the *Memoirs of the Baron de Tott*, who assures us, that the noxious exhalations from the stagnation of the water left

¹ See Exod. 13. 17, 18.

on the land, when the Nile retires into it's proper channel, and the ravages of the pestilence there, are not *so great* as in many other places. His words are as followeth.

“ To this fertility and richness of the productions of Ægypt, must be added a most *salubrious* air. We shall be more *particularly struck* with this advantage, when we consider that Rosetta, Damietta, and Mansoorah, which are encompassed with rice-grounds, are much celebrated for the healthiness of their neighbourhood; and that Ægypt is, perhaps, the *only country in the world* where this kind of culture, which requires stagnant waters, is not unwholesome. Riches are not there destructive to the lives of men.

“ The researches I have *carefully* made, concerning the plague, which I once believed to originate in Ægypt, have convinced me, that it would not be so much as known there, were not the seeds of it conveyed thither by the commercial intercourse between Constantinople and Alexandria. It is in this last city that it always begins to appear; it but rarely reaches Cairo, though no precaution is taken to prevent it; and when it does, it is presently extirpated by the heats, and prevented from arriving as far as the Saide. It is likewise well known, that the penetrating dews, which fall in Ægypt about Midsummer, destroy, even
“ in

“ in Alexandria, all remains of this distemper¹.”

If this account is accurate, the prophet Amos cannot be supposed to refer to mortal disorders, arising from the exhalations of marshy places in Ægypt, nor yet to the pestilence there, which certainly carry off many in that country, for both the one and the other are found to be *gentler* than in many other places.

But the breaking out of a pestilential disorder in an army of Israel in the wilderness, in the Southern road to Ægypt, when harassed by the Arabs of the desert, must have been a severe scourge upon them.

That the kingdom of the ten tribes had some contest with those that lived in that part of the country, appears from what is said concerning Jeroboam, the second of it's princes of that name, in 2 Kings xiv. 25, 26: “ He restored “ the coast of Israel, from the entering of “ Hamath *unto the sea of the plain*, according “ to the word of the Lord God of Israel. . . . “ For the Lord saw the affliction of Israel that “ it was very bitter, &c.” He had, according to this, some contest with those *near the Dead Sea*, in which he was successful, but before *that* the affliction of Israel had been *very bitter*, according to the historian: and bitter it must have been indeed, if some pestilential disease raged in their camp, while their soldiers were

¹ Part 4, p. 69, 70.

killed in considerable numbers, their horses, on which they had great dependance, carried off, and they so circumstanced, as for some time not to be able to quit the place where they were encamped.

That large bodies of people are sometimes attacked in this desert with mortal diseases, and which kill very suddenly, we learn from *Mallet*. “ During the summer, a fresh north
 “ wind blows in this climate all day long,
 “ which very much affuages the heat. . . .
 “ But if this north wind happens to fail, and
 “ instead of that it blows from the south,
 “ which however but rarely happens, then the
 “ whole caravan becomes *so sickly and exhaust-*
 “ *ed*, that there die very commonly 3 or 400
 “ persons in a day. They have sometimes
 “ been known to amount to 1500¹, of whom
 “ the greatest part have been stifled at once
 “ by this burning air, and the dust this dread-
 “ ful wind brings along with it in such
 “ quantities².”

In a time of such mortality, when the dead and the sick were so numerous; those that were well held in perpetual employment by continual alarms from the Arabs, instead of applying themselves to the burying their dead; when the sword might cut off as many as this corrupting wind: the stench of the camp of Israel must have been exceeding great.

¹ Out of about 50,000 persons, according to his estimation. Let. dern. p. 228.

² P. 232.

The loss also of their *horses of war* in such a time of calamity, by such an ever-watchful and sculking enemy, must be believed to be exceeding great.

OBSERVATION CLXXX.

The learned have not been agreed, in their opinion concerning the *third* of the plagues of Ægypt: some of the ancients suppose that *gnats*, or some animals resembling them, were meant; whereas our translators, and many of the moderns, understand the original word as signifying *lice*.

Bishop *Patrick*, in his Commentary, supposes that *Bochart* has sufficiently proved, out of the text itself, that our version is right, since *gnats* are bred in fenny places, (he might have said with truth, and with much greater energy of argument, in *water*,) whereas the animals Moses here speaks of were brought out of the *dust of the earth*.

A passage I lately met with, in *Vinisauf's* account of the expedition of our King *Richard the First* into the *Holy-Land*, may, perhaps, give a truer representation of this

* Hist. Ang. Script. quinque, vol. 2, p. 351. Instantibus singulis noctibus imminebant quidam *vermiculi*, vulgo dicti *tarventes*, solo repente, atrocissimis ferventes puncturis; de die non nocebant, superveniente vero nocte, ingruerant molestissimis armati aculeis, quibus quos pungerent statim grassato veneno inflabantur percussi, & vehementissimis angustiabantur doloribus.

Ægyptian plague, than those that suppose they were *gnats*, or those that suppose they were *lice*, that God used on that occasion, as the instrument of that *third* correction.

Speaking of the marching of that army of Croifaders, from Cayphas to where the ancient Cæsarea stood, that writer informs us, *that each night certain worms distressed them, commonly called tarrentes, which crept upon the ground, and occasioned a very burning heat by most painful punctures. They hurt nobody in the day-time, but when night came on they extremely pestered them, being armed with stings, conveying a poison which quickly occasioned those that were wounded by them to swell, and was attended with the most acute pains.*

It is very unhappy that the natural history of the Holy-Land is so imperfect. What these *tarrentes* were I do not pretend distinctly to know, but as they are called *worms*, as they *crawled on the ground*, and occasioned *extreme pain*, I should apprehend it is more probable that they were insects of this, or some kindred species, that Moses intends, rather than *gnats* bred in the *water*, or *lice*, which have, in common, no connexion with the *dust of the ground*.

It is sufficiently evident, that, for two thousand years back, the insect meant by Moses under this third plague was not determinately known. For the authors of the Septuagint supposed *gnats* were meant, translating the Hebrew word by the term Σκνιφες; whereas
 Josephus

Josephus¹ supposed, with the moderns, that *lice* were to be understood to be the instruments God made use of at this time, unluckily describing them as produced by the bodies of the *Ægyptians*, under the clothes with which they were covered², which indeed is a natural description of the usual circumstances that favour the propagation of *lice*, but by no means agrees with the Mosaic account, which represents these insects, whatever they were, as appearing first on the earth, and from thence making their way to man and beast.

I will only farther add, the better to assist the naturalist, in determining what the insects were which in the age of *Vinifauf* were commonly called *tarrentes*, that these wounds were cured by the application of *theriacum*, and that they were creatures that disliked a noise, which made the pilgrims make all the clattering noise they could, with their helmets and shields, their basons, dishes, kettles, and any thing that came to hand, that could conveniently be applied to this purpose.

OBSERVATION CLXXXI.

Oil is now presented in the East, to be burnt in honour of the dead, whom they re-

¹ With whom, it appears from *Trommius*, some of the other old translators of the Scriptures into Greek agree, though that circumstance is not taken notice of by *Lambert Bos* in his edition.

² Φθειρων γαρ τοις Αιγυπτιοις εξηθησεν απειρον τι πληθος ενδοθεν αναδιδομενων.

verence with a religious kind of homage; and I should apprehend, it is most natural to suppose the prophet Hosea refers to a similar practice, in the times of antiquity, when he upbraids the Israelites with carrying oil into Ægypt¹.

The carrying oil into Ægypt must have been either for an idolatrous purpose; with a political view, to gain the friendship of Pharaoh; or merely with a commercial intention.

Oil was an article of commerce among the ancient Jews, as appears from Ezek. xxvii. 17. They carried it to *Tyre* without reproof; they might with equal innocence have carried it into Ægypt, if it had been only with a *commercial* view.

Commentators have been sensible of this, and have therefore supposed that the oil was *treacherously* carried into Ægypt, as a present to King Pharaoh, to induce him to take part with Israel against Assyria. There was undoubtedly some treacherous management of this nature: the 2 Kings xvii. 4. proves it beyond all dispute. But that they endeavoured to gain the friendship of Pharaoh, by sending him a large parcel of oil, doth not seem so natural a supposition, if we remark, that no present *of this kind* appears to have been made by the Jewish princes, of that time, to foreign kings, to gain their friendship: it was

¹ Hosea 12. 1.

the *gold and silver* of the temple, and of the royal palace, that Ahaz sent to the king of Assyria, 2 Kings xvi. 8, not *oil*; nor did the *king of Ægypt*, when he put down Jehoahaz from the throne of Judah, and mulcted the land, appoint them to pay so much *oil*, but so much *silver*, and so much *gold*, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3. Nor was *oil* any part of the present that Jacob sent to Joseph, as *viceroy of Ægypt*, but balm, honey, spices, myrrh, nuts, (Pistachio nuts, according to Dr. Shaw,) and almonds¹.

But if they burnt oil in *Ægypt*, in those early times, *in honour of their idols*, and the Jews sent oil into *Ægypt with an intention* of that sort, it is no wonder the prophet so severely reproaches them with sending oil thither.

It is certain the ancient people of the East were wont, on various occasions, to send presents to the celebrated temples of other nations. It is supposed the Gentile nations would, and it is affirmed that they sometimes did, send presents to the temple at Jerusalem: “ Many
 “ brought gifts unto the Lord to Jerusalem,
 “ and presents to Hezekiah king of Judah:
 “ so that he was magnified in the sight of
 “ all nations from thenceforth.” 2 Chron. xxxii. 23. If other nations made presents to the temple at Jerusalem, it cannot but be thought, that the Jews, when disposed to fall

¹ Gen. 43. 11.

in with the idolatries of their neighbours, would send gifts to their more celebrated temples, in honour of the deities worshipped there; and especially when they courted superstitious princes, zealously attached to the worship of their country gods.

Can we imagine that the messengers of King Ahaziah went *empty-handed*, when they were sent to consult Baal-zebub, the god of Ekron, whether Ahaziah should recover or not? 2 Kings i. 2.

Oil is now, it seems, *very frequently* presented to the objects of Eastern religious reverence, and as it is apparently derived from ancient usages, the sending oil by the Jews to Ægypt, in the time of Hosea, might probably be for a like purpose.

The Algerines, according to Pitts¹, “ when they are in the Straights-mouth, they make a gathering of small wax-candles, which they usually carry with them, and bind them in a bundle; and then, together with a *pot of oil*, throw them over-board, as a present to the *marabbot or saint*, which lies intombed there, on the Barbary shore, near the sea, and hath so done for many score of years, as they are taught to believe; not in the least doubting but the present will come safe to the marabbot’s hands. When this is done, they all together² *hold up their*

¹ P. 17, 18.
language of Scripture,

² *Stretch out their hands*, in the

“ *bands*, begging the marabbot’s blessing, and
 “ a prosperous voyage. And if they at any
 “ time happen to be in a very great strait, or
 “ distress, as being chased, or in a storm,
 “ they will gather money, and do likewise.
 “ Besides which they usually light up abund-
 “ ance of candles in remembrance of some
 “ dead marabbot or other, calling upon him
 “ with heavy sighs and groans. At such times
 “ also they collect money, and wrap it in a
 “ piece of linen-cloth, and make it fast to
 “ the ancient staff of the ship, so dedicating
 “ it to some *marabbot*; and there it abides
 “ ’till the arrival of the ship, when they be-
 “ stow it in candles, or *oil*, to give light, or
 “ in some ornament to beautify the marab-
 “ bot’s sepulchre.”

I have, in a preceding volume¹, considered
 this passage of Hosea, but I then only con-
 sidered that passage as expressive of the large-
 ness of the quantity of oil produced in the
 Holy-Land; but it now appears to me ca-
 pable of being viewed in a stronger point
 of light, and to express something of idola-
 trousness: the two purposes of courting the
Ægyptian monarch, and honouring the idols
 of that country, might, very possibly, be
 united together.

There is a long account, in Maillet², of
 the processions of the ancient *Ægyptians* on
 the Nile, in the four months of June, July,

¹ Ch. 8, obs. 2.

² Let. 2de.

August, and September, the time of the inundation of that river. If we may believe his accounts, deduced from old Arab authors, the ancient princes of Ægypt, attended by their nobles, and infinite multitudes of their common subjects, passed up and down the Nile, in order to visit the temples of their idols, as well as for pleasure. These large and pompous boats were illuminated with vast multitudes of lamps, as were doubtless their temples, though Maillet says nothing, I think, in particular about *them*.

But it is natural to suppose this, since he tells us, that these solemn river-processions are, in some measure, still continued, only their devotions transferred from the old idols of Ægypt to later Mohammedan saints, and the ancient idolatrous Ægyptian festivals succeeded by those of Sidy Ibrahim, Sidy Hamet Bedouin, and other Turkish saints, whose tombs are still annually visited, with the same concourse of people, and *nearly the same ceremonies*¹. And we know, from the citations already produced under this article, that the consecrated oil is now employed in illuminating these sacred sepulchres.

The sending then oil to Ægypt might be, not only to assist in making the idolatrous processions on the Nile more brilliant, but also with the direct unequivocal design of illuminating the idol temples of that country.

¹ P. 82.

And if this be allowed, there will appear an emphasis in this complaint of Hosea¹, which must be very much diminished, if we consider it only as an act of common national perfidiousness. But I do not recollect that commentators have understood the words in this more provoking sense.

OBSERVATION CLXXXII.

I *indistinctly* mentioned the illuminations that are wont to be made on the *Nile*, in the time when it overflows *Ægypt*, in the preceding article; but here I would propose it to the learned to consider, whether they are not referred to by the son of *Sirach*, when he says, that God “maketh the doctrine of knowledge appear as the *light*, and as *Geon* in the “time of vintage².”

He had before compared God's filling all things with his wisdom, to the *Tigris* as filled with water in the time of the new fruits; and had described his causing understanding to abound, as *Jordan* abounds with water in the time of harvest; and many have been ready to suppose, that *Geon* is mentioned in

¹ Their conduct will be just the reverse of that of those heathens, who brought gifts to the temple of Jehovah, and presents to Hezekiah, according to that place of the 2 Chron. just now cited.

² Ecclesiasticus 24. 27.

the same view, as a third river that was wont to overflow, from the copiousness of the descent of water down it's channel in the time of vintage. But it is to be observed, that from the swelling of some rivers he had been mentioning, the writer had passed on to another thought, comparing it to *light*, "He maketh the doctrine of knowledge appear as the light, and as *Geon* in the time of vintage;" which would rather lead us to apprehend, that he compares it to the *light of Geon*, at that time of the year when grapes are gathered for the making of wine.

This thought is so natural, that it struck the celebrated *Grotius*, who accordingly, in his comment on this place, explains it of the *clearness* of this river at the time of vintage, and that on the account of it's being so *limpid* then, he compares it to light. This is the time indeed when the Euphrates is most clear, and consequently it may be believed it's various branches, the water having settled after it's periodical inundation, and the rains not having fallen, in such quantities at least, as to make the water foul and muddy¹; but it must be a terrible sinking from the image used in the first part of the verse, where he compares knowledge to the light of the morning, when in the second part of the verse he goes on to compare it to the clearness of a river,

¹ Phil. Trans. abr. vol. 3, part 2, ch. 2, art. xl. 2, relating to a 2d voyage to Tadmor, under October 11.

not at all more remarkable than other rivers for that quality; but if by *Geon* he meant the *Nile*, as many have supposed he did, considering he resided in *Ægypt*, where this book was written, or at least received the finishing hand, and was well acquainted with the pompous illuminations there, whose light was so gloriously reflected by the water of that river, it is not at all to be wondered at, that he compares knowledge to the splendor of those *Ægyptian* illuminations.

If the *Nile* was meant by him, the son of Sirach could not intend to compare knowledge to the *clearness* of it's stream, in that time of the year, for the time of vintage fell out within the time of the inundation of the *Nile*, when it's waters are mixed with large quantities of mud, but must be understood of the illuminations upon it, which were wont to be so brilliant at that season.

I am very sensible the *Gibon* of the 2d *Genesis*, cannot well be understood of the *Nile*, since it is described as a *river of Paradise*; but is it necessary to suppose the author of the book of *Ecclesiasticus* referred to the *Gibon of Paradise*? He was an *Ægyptian Jew*, and he might design to be understood of the *Ægyptian Geon*, by which name, or one very much like it, the *Nile* has been sometimes denoted. So *Menochius* affirms, that in his time the *Abyssinians* called the *Nile Guyon*;

* *Poli Syn.* in *Gen.* 2. 13.

and it should seem, that in the year 1322, Symon Simeonis, a devout Irish visiter of Ægypt and the Holy-Land, called it by a name not far distant in sound from *Gibon*¹; and takes notice that *Josephus* supposed the Gihon of Paradise was the Nile.

On consulting the great Jewish historian, I found that he did suppose that the Gihon of Paradise was the river called *the Nile* by the Greeks². Since this was the notion of *Josephus*, can it be unlikely that the son of *Sirach* meant the Nile by the name Γηων, or Geon? This is precisely the way of writing the name Gihon by *Josephus*; and if it be admitted that *about his age* the Nile was supposed to have been the Gihon of ancient times, the understanding the *light of Geon* of the illuminations upon the Nile, and the light reflected from it's waters, can be no unnatural interpretation.

These illuminations are made at the time that the Khalis is opened, which is a long canal that runs through Cairo, the capital city of Ægypt, and which terminates in a large lake, several miles from Cairo towards the East. Upon the opening of this canal, which is at the time that the water of the Nile is risen to such an height as to secure future plenty, great rejoicings are made, and that *by night* as well as by day. “The same day, in the evening,” says *Thevenot*,” “we took a

¹ Wyon, p. 34.

² Antiq. Jüd. lib. 1, cap. 1, § 3.

“ cayque¹, and went to Old Caire, and as soon
 “ as we came near it, we began to see, on all
 “ hands, ashore and *upon the water*, a vast
 “ number of large figures made of lamps,
 “ placed in such and such order, as of crosses,
 “ mosques, stars, crosses of Malta, trees, and
 “ an infinite number of the like, from one
 “ end of Old Caire to the other. There were
 “ two statues of fire, representing a man and
 “ a woman, which, at the farther distance
 “ they were seen, the more lovely they ap-
 “ peared: these figures were two square ma-
 “ chines of wood, two pikes length high,
 “ each in a boat. . . . These machines are
 “ filled with lamps from top to bottom,
 “ which are lighted *as soon as it is night*.
 “ In each of these figures there are above
 “ 2000 lamps, which are so placed, that on
 “ all sides you see a man and a woman of
 “ fire. Besides that, all the *acabas*, or barks,
 “ of the basha and beys, are also *full of*
 “ *lamps*, and their music of trumpets, flutes,
 “ and drums, which keep almost a continual
 “ noise, mingled with that of squibs, crackers,
 “ fire-lances, great and small shot; so that
 “ the *vast number of lamps*, with the cracking
 “ of the gunpowder, and noise of music, make
 “ a kind of agreeable confusion, that, without
 “ doubt, cheers up the most dejected and
 “ melancholic. This lasts ’till midnight, and
 “ then all retire; the lamps *burning all night*,

¹ A boat.

“ unless they be put out by the wind and
 “ squibs. This solemnity *continues for three*
 “ *nights.* The opening of the *Khalis* hath,
 “ *in all times,* been very famous, even among
 “ the ancient Ægyptians¹, as being that which
 “ nourishes the country².”

These illuminations, which Thevenot saw, were very magnificent; but Maillet supposes these modern Ægyptian illuminations fall far short of those of antiquity. If so, no wonder an Ægyptian Jew, of the time of the Ptolemies, should be so struck with the *light of Geon*, or the Nile, in the time of the *vintage*, or when the grapes *became ripe*, which, according to Dr. Shaw, is in those countries by August³, in which month the *Khalis* is generally opened⁴.

Maillet tell us, that illuminations are very common in Ægypt. *That there is no rejoicing, no festival of any consideration at all, unaccompanied with illuminations. That for this purpose they make use of earthen lamps, which they put into very deep vessels of glass, in such a manner as that the glass is two thirds, or at least one half of it's height higher than the lamp, in order to preserve the light, and prevent it's extinction by the wind. That he believed the Ægyptians had carried this art to the highest*

¹ Not, it may be, rigidly speaking, the opening that particular canal, but the time the Nile is so much swelled as to ensure plenty in the following spring.

² Part I, p. 234.

³ P, 146.

⁴ Shaw, p. 383.

perfection, there being nothing which they could not represent with lamps: palaces, towers, even battles. That nothing assuredly produced a more charming effect. That the illuminations of all the mosques of Cairo, every night during the Ramadan month, and those preceding the principal Mohammedan festivals, viewed from the flat roofs of the houses of that city, made one of the most beautiful spectacles in the world, being in no respect inferior to the illuminations of Constantinople, which some travellers have so much extolled, and which are seen at such great distances¹.

But these were land-illuminations; those on the water must be much more brilliant, on account of the water's reflecting the splendor, and greatly augmenting the light.

Maillet indeed supposes, that in their water-processions, which he describes with great pompousness, and which continued through the months of June, July, August, and September², these illuminations were made use of. All those boats being decorated with lamps, united with the sound of an infinite number of musical instruments, on all sides afforded a magnificent spectacle. The name of the owner of each boat was in the night-season written there with letters of fire (by means of these lamps); as they were known in the day-time by the shape and the colours of each man's banner. He adds, that, according to the Arabian writers, the

¹ Let. 2, p. 80.

² P. 76.

(floating)

(floating) palaces about the king's were all illuminated, for four or five leagues round, more than twenty thousand boats being assembled, particularly in the time that the Nile was upon the increase¹.

But as *Thevenot* speaks only of the three nights after the opening of the Khalis, there is reason to believe, that in the time in which the son of *Sirach* lived, that was then the principal time for water-illuminations, and that therefore that ancient Jewish writer speaks of the light of *Geon* at that time only. The processions which are represented on the swathing of some of the mummies, which *Maillet* mentions, p. 75, may as well be understood of those of the time when the Nile had attained it's desired height, as of the superstitious processions of other months.

OBSERVATION CLXXXIII.

The translation the Septuagint has given of Prov. x. 5, differs from the Hebrew, and is by no means so natural, considered as a proverbial saying; but gives us some information concerning the weather of one particular part of the year, but whether of the weather as it is, in common, in Judæa, or whether only as it is in Ægypt, may justly be questioned.

¹ P. 80, 81.

That translation is, “ A wise son is saved
 “ from the *heat* ; but a son that observes not
 “ rules in *harvest* is struck with a corrupting
 “ (or destroying) wind.”

This supposes that the time of *harvest* was a time of great heat ; that this heat, if not guarded against by observing the rules of prudence, might be deadly ; that the heat was occasioned by a destructive *wind*, which produced at least *similar effects* to those of the *Sumyel*, which is so fatal in the Eastern deserts, for it was of the corrupting kind.

This agrees very well with the weather in Ægypt, for Maillet in one place tells us, *the harvest there is in the latter end of April, or the first days of May*¹ ; and in another letter he describes *the two months of April and May as extremely hot*², which induces the people of Ægypt in those months to eat no meat, but to live on fish, which aversion to flesh-meats is owing to the winds from the south, he makes no doubt, which winds never fail to blow when the Nile begins to rise, which he tells us, begins ordinarily to rise the last days of the month of April, and the beginning of May³, consequently in the time of harvest in that country.

That the *heat in harvest* is sometimes deadly in Judæa, we are informed in the Scriptures⁴ ; an apocryphal writer supposes the same thing⁵ :

¹ Let. 9, p. 7. ² Let. 11, p. 109, 110. ³ Let. 2, p. 56. ⁴ 2 Kings 4. 18—20. ⁵ Judith 8. 3.

but whether this heat in harvest is brought by a *southerly wind*, and whether it happens as *generally* as in *Ægypt*, is a matter not yet, that I know of, ascertained. Nor are we informed, as to either countries, how far the same symptoms appear, in those that perish through the heat there, that are found in those that are killed by the *Sumyel*, the hot pestilential wind in the deserts. We are also left to guess at the precautions used by those that gathered in the harvest in inhabited countries; I say *inhabited countries*, for we have some account of the methods made use of in the deserts, to guard against being struck by those deadly winds, and to recover those that are injured by them, but not so as to be irrecoverably lost¹.

OBSERVATION CLXXXIV.

Commentators have supposed, that the *fire of Jehovah* that burned among the Israelites in the Wilderness, of which we have an account, in Numb. xi. 1, meant their being destroyed by *lightning*; or a miraculous *breaking forth of fire from the cloud*, which marked out the presence of God among them²: but perhaps it may be as natural to explain it, of the *deadly fiery wind* which sometimes appears in those Eastern deserts.

¹ Niebuhr, Descr. de l'Arabie, p. 8.

² See Bishop Patrick on the place.

It is said to appear in the deserts which border on the *Tigris*¹; in the great desert *between Bussora and Aleppo*²; and on the borders of the Persian gulf³: but *Maillet* mentions it's being felt also in the desert between *Ægypt and Mecca*, in part of which Israel wandered forty years.

For speaking of the caravan of pilgrims that goes annually from *Ægypt to Mecca*⁴, he says, “ During the whole summer, a very
 “ fresh northerly wind reigns in this climate,
 “ which very much tempers the heat there.
 “ To take the advantage of it, they raise up
 “ the side of the tent which is exposed to
 “ this wind much higher than the opposite
 “ side, so that being engulfed, and passing
 “ through the tent with quickness, it not
 “ only refreshes the people that repose them-
 “ selves there, but also certain vessels
 “ which are suspended in the tents, and filled
 “ with water, which in an instant, by being
 “ treated in this manner, contract an agree-
 “ able freshness. But if the north wind hap-
 “ pens to fail, and that from the south comes
 “ in it's place, which however is rather un-
 “ common, then the whole caravan is so
 “ sickly and exhausted, that 3 or 400 per-
 “ sons are wont, in common, to lose their
 “ lives. Even greater numbers, as far as
 “ 1500, of whom the greatest part are

¹ An. Reg. 1766, part 2, p. 121.
 Descript. de l'Arabie, p. 7, 8.
 p. 9.

⁴ Let. 14, p. 232.

² Niebuhr,
³ Chardin, tome 2,

“ stifled on the spot, by the *fire* and dust of
 “ which this fatal wind seems to be com-
 “ posed¹ .

Sir John Chardin describes this wind as
 “ making a great *hissing noise*, says that it
 “ appears *red and fiery*², and kills those it
 “ strikes by a kind of stifling them, especially
 “ when it happen in the day-time³ .”

If a wind of this description killed any
 number of the Israelites, would it be any
 wonder that it should have been called the
fire of the Lord? and the place, from such an
 event, have been named *Taberah*, or a burn-
 ing? And would not the account that this
 sort of fire was quenched, or, as it is trans-
 lated in the margin, *sunk*, better agree with
 such a *wind* than with *lightning*?

I have, in a preceding volume, taken no-
 tice of the heat the south wind occasions in
 Judæa, but the Sumyel doth not appear to
 have been felt there, any more than at Aleppo,
 unless we suppose the destruction of Sennache-
 rib’s army was by such a wind, directed by an
 angel,

Who, glad the Almighty’s orders to perform,
 Rode in the whirlwind. —

But this passage in Numbers, relating to Israel
in the Wilderness, may be thought more *plainly*
 to point out this deadly wind.

¹ Out of perhaps 40 or 50,000 people that compose the
 caravan, p. 228.

² Rouge & enflammé.

³ Tome 2, p. 9.

OBSERVATION CLXXXV.

The history of the Revolt of *Ali Bey* tells us¹, that when his general and brother-in-law (*Abudabap*) engaged in designs against him, which ended in *Ali's* ruin and death, he did not march from the Holy-Land to Ægypt by the common road, but directed his course, with his army, by the desert between the Red-Sea and Ægypt, and came by that route into Upper Ægypt, and, going from thence, drove *Ali* from Ægypt into the Holy-Land, to his friend there, the *Arab Sbeik Daber*. This mode of proceeding reminds us of that passage of the book of Exodus, in which we are told, “ When Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near : for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent, when they see war, and they return to Ægypt. But God led the people about, through the way of the wilderness of the Red-Sea².”

It should seem very improbable, from Irwin's account of his passing through the Ægyptian desert, from Ghinnah, in Upper Ægypt, to Cairo, that an army could be conducted through this wilderness without the greatest difficulties, or that any general should think of taking such a route ; yet it seems *Abu-*

¹ P. 114.² Exod. 13. 17, 18.

Labap attempted it, and succeeded in his project. How many days were spent in the march we are not told; but Irwin was fifteen days, or part of sixteen, only in passing from Ghinah to Cairo, according to his relation.

As to the more common roads from Ægypt to Judæa: Thevenot travelled in eleven or twelve days from Cairo to Gaza, which was the way by the land of the Philistines, notwithstanding several stops by the way¹. Ali Bey, when he marched in an hurry from Cairo to Ptolemais, went from *Cairo to Hanneunus*, as the writer of his history tells us, in part of four days, which town, he informs us, is not twenty miles short of *Gaza*². And if we deduct two days and an half that were trifled away by Thevenot, we shall find that he was only about eight days in travelling to the town where Ali Bey stopped, not twenty miles short of Gaza.

If we pursue a road farther distant from the sea-coast, and more into the desert, to Hebron, we shall find that Dr. Shaw reckons³ but seven *stations*, or eight days journey⁴, of the great Mohammedan caravan from *Cairo* to a place called *Ally*. From which place, Wortley Mountagu tells us, it is but six days journey to

¹ Travels, part 1, book 2, ch. 35.

² P. 119, setting out in the evening of April 12, and arriving at Hanneunus the 15th.

³ P. 477.

⁴ According to the account of Thevenot, (part 1, book 2, ch. 17,) who tells us, the caravan stops a day at *Kalaat el Nabhal*, or, as Shaw writes the name, *Callab Nabhar*.

Jerusalem¹. According to this way of computation, it is but fourteen days journey from Cairo to Jerusalem, in the way of the desert and Hebron, by Ally or Scheich Ali, which seems too not the nearest way from Cairo to Hebron.

It would not, probably, be above a day or two more to go from Cairo, round the south end of the Dead Sea, and so along it's eastern side to *Jordan*, since Joseph, when he carried his father's corpse to be interred in Hebron, went this still more round-about way, doubtless on account of some conveniences, with which we are not well acquainted. Gen. 1.

Moses then might have been supposed by the Israelites, when he proposed to them not to go by the way of the land of the Philistines, but more through the desert, not to design a journey of the length of more than twenty days, for which a sufficient quantity of corn and water might be carried without very much difficulty. A journey which the patriarch Joseph had before taken with a *very great company*²: the present terror of the *Ægyptians* operating as powerfully, as the authority of Joseph did then. And accordingly, though they murmured for *water* before, they did not murmur for *bread*, 'till they came into the Wilderness of Sin, on the 15th day of the second month after their departure from *Ægypt*³. Which shows they had stocked

¹ Phil. Transf. vol. 56, p. 47.

² Gen. 50. 9.

³ Exod. 16. 1, 2, 3.

themselves with a month's provision of corn for their journey, which now accordingly began to fail'. But Moses had other views, and depended on a divine power to supply all their wants, and, it seems, it was thought proper to try their faith in that power, and to illustrate the care of God over that nation, through all after generations, by what was designed to be done in the Wilderness. Not to mention, that infinite Wisdom thought it requisite that a moveable temple should be built in the desert, before their entering into the land of the Canaanites, promised their forefathers, lest they should be seduced to *worship in their temples*, as they dwelt in their *private houses*, which was allowed them, Deut. vi. 10, 11. xix. 1. This, it seems, took up something more than a year; for when they departed from *Sinai* towards the promised country, it was the 20th day of the second month, in the second year of their coming out of *Ægypt*, Numb. x. 11, 12, 13, soon after which the spies were sent to search out the country to which they were to go.

The way of the desert then, though less direct, and which consequently would take up more time, was not thought at that time to be totally impracticable; and, indeed, had been proved not to be so by Joseph.

¹ The numerous Mohammedan caravans, from Cairo to Mecca, are forty days in going, and as much in returning, and carry almost all their food with them, (and much of their water,) to last them thither, and back again.

OBSERVATION CLXXXVI.

The circumstances of Ishmael's being *conducted to a shrub*, when his faintness from the heat, and want of water, in the Wilderness of Beerſheba, ſo increaſed that he could not proceed in his journey towards Ægypt; and Hagar's *deſpair* of obtaining water time enough to ſave his life, are natural¹: though it may not be amiſs to take notice of ſome things relating to this matter, which may ſeem to want ſome explanation.

Pitts, in the account he gives of his return from Mecca, tells us, “ ’Tis thirty-ſeven
 “ days journey from *Mecca to Cairo* in
 “ all this way there is *ſcarce any green thing*
 “ to be met with, nor beaſt or fowl to be
 “ ſeen or heard, *nothing but ſand and ſtones,*
 “ excepting one place, which we paſſed by
 “ night; I ſuppoſe it was a village, where
 “ were ſome *trees*, and, as we thought,
 “ *gardens* ².”

But this is to be underſtood, I apprehend, to be only *comparatively* ſpeaking; if otherwiſe, it is certain that many other parts, of that widely extended deſert, is not ſo entirely deſtitute of vegetables, as that part of it through which the road runs that leads to Mecca. Irwin mentions many buſhes, or low trees, on the weſtern ſide of this mighty de-

¹ Mentioned Gen. 21.² P. 159.

fert, between the Red-Sea and the Nile, through which he passed a few years ago. In p. 296, he speaks of *numerous thorn-trees* in full blossom and fragrance. In p. 320, he speaks again of thorn-trees, and expressly says, they were *large enough to throw a shade*; and, it seems, they were so numerous as to perfume the air as they passed, from the snowy blossoms that whitened *all the vale*. He mentions rosemary-bushes, and shrubs of uncommon fragrance, perhaps still without a name, in other places¹.

Egmont and Heyman, in some pages, complain² of the extreme barrenness of some part of the Wilderness between Cairo and Mount Sinai; but, in some of the succeeding pages, they speak of *many trees*, which made the valley of *Corondel* appear like a terrestrial paradise, in comparison of the barren wastes they had a little before travelled over³. They describe the vale of *Nasb*, presently after⁴, as very pleasant and full of trees; and in the same page mention a place where was plenty of herbage, and many palm-trees, which formed a beautiful scene. They then speak of an old city called *Pharan*⁵; and presently after⁶ we are told of desolate mountains and barren rocks, but intermixed with the pleasant vallies of *Debabe*, *Sedre*, *Barak*, and *Baraha*,

¹ P. 308, 316.
⁴ P. 152.

² Vol. 2, p. 146, 147.

³ P. 151.

⁵ In the same page.

⁶ P. 153.

full of odoriferous plants, where they found also several spiniferous trees, which exudated a gum resembling that of the cherry-tree.

There is then nothing improbable in the supposition we meet with here, that there were *some shrubs* in that part of the Wilderness where Hagar wandered with her son¹, she going, it seems, towards *Paran*, in which part of the Wilderness it was that he fixed his dwelling, Gen. xxi. 21. It was, in the Wilderness, a barren and little inhabited country, but not absolutely without trees, that Ishmael was near losing his life from thirst.

That he should, when just ready to faint, and unable to proceed onward in his journey, desire to lie down under some tree, where he might be in the shade, was quite natural: in such a situation *Thevenot* fell in with a poor *Arab*, in this Wilderness, just ready to expire. “Passing by the side of a *bush*,” says this writer, “we heard a voice that called to us, “and being come to the place, we found a “poor languishing Arab, who told us that “he had not eaten a bit for five days; we “gave him some victuals and *drink*, with a “provision of bread for two days more, and “so went on our way².”

Ishmael was, without debate, fourteen years old when Isaac was born, (compare Gen. xvi. 16, with chap. xxi. 5,) and probably seventeen when Isaac was *weaned*, for it was

¹ Gen. 21. 15.

² Part I, p. 164.

anciently the custom in these countries to suckle children till they were three years old¹,* and it still continues so²; the translation then of the Septuagint is very amazing, for, instead of representing Abraham as giving Hagar bread, and a skin-bottle of water, and putting them upon Hagar's shoulder, that version represents Abraham as putting his son Ishmael on the shoulders of his mother³. How droll the representation! Young children indeed are wont to be carried so⁴; but how ridiculous to describe a youth of seventeen, or even fourteen, as riding upon his mother's shoulders, when sent upon a journey into the Wilderness, she loaded at the same time with the provisions. Yet unnatural and odd as this representation is, our version approaches too near it, when it describes Hagar as *casting* the youth under one of the shrubs: which term agrees well enough with the getting rid of an half-grown man from her shoulders, but by no means with the maternal affectionate letting go her hold of him, when she found he could go no farther, and desired to lie down and die under that bush: for that undoubtedly was the idea of the sacred writer, she left off

¹ 2 Maccabees 7. 27; with which agrees the account given of Samuel, and other sucking children, in the Scriptures.

² Russell's Descript. of Aleppo, p. 79.

³ Ἀνεση δὲ Ἀβρααμ τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ ἔλαβεν ἄρτους καὶ ἄσπον ὑδάτος, καὶ ἔδωκε τῇ Ἀγαρ. καὶ ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὦμον αὐτῆς τὸ παιδίον, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτήν.

⁴ Observ. on divers Passages of Scr. ch. 10, obs. 1.

Y 4 supporting

* The same custom prevails in the interior of Africa - Park's Travels. Ch. 20. (p. 299.)

supporting him, and let him gently drop down on the ground, where he desired to lie. In a succeeding verse¹ the angel of the Lord bade her lift up Ishmael, and hold him in her hand—support him under his extreme weakness; she had doubtless done this before, and her quitting her hold, upon his lying down, is the meaning of the word translated *casting*, that word sometimes, indeed, signifying a sudden and rather violent quitting hold of a thing, but at other times a parting with it in a gentle manner.

It may also be wondered at, how *Hagar* came to give way to *despair* at that time, as she certainly did; for since there were several shrubs in that place, we may suppose it was a *sure indication of water*, and that therefore maternal anxiety would rather have engaged her, to endeavour to find out the spring which gave this spot it's verdure. But it is to be remembered, that though Irwin found many shrubs in that part of the Wilderness through which he travelled, yet the number of fountains or wells there were, by no means, equal in number to the spots of ground covered with shrubs, a latent moisture in the earth favouring their growth, where there were no streams of water above-ground: she might therefore, having found her preceding searches vain, very naturally be supposed to have given up

¹ Verse 18.

all hope of relief, when the angel made her observe where there was water to be found, upon drinking which Ishmael revived.

OBSERVATION CLXXXVII.

Desolate as the desert is through which Israel marched, in their way from Ægypt to Canaan, yet it should seem some creatures resided in it fit for food, and that they sometimes were so successful as to take some of them, and regale themselves on their flesh.

I do not well know, how else to account for the explanatory clause in the close of Deut. xii. 15, “The unclean and the clean may eat thereof, *as of the roe-buck, and as of the hart.*” Which is again repeated, ver. 22.

They were commanded to offer their burnt-offerings, and to perform some other ceremonies of their law, when they came into the land promised to their fathers, only in that place which God should choose, in one of their tribes, for those purposes. But they might notwithstanding kill and eat flesh in all their places of abode, whatsoever they had a mind for, according as their circumstances would allow, of which the unclean as well as the clean might eat, *as they did in the case of the roe-buck and the hart*: that is the purport of part of that paragraph; which is again repeated, in many of its circumstances, in the latter part of the chapter; and again in
the

the close of the 15th; particularly expressing, in all the three places, that the unclean as well as the clean might partake of those repasts, *as they did of the roe-buck and the hart.*

It should seem, when they were in the Wilderness, no beasts, that were such as they might sacrifice, might at all be killed but at the sanctuary; consequently, according to the laws then introduced by Moses, none might eat of them but those that were clean. (See Lev. vii. 20, 21.) But it was a *decided case*, that the unclean as well as the clean might eat of such wild animals as the law allowed to be eaten at all, and consequently in this Deut. xii. Moses declared the unclean as well as the clean might, in the same manner, eat of such animals as were proper for sacrifice, but were not killed for sacred purposes, but for food. But it could hardly have been a *decided case*, that the unclean as well as the clean might eat of such wild animals as Moses there specifies, *after* Moses had published his laws in the Wilderness, and before their entering into Canaan, but upon the supposition that they had caught some of them in the Wilderness, that Moses had determined the unclean might eat of them as well as the clean, and that these captures had happened so frequently, that the decision was very well known among the Israelites at the time of the publishing the book of Deuteronomy, which was in the last year of their wandering in those deserts.

The tzebi and the aile, which are the words

translated the roe-buck and the hart, are supposed, by Dr. Shaw¹, to signify the *antelope*, and the hart or *deer*.

He has given very satisfactory reasons to prove that the first signifies the *antelope*. Now this animal has been seen, from time to time, of late days, in the Wilderness in which Israel so long sojourned. Dr. Shaw assures us he himself saw it there: adding, that it was the only quadruped that fell under his observation in those deserts². Egmont and Heyman, in ascending an hill not far from the convent of Mount Sinai, saw some antelopes, which at sight of them ran off with great swiftness³: and in another place of those travels we are told⁴, that the mountains of those deserts “every where abound with partridges, and “likewise with antelopes, by the Arabians “called gazels.” Thevenot also saw, on the hills of this desert, a great many of these antelopes, and nothing else⁵.

As there are such numbers of these animals in this desert, it is no wonder that the Israelites should endeavour to catch them for food, as they had only manna, which, however delicious in itself, could not remove their desire to eat flesh. It is even now common for large caravans, who stock themselves with a variety of other provisions, to endeavour to catch such animals as they meet with in their journies, that are fit for food, and often succeed in it.

¹ P. 414.

² P. 449.

³ Vol. 2. 179.

⁴ P. 171, 172.

⁵ Part I, p. 164.

Plaistead, who travelled from Bufferah to Aleppo, through another vast desert, which separates those two places, in a caravan consisting of a thousand, or eleven hundred people, tells us, that their Arabs endeavoured to kill the *hares*, which they met with there in great numbers, with the bludgeons used by them in driving the camels, and sometimes they would kill twenty or thirty in a day¹. And elsewhere, in giving instructions concerning the utensils and provisions proper to be carried in a journey through this desert, he says, *onions* should never be forgotten, because you will meet with hares almost every day². So that there appears to have been some dependence, on animals that might be expected to be killed by them in their passage. This caravan, he farther tells us, pursued an ostrich, which crossed upon them to the southward, though it escaped them; however *that they killed an antelope*³. According to Thevenot, in the passage I before cited, hares and ostriches are also found in the deserts going to Mount Sinai, but the Israelites were not allowed to eat hares by their law⁴; but as Plaistead's companions killed an antelope, and antelopes abound in those deserts, it is no wonder that it was a decided case among the Jews, while in the Wilderness, that the unclean as well as the clean might eat of *their* flesh.

Dr. Shaw supposes the *aïle* means one of the

¹ Journal, p. 73, 74.

² P. 31.

³ P. 37.

⁴ Lev. 11. 6, Deut. 14. 7.

deer-kind¹; and tells us, from Strabo, that the wild beeve, or bubalus, or bekker el wash, frequent the more solitary parts of those countries no less than the antelope, and is equally gregarious, but none of the afore-mentioned travellers speak of any of these wild creatures as seen by them in those deserts, much less as caught by them as they journied.

Irwin, however, in passing of late through the deserts between the Nile and the Red-Sea, which communicate with those deserts in which Israel wandered forty years, by a neck of land which lies between Suez and the Mediterranean, and seem to be of the same general nature, mentions several *deer* which he saw in those deserts of Upper Ægypt, and the footsteps of more²; besides which he saw the print of the feet of another animal there, which he took to be the *elk*, from the size of the hoof, but which the Arabs, who were his guides, called a *mountain-sheep*³. They saw, it seems, on all sides, in that place, the fresh flots of *deer*, and of that other creature which he took to be an elk, and consequently of a larger size than the deer⁴. It is unhappy that we cannot determine, from his description, what this larger animal was, and perhaps might have been in some doubt, whether, as to the others, he meant deer, in the common

¹ P. 414, 415.

² P. 294, 297, 311, 312, &c.

³ P. 319.

⁴ See Shaw, p. 414, 415, who calls such a kind of animal, the bubalus, or wild beeve.

sense of that word, or antelopes, had he not expressly mentioned their firing at a buck, p. 297. But it is however evident there were two different kinds of beasts, if not three, in those deserts, to which, or some of which, Moses, I should suppose, referred here.

It may be amusing to add, that, besides these animals, Irwin saw, in these deserts of Thebais, partridges¹, quails², hares³, and a snake which the Arabs said was poisonous, though he was inclined to a contrary opinion⁴.

OBSERVATION CLXXXVIII.

When Moses, upon the approach of Israel to the Land of Canaan, prohibited their taking any bird along with their eggs, or their young, on which they might find them sitting, Deut. xxii. 6⁵, whether their nests were on the ground or in a tree; and mentioned nothing of this sort, so far as appears in sacred writ, before their drawing to the borders of the land they were to inherit: it cannot but be natural to enquire, wherein consisted the propriety both of such a prohibition then, and of the omitting to mention it before that time.

¹ Irwin, p. 305. ² P. 305, 323. ³ P. 320, 323.
⁴ P. 319. ⁵ Which book of Moses, delivered in the fortieth year of their abode in the Wilderness, contains the later laws.

It feems that oſtriches¹, partridges², quails³, doves⁴, (befides ſome unclean birds⁵;) are found in thoſe deſerts through which Iſrael paſſed; they are now all uſed for food; might they not be tempted then to take them, if they found them fitting on their eggs or young? If they were, how came the prohibition not to have been earlier given?

That partridges, quails, &c. are good for food, is ſufficiently known; it may be doubted of the oſtrich, for which reaſon I would here ſet down a paſſage of Thevenot. “ When
 “ they would catch oſtriches, an Arab purſues
 “ them on horſeback, at firſt gently, and
 “ they run away in the ſame manner, but ſtill
 “ tiring a little. After two or three hours
 “ time, he rides faſter, and then, when he
 “ ſees his fowl almoſt ſpent, he puts on to
 “ a ſpeed; and having taken and killed it,
 “ he makes an hole in the throat of it, and
 “ then having tied ſtrait the neck under the
 “ hole, three or four of them take hold of it,
 “ and for ſome time toſs and ſhake it from
 “ ſide to ſide, juſt as one would riſe and
 “ waſh a barrel: when they think it is enough

¹ Thevenot, p. 164; Shaw, p. 449.

² Egmont and Heyman, vol. 2, p. 171 and 172; they aſcribe to a partridge what belongs to a quail, according to Thevenot, p. 168.

³ Thevenot, p. 168; ſo Irwin found many quails in the deſerts of Thebais.

⁴ Seen by Shaw, p. 449.

⁵ The achbobba in particular, which feed on carrion like ravens, Shaw, p. 449.

“ ſhaken,

“ shaken, they untie the throat of it, and
 “ then a great deal of *mantegue*, or a kind of
 “ *butter*, comes running out at the holes, in-
 “ somuch that they say some of them will
 “ yield above 20 lb. weight of that stuff; for
 “ by that shaking, all the flesh of the crea-
 “ ture is dissolved into mantegue, nothing
 “ remaining but skin and bones. This would
 “ have seemed fabulous to me, if several Bar-
 “ bary men had not assured me of it. They
 “ say that this mantegue is a very *delicious*
 “ *food*, but very apt to cause a looseness¹.”

As the *ostrich* is good for food; so also, it seems, are it's *eggs*²: to say nothing of their being objects of attention, as being used much in the East, by way of ornament, for they are hung up in their places of public worship, along with many lamps, of which we have many instances³. If neither their feathers, nor egg-shells, were in use then, as they both are now in the East; yet their use for food can hardly be supposed to be unknown. Why then was it not forbidden to Israel, while in the Wilderness, to take an old bird with it's eggs or young, as it was afterwards?

¹ P. 164, 165.

² Lemery, *Diët. des Drogues*, art. *Struthio*.

³ Poccocke's *Trav.* vol. 1, p. 31. Dr. Richard Chandler, in his *Travels in Asia Minor*, perhaps was mistaken when he supposed, that the Turkish mosque at Magnesia was ornamented with lamps pendent from the ceiling, intermixed with balls of polished ivory, p. 267. Ostrich eggs might easily be mistaken for ivory balls; if not, they might be used as a *sucedaneum*.

The answer is easy with respect to the ostrich, since it is in no danger of being taken with it's eggs, it being a bird that deposits it's eggs in the sand, and leaves them to be hatched by the heat of the ground alone, without incubation, as we learn from Job xxxix. 13, &c.

The other birds that are found in the deserts there sit indeed on their eggs, but they were too few, perhaps, to require a law, and of too wild and shy a disposition, to run any considerable risque of being taken by those that might find their nests; or had their nests out of reach, as the dove, which builds in hollow places of the rocks, when in a *wild state*, not to say that the old ones are not fit to eat, being too tough to be proper for food.

This may sufficiently account, we may imagine, for the silence of Moses on this point, in the first years of their wandering in the desert; but what occasion, it may be asked, to mention it at all? What eggs were they like to meet with, after their residing in Canaan, of use to human life? or young birds whose dams were in danger of being taken, through their attachment to their eggs or their young?

Some eggs might, possibly, be useful for food, and esteemed among the Jews, which were laid by wild-fowl or birds; but the beauty of the shell might make many, especially of the younger sort, fond of taking the

^a Jer. 48. 28.

eggs of many of the birds of that country, which are, without doubt, numerous, though few in the desert. It could not but be right to endeavour to inspire the young with sentiments of tenderness towards the brute creation, forbidding them to take away the anxious dam with the nest.

To what I have said above is however to be added, the account Irwin has given of numbers of eggs laid by sea-birds, on the sands upon or near the shores of the Red-Sea. Speaking of a sandy island, under the lee of which his boat sheltered, he tells us, “ Here
 “ our people gathered a quantity of eggs,
 “ which the birds lay upon the sandy reefs.
 “ They tell us these eggs are well-tasted and
 “ wholesome ; but we are not driven to such
 “ streights, as to be obliged to put up with
 “ all kinds of food’.” But if *he* did not relish this kind of food, eggs were and are reckoned delicious eating in the East².

This adds to the difficulty, of accounting for Moses’s not publishing this prohibition to Israel while in the Wilderness, since it shows that there were many more sorts of birds, and greater quantities of eggs, which they might then have taken, than the preceding quotations led us to suppose, the Red-Sea being so shallow, that people may wade a great way in it, and might doubtless get to many of these reefs where the eggs are laid, especially if they now

¹ P. 96,

² Observations, vol. 1, ch. 4, obs. 20.
and

and then joined a little swimming to their wading. So Irwin gives an account of a poor woman's wading, and swimming, on this coast, in order to get some provision, though of a different kind from the eggs of wild-fowl. June 15th, "A poor woman waded, and swam through the water to our boat in the evening, and was very thankful for some measures of rice which she took away¹."

Perhaps their being but *seldom* near the sea, might be one reason that the Jewish lawgiver did not think it necessary to announce this prohibition then, though there are many wild-fowl in that sea, which lay their eggs in great numbers upon the adjoining sands.

OBSERVATION CLXXXIX.

An ancient Jewish prophet gives, according to our version, the following description of that Wilderness whose northern part lies between Ægypt and Judæa, through a considerable part of which peninsula Israel had to pass in the days of Moses: *a land of deserts, and of pits; a land of drought, and of the shadow of death; a land that no man passed through, and where no man dwelt².*" The old Greek translation, called the Septuagint, renders it a little

¹ P. 83.

² Jer. 2. 6. "Neither said they, Where is the Lord that brought us up out of the land of Ægypt, that led us through the Wilderness, through *a land of deserts,*" &c.

differently; according to which translation it is described as a land *immense in it's extent*, (or, perhaps, *untried*¹, though I should rather understand the term in the first sense, as the idea expressed by *untried* doth not much differ from the last clauses of the description); *difficult for people to make their way through*²; a land *without water*, and *without fruits*; a land which *no man passed through*, and where *no man dwelt*.

The description that Mr. Irwin has given of that part of this Wilderness which lies on the western side of the Red-Sea, through the northern part of which too Israel actually passed, very much corresponds with this description, and may serve to illustrate it; the Wilderness on the eastern side of that sea, without doubt, *originally* resembling that through which Irwin passed, though the passing of the Mohammedan caravans to Mecca, every year, for many ages past, may have occasioned several alterations to have been made, to facilitate the passing of those *devotees*, who are many times people of high quality, through the more northern and eastern part of that terrible Wilderness: we may believe, I say, that it was anciently, in the parts through which Israel passed, as horrid as that on the western side is now.

The *scarcity of water* is the first thing I would take notice of. When it is described as

¹ Ἀπειροῦ is the word made use of.

² Ἐν γῆ αἰσάτω.

a land without water, we are not to suppose it is *absolutely* without springs, but only that water is *very scarce* there. Irwin accordingly found it so. On the first day after his setting out, having only travelled five miles, they filled thirty water-skins from the river *Nile*, but which he thought might prove little enough for their wants, before they reached the *next watering-place*, p. 293. They travelled, according to their computation, fifty-four miles farther, before they found, three days after, a *spring*, at which they could procure a fresh supply, p. 300; and this, it seems, was a new discovery to their guides, and for which they were indebted to a very particular accident, p. 298. It was not 'till the following day, that they arrived at the valley where their guides expected to water their camels, and where accordingly they replenished the few skins that were then empty: this *spring* was, it seems, seventy-nine miles from the place from whence they set out, p. 305. The next *spring* of water which they met with was, according to their reckoning, one hundred and seventy-four miles distant from the last, and not met with 'till the seventh day after, and was therefore viewed with extreme pleasure: “ At nine o'clock we came suddenly upon a
“ well, which is situated among some broken
“ ground. The sight of a spring of water
“ was inexpressibly agreeable to our eyes,
“ which had so long been strangers to so re-
“ freshing an object.” P. 321. The next day

they found *another*, which “ gushed from a
 “ rock, and threw itself with some violence
 “ into a basin, which it had hollowed for
 “ itself below. We had no occasion for a
 “ fresh supply; but could not help linger-
 “ ing a few minutes to admire a sight, so
 “ pretty in itself, and so bewitching to our
 “ eyes, which had of late been strangers to
 “ bubbling founts and limpid streams.” P.
 324, 325.

A Wilderness, in which they found only four
 springs of water in the space of three hun-
 dred and fifteen miles¹, might well be stiled
αυδρος, or without water, in a popular way
 of speaking, though not absolutely exact. It
 appears from the Scriptures, as well as later
 travellers, that there were, in like manner,
 some wells and natural springs of water in that
 part of the desert, which laid on the eastern side
 of the Red-Sea², where Israel much longer so-
 journed, but they were not many, and the
 places of watering at a considerable distance
 from each other³.

I ought here to mention, the *smallness of the
 quantity of water* one of these four springs af-
 forded, which Irwin met with in the desert, or
 at least the difficulty of watering their beasts
 at it. “ We lost,” says this writer, “ the
 “ greatest part of the day at this spring.
 “ Though our skins were presently filled, the

¹ See p. 330.

² Exod. 15. 27.

³ Exod. 15. 22. ch. 17. 1.

“ camels were yet to drink. . . . As the camels
“ could not go to the well, an hole was sunk
“ in the earth below the surface of the spring,
“ over which a skin was spread, to retain
“ the water which flowed into it. At this
“ but two camels could drink at a time; and
“ it was six hours before our camels, which
“ amounted to forty-eight in all, were water-
“ ed. Each camel, therefore, by this calcu-
“ lation, takes a quarter of an hour to quench
“ his enormous thirst; and to water a com-
“ mon caravan of four hundred camels, at
“ such a place as this, would require two
“ days and two nights. A most unforeseen
“ and inconceivable delay to an uninformed
“ traveller!”

What would the mighty numbers of Israel have done at such a spring, with their flocks and their herds, when Moses was conducting them out of Ægypt! The Wilderness of Arabia then hath but few places of water, and some of them not convenient for watering a number of people and beasts, if we may judge of it from that on the western side.

But not only is the *quantity* of water produced by a spring to be considered, but its quality also. Irwin does not complain of the water which he found here and there in this part of the desert, but of the only two springs which he found in the more southern part of the desert, in passing from the Red-Sea westward to the river Nile, one of them was

brackish, p. 162, and the other he seems to have thought unwholesome, complaining that his European companions, as well as himself, found their bowels greatly affected, which he attributed to the water they had gotten the day before, p. 168. This second spring of water was, it seems, thirty-seven miles from the first, p. 164 and 165, which was only five miles from Cofire, the place from which they set out, and used, in common, by the inhabitants of that town, p. 162. These two were the only springs that they found in travelling one hundred and fifteen miles, from the Red-Sea to the Nile, p. 174. “The
 “Arabs,” he says, “have found springs in
 “particular spots, but the deer” (of whom he found many in his journies through these deserts,) “must necessarily live many days
 “without water in the depth of this desert;
 “except that, like the rein-deer, who digs
 “with certainty for provender beneath the
 “snow, they supply themselves with water
 “from a similar practice,” p. 165.

If we are to give this part of the prophet's description of that Wilderness a popular explanation, and not take it in the most rigorous sense; we ought undoubtedly to put the same kind of construction on the two last clauses of it—“A land that *no man passed through*, and
 “where *no man dwelt* :” a land, that is, *not usually* passed, and where *hardly* any man dwelt.

So Irwin describes ¹ the desert of Thebais, as “*unknown* even to the inhabitants of the country; and which, except in the instances I have recited ², has not been traversed *for this century past*, by any but the outcasts of the human kind.” Such a Wilderness might very well be said not be passed through, when only two or three companies travelled in it in the compass of an hundred years, and that on the account of extreme danger, at that particular time, attending the common route. He actually calls it, p. 317, a road seldom or *never* trodden.

It is reasonable to believe, that great part of the Wilderness, through which Israel passed, was as little frequented in the days of Moses.

As to it's being *inhabited*, Irwin travelled, by his estimation, above 300 miles in this desert, from Ghinnah to the towns on the Nile ³, without meeting with a single town, village, or *house*. They were even extremely alarmed at *seeing the fresh tracks of a camel's feet, which make a strong impression on a soft soil, and which the Arabs with them thought were not more than a day old; and they could not comprehend what business could bring any but Arab freebooters into that waste* ⁴.

¹ P. 276.

² Which were only *two* companies of people, who were afraid to venture down the Nile, on account of disturbances on that river from civil war.

³ P. 327.

⁴ P. 320.

A passage, in p. 328 of his account, is hardly to be admitted an exception to this, where, describing his ascending an eminence near the Nile, a few miles above Cairo, to survey that river, he says, “About a mile from
 “ this charming retreat, buried in the desert
 “ from common observation, the robbers’
 “ have their residence. They attended us
 “ thus far, and then returned to their tents,
 “ which they had pointed out to us on the
 “ road, as the dwellings of their families.”
 Anciently, as well as now, there might be a few roving Arabs in that desert, but *uncultivated*, and without fixed dwellings in it, it might be said to be uninhabited.

When the prophet describes this Wilderness, according to our version, as the land of the shadow of death, his meaning has been differently understood by different people. Some have supposed it to mean a place where there were no comforts or conveniences of life²; but this seems too general, and to explain it as a particular and distinct member of the description, pointing out some quality different from the other circumstances mentioned by Jeremiah, seems to be a more just, as it is undoubtedly a more lively way of interpreting the prophet. Others have accordingly understood this clause as signifying, it

¹ Wild Arabs, whom they met with in the deserts, and who, on account of their conductor, treated them as friends, and even escorted them part of their journey.

² See Mr. Lowth’s Commentaries.

was the habitation of venomous serpents, or destroying beasts; some as endangering those that passed through it, as being surrounded by the hostile tribes of Arabs; some as being overshadowed by trees of a deleterious quality¹. They might better have introduced the *whirlwinds* of those southern deserts than the last particular, which winds taking up the sand in great quantities, *darken the air*, and prove fatal to the traveller. This last would be giving great beauty and energy to the expression, (the shadow of death,) since these clouds of dust, literally speaking, overshadow those that have the misfortune to be then passing through those deserts, and must at the same time give men the *utmost terror* of being overwhelmed by them, and not unfrequently do in fact prove *deadly*². So great *terror* is expressed by the same term, Job xxiv. 17; as is the darkness of an *Eastern prison*, more destructive than those of the West, though by no means producing effects equally fatal with the hurricanes in their Wildernesses, Pf. cvii. 10, 14. This explanation, however, of Jeremiah's description, I have nowhere met with; nor do I consider it as the true one.

¹ Vide Poli Syn. in loc.

² They might even better have mentioned the hanging pieces of granite, which being torn from the mountain, seem ready to bury the traveller under their enormous masses, which Irwin mentions, p. 310.

I should

I should suppose they are in the right, who apprehend that the prophet, by this expression, means it's abounding with *venomous serpents and scorpions*, since it is thus that Moses describes the same country, with whose writings, and consequently with this description, a Jewish prophet must be supposed to have been well acquainted: Deut. viii. 15, “ Who
 “ led thee through that *great and terrible*
 “ *Wilderness*, wherein were fiery *serpents* and
 “ *scorpions*, and drought, where there was no
 “ water; who brought the forth water out
 “ of the rock of flint.”

This comment from Moses, I should think, must appear to be unexceptionable: I cannot confirm it, however, by the testimony of this traveller, who passed from pretty far south to near the northern boundary of the western part of this desert. He even supposes such creatures are not to be found, at least, in that part of this desert, through which he passed in the close of the summer¹ of the year 1777. “ As we came up to this place, we
 “ disturbed a poor deer, that had sheltered
 “ itself here from the sun. These animals
 “ abound in this desert; and as we have not
 “ met with, or even heard of, any wild beast,
 “ or *venomous creatures*, in our peregrinations,
 “ I conclude Ægypt to be free from them,
 “ notwithstanding the *fables* of antiquity.”

¹ In September.

P. 294. Again, p. 319, “ We sheltered ourselves behind a thick spreading bush to sleep, as the north wind blew peculiarly cold. Here my servant discovered a *snake* under his bed, which the Arabs tell us is poisonous. But it had no tokens of being so, if I may be allowed to judge from the variety of snakes I have seen in India.”

But surely the Arabs must have been as competent judges of the poisonous quality of this animal. If Irwin happened on no venomous creature there, they may, notwithstanding, be to be found in that desert; and if not now, Moses might describe that Wilderness as a place where they were to be found, since Israel had been actually wounded by such, and died in considerable numbers¹.

A curious reader may perhaps be surprised at being told, that the Septuagint translates this clause by the single word *Ακαρπος*, as if all the danger of death there arose from the *sterility* of that country, and it's producing few or none of the supports of life. Theodotion alone, if the collections of Lambert Bos are complete, translates the words a *land of the shadow of death*; the rest taking upon them to explain that figurative expression, and joining in supposing it only signified *unfruitful*. Was the desert of Thebais known by these Ægyptian translators and transcribers to be without venomous inhabitants? and did they

¹ Numb. 21.

suppose the Arabian part of the desert was equally free from these poisonous animals?

But if Irwin's account is not very favourable to what I take to be the true explanation of the expression—a land of the shadow of death; he abundantly confirms the English version of another clause—a *land of pits*, which is also a part of the prophet's description.

Many seem to have doubted of this being the meaning of the prophet. The Septuagint appears to have supposed his intention was, in that second clause, to express it's being *unfrequented, untrodden*, for they either used the word *Αβατος* or *Απειρος*; the vulgar Latin, of the edition of Sixtus Vth, translates it after the same manner, (*per terram inhabitabilem & inviam*,) which translations coincide with the latter clauses of this description, and consequently extremely injure it's beauty.

Irwin, on the contrary, affords a good comment on this part of our translation. In one place he says, “The path winded round
“ the side of the mountain, and to our left,
“ an horrid *chasin*, *some hundred fathoms deep*,
“ presented itself to our view. It is surprising
“ no accident befel the loaded camels.” Page 296. In another †, “On each side of us were
“ perpendicular *steeps*, *some hundred fathoms*
“ *deep*. . . . On every part is such a wild
“ confusion of hanging precipices, disjointed
“ rocks, and hideous *chasins*, that we might

† P. 310.

“ well cry out with the poet, ‘ Chaos is
“ come again.’ . . . Omnipotent Father !
“ to thee we trust for our deliverance from
“ the perils that surround us. *It was through*
“ *this Wilderness thou didst lead thy chosen peo-*
“ *ple.* It was here thou didst manifest thy
“ signal protection, in snatching them from
“ the jaws of destruction which opened upon
“ every side.” And in the next page, “ At
“ two o’clock we came suddenly upon a
“ *dreadful chasm* in the road, which appears
“ to have been the effect of an earthquake.
“ It is about three hundred yards long, one
“ hundred yards wide, and *as many deep* ; and
“ what is the curiosity, in the middle of the
“ gulph a single column of stone raises it’s head
“ to the surface of the earth. The rudeness of
“ the work, and the astonishing length of the
“ stone, announce it to be a *lusus naturæ*,
“ though the robbers¹ declared to us, that
“ beneath the column there lies a prodigious
“ sum of money ; and added, with a grave
“ face, they have a tradition, that none but a
“ Christian’s hand can remove the stone to
“ come at it. . . . We rounded this gulph,
“ which is called *Somab* ; and leaving it be-
“ hind us, we entered a valley, where we found
“ a very craggy road.”

¹ People whom they accidentally joined in the Wilderness, and with whom they travelled in safety. See a preceding note.

With what energy doth the prophet describe this place as the land of pits! Indeed, after reading the preceding extracts, it is difficult to read the learned Buxtorf's explanation of this clause of Jeremiah without a smile. He allows the original word signifies a pit, or chasm; and then, after citing this passage of Jeremiah, he adds, that is, so desolate, that it is more proper to furnish a *sepulchre* to a man, than an habitation to live in¹. How happy when the observations of a traveller are united with the disquisitions of the philologist!

I have put off the examination of the first clause in this passage, "*through a land of deserts,*" to the last, as appearing the most obscure and difficult to ascertain, and as the interpretation I would propose is so different from, and indeed opposite to, what is commonly supposed to be the meaning of it.

The vulgar Latin renders it by very different words, as doth our English translation. Both, when they would affix, it should seem, a distinct meaning to it, make use of terms that signify an open and considerably flat country: the *Plains* of Moab is a phrase that frequently occurs, to use a particular instance in our version, and *Campestria Moab* appears, in like manner, in the vulgate. In the Latin translation of Pagnin, reviewed by Montanus, with an express design of making use of words as exactly corresponding to the Hebrew

¹ Epit. Rad. Heb. p. 882.

terms as possible, we shall find the word *Campester*, in it's several inflections, continually made use of. The reverse is, I should apprehend, a more true translation, and instead of an open, even, or champaign country, we are rather to understand the word as signifying here a district in which steep hills, frightful rocks, and difficult vallies, form a scene of dangerous *variety*.

The word in the original seems to involve in it the idea of *changeableness and variety*; but variety may be of an *alarming and dangerous kind*, as well as of a pleasing nature, and such seems to be the meaning of it here. Certainly the other parts of the description express what was dangerous and horrid; this word then must do the same, and consequently if it implies a varied country, it must mean of mountains with dangerous precipices, horrid rocks, and vallies difficult to pass, not a district of delightful varied scenes; and such, in fact, seems to be the nature of this desert.

It was Irwin's description, of part of this Wilderness, which first led me to this interpretation of the word here. I will set down some passages of his Journal that relate to this subject.

Instead of travelling in the night, as he had proposed, to avoid the burning heat of the sun, he says, p. 294, "At seven o'clock we halted for the night. The Arabs tell us, that the roads are too *rugged and dangerous* to travel over in the dark." Under the next

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day, " We reached the foot of a prodigious high
 " mountain, which we cannot ascend in the
 " dark." The following day he tells us, p. 295,
 296, " By six o'clock we had accoutred our
 " camels, and leading them in our hands,
 " began to ascend the mountain on foot.
 " As we mounted the *steep*, we frequently
 " blessed ourselves that we were not riding,
 " as the path was so narrow, the least false
 " step must have sent the beast down the
 " *bordering precipice.*" Under another day
 he remarks, that the greatest part of that
 day's journey was " *over a succession of hills*
 " *and dales*, where the road was so *intricate*
 " *and broken*, that nothing but a camel could
 " get over it. The appearance of the road
 " is *so frightful* in many places, that we do
 " not wonder, why our people have hitherto
 " laid by in the night." P. 305.

In the whole of Irwin's journey, in this
 Ægyptian desert, he was led to make observa-
 tions of a similar kind, but it must be quite
 unnecessary to multiply quotations, descriptive
 of the nature of this country with respect to
 variety, which here I suppose signifies *rugged-*
ness.

OBSERVATION CXC.

As the desert through which Irwin passed
 is not so a land of *drought* as to have no
 springs of water, though they are very few in

number, so it should seem it is not absolutely *without rain*.

For he tells us, p. 308, “As we over-
“ looked the precipices beside us, I discovered
“ several channels apparently worn with wa-
“ ter, and am convinced in my own mind,
“ from these and other signs, that either the
“ Nile formerly branched into this desert, or
“ rivers ran here whose springs are now
“ choaked up :

“ Dumb are their channels, and their fountains dry.”

But I should be inclined to suppose they were rather the tracks of *winter torrents*, than marks that branches of the Nile formerly flowed there, or that fountains ran in those places.

Maillet supposes indeed that very little rain falls at Cairo, and less above it, which is truth in the flat country; but it may be otherwise *among the lofty hills of the desert* through which Irwin passed. Maillet himself allows that the clouds are stopped by these mountains which come from the eastward, and that such a stopping is the cause of rain in the *Red-Sea*, which frequently happens¹. But, surely! some may fall among the mountains of this desert, as well as on the *outside* of this range of hills.

But if it should not be so in this particular desert, certainly very cold rains descend in

¹ Let. 1, p. 16, 17.

some of the hilly parts of these South-eastern countries¹. Those words of *Job* then may be a very just description²: “The poor
 “ of the earth hide themselves together.
 “ Behold, as wild asses in the desert, go they
 “ forth to their work, rising betimes for a
 “ prey; the Wilderness yieldeth food for them,
 “ and for their children — They cause the
 “ naked to lodge without clothing, that they
 “ have no covering in the cold. They are
 “ wet with the showers of the mountains,
 “ and embrace the rock for want of a
 “ shelter.”

Irwin found the cold of that desert he passed through very severe at times; had he passed it three or four months later, he might possibly have been incommoded with *wet* too.

OBSERVATION CXCI.

Irwin farther describes the mountains of the desert of Thebais, as sometimes so steep and dangerous, as to induce even very *bold and hardy* travellers to avoid them, by taking a large circuit; and that, for want of proper knowledge of the way, such a wrong path may be taken, as may on a sudden bring them into the greatest dangers; while, at other

¹ Albertus Aquensis gives an account of severe cold rain and snow in the mountains near Edom, and the land of Uz. *Gesta Dei*, p. 307.

² Ch. 24. 4—8.

times, a dreary waste may extend itself so prodigiously, as to make it difficult, without assistance, to find the way to a proper outlet. All which show us the meaning of those words of the song of Moses, Deut. xxxii. 10. "He led him *about*, he instructed him, he kept him as the apple of his eye."

Jehovah certainly instructed Israel in religion, by delivering to him his law in this Wilderness; but it is not, I presume, of this kind of teaching Moses speaks, as Bishop Patrick supposes, but God's instructing Israel how to avoid the dangers of the journey, by leading the people about this and that dangerous precipitous hill, directing them to proper passes through the mountains, and guiding them through the intricacies of that difficult journey, which might, and probably would, have confounded the most consummate Arab guides. They that could have safely enough conducted a small caravan of travellers through this desert, might have been very unequal to the task of directing such an *enormous* multitude, encumbered with cattle, women, children, and utensils.

The passages of Irwin, that establish the observation I have been making, follow here. "At half past eleven we resumed our march, and soon came to the foot of a prodigious hill, which we unexpectedly found we were to ascend. It was perpendicular, like the one we had passed some hours before; but what rendered the access more difficult, the path which we were to tread, was nearly

“ right up and down. The captain of the
 “ robbers¹, seeing the obstacles we had to
 “ overcome, wisely sent all his camels round
 “ the mountain, where he knew there was a
 “ *defile*, and only accompanied us with the
 “ beast he rode. We luckily met with no
 “ accident in climbing this height.” P. 325.
 They afterwards descended, he tells us, into a
 valley, by a passage easy enough, and stopping
 to dine at half past five o'clock, they were
 joined by the other Arabs, who had made an
 astonishing march to overtake them, p. 326.

“ We soon quitted the dale, and ascended
 “ the high ground by the side of a moun-
 “ tain, that overlooks it in this part. The
 “ path was narrow and perpendicular, and
 “ much resembled a ladder. To make it
 “ worse, we preceded the robbers; and an
 “ ignorant guide among our own people led
 “ us astray. Here we found ourselves in a
 “ pretty situation! We had kept the lower
 “ road on the side of the hill, instead of that
 “ towards the summit, until we *could proceed*
 “ *no further*. We were now obliged to gain
 “ the heights, in order to recover the road;
 “ in performing which, we drove our poor
 “ camels up such steeps, as we had the great-
 “ est difficulty to climb after them. We were
 “ under the necessity of leaving them to them-
 “ selves; as the danger of leading them through
 “ places, where the least false step would have

¹ The plundering Arabs who were so friendly to *them*.

“ precipitated

“ precipitated both man and beast to the unfathomable abyss below, was too critical to hazard. We hit at length upon the proper path, and were glad to find ourselves in the rear of our unerring guides, the robbers, after having won every foot of the ground with real peril and fatigue.”

P. 324.

Again. “ Our road, after leaving the valley, lay over level ground. As it would be *next to an impossibility* to find the way over these stony flats, where the heavy foot of a camel leaves no impression, the different bands of robbers have heaped up stones, at unequal distances, for their direction through this desert. We have derived great assistance from the robbers in this respect, who are our guides *when the marks either fail*, or are unintelligible to us.”

These predatory Arabs were more successful guides to Mr. Irwin and his companions, than those he brought with him from Ghinnah; but the march of Israel, through deserts of the like nature, was through such an extent and variety of country, and in such circumstances, as to multitude and incumbrances, as to make a divine interposition necessary. The openings through the rocks seem to have been prepared by him, to whom all things from the beginning of the world were foreknown, with great wisdom and goodness, to enable them to accomplish this stupendous march.

OBSERVATION CXCII.

When Moses mentioned Israel's being fed with fish, collected from the Red-Sea, he seems to have supposed something of an *extraordinary* kind; but analogous to what had happened to several people, in *small companies*, not any thing *miraculous*.

The passage is this: " You have wept in
 " the ears of the Lord, saying, Who shall give
 " us *flesh* to eat? for it was well with us in
 " Ægypt: therefore the Lord will give you
 " *flesh*, and ye shall eat—even an whole month
 " —And Moses said, The people amongst
 " whom I am, are six hundred thousand foot-
 " men; and thou hast said, I will give them
 " flesh, that they may eat a whole month.
 " Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for
 " them, to suffice them? or shall all the fish
 " of the sea be gathered together for them" (or
 rather to them) " to suffice them?" Numb.
 xi. 18, &c. It farther appears, from that
 passage at length, that they were to eat of it a
 whole month, not *sparingly*, but plentifully.

In answer to the divine declaration, Moses proposed a difficulty in accomplishing this promise, in the *natural* course of things; not as imagining it could not be done by a miracle; he could not but know, that he that rained down manna, could, by a *miracle*, gorge them with flesh; but in the common course of things, or in the natural, though more
 unusual

unusual operation of Providence, could it be brought about? that was what puzzled Moses.

Flocks, and a few oxen, they had with them for the solemnities of sacrifice; but could a part of them, with any additions that might be procured from the people on the skirts of the desert, be sufficient to support them a whole month? Fish might be obtained from the Red-Sea, from which, it seems, they were not very distant, but could it be expected they would come in such numbers to the shore, within their reach, as fully to satisfy the cravings of their appetites, day after day, for a whole month?

The ground of this enquiry, with respect to the flesh of quadrupeds, is visible to all: they had frequently tasted of their flesh in feasts, generally of a sacred nature, sometimes, perhaps, of a less devout kind. But how came Moses to think of fish?

Irwin explains it, by observing, that a little lower down, towards the straits of Babel-mandel, he found fish in abundance in the Red-Sea; that the Arabs were very expert in catching them; and that great quantities were to be picked up, from time to time, on the sand-banks, which are extremely numerous in the Red-Sea.

There is no reason to believe, that Israel had not tasted fish in some of their encampments, of which some are expressly said to have been near the Red-Sea, Numb. xxxiii. 10, 11; and others

others are known to have been on that coast, or not far from it, where no mention is made of that circumstance in the sacred writings. And there can be no reason to doubt, that since many of them found fish so gustful to their palates, but that they would endeavour to make use of that opportunity for gratifying themselves. *Manna* was an additional supply, only intended to make up a sufficiency of food; not designed to be exclusive of every other species of it. If the modern Arabs are so dexterous at catching fish now, the ancient *Ægyptians*, we have reason to believe, were so anciently, and the low and oppressed state of *Israel* in that country, will not allow us to believe, that they did not exert themselves with equal assiduity, and, in consequence of continual use, with equal success. “We remember the fish which we did eat in *Ægypt* freely,” was a part of their moan, ver. 5.

After these observations, I will no longer delay giving my reader the pleasure of those extracts from Mr. Irwin, that relate to this matter. I will set the passages down as they arise.

P. 82. “We caught some beautiful *rock-fish* in the evening, with our hooks. They were well tasted, and encouraged us to hope for such refreshments at other places on the coast.” The next day, but in the same page, “We amused ourselves, during the morning, in catching fish, which readily take the bait here.” Two days after he says, “The reef at low-water is every where
“ dry,

“ dry, and we then pick up *plenty of fish*
“ among the crevices of the rocks. While
“ we have this supply, *we shall not be at a loss*
“ *for provisions.*” P. 85. “ These fellows’
“ *dexterity in fishing,*” speaking of the Arab
sailors, “ cannot be sufficiently admired ; and
“ wherever we are, we may depend upon our
“ master for a dish of excellent fish. At low
“ water the reef appears some feet above the
“ level of the sea, and *our table was not unpro-*
“ *vided with it’s usual service.* This circum-
“ stance is very favourable to this coasting
“ voyage ; as, whatever other hardships they
“ may endure, *the want of provision is not felt*
“ by the mariners.” P. 99, 100. Nor are
those the only places in which he mentions
the abundance of fish in this sea¹.

Now though these fish were found at a considerable distance from this station of the Israelites, yet as the Red-Sea, in general, is said to abound in fish, and the same rocks and sand-banks appear more or less every where there, I can make no doubt but that Israel had before this got, by their art in fishing, and from the banks of sand and holes in the rocks at *low-water*, considerable quantities, though by no means such quantities as were sufficient, without other food, or even to satisfy them upon the foot of eating a delicacy. Moses, however, with much less knowledge than he really possessed, for he was learned in all the

¹ P. 47, 90.

wisdom of the Ægyptians¹, might have known that fish migrate, and are often found, at particular times, in very great quantities, where at other times few or none are seen. This is not only known in the North, and among us of this country, as to herrings, but to the vulgar Ægyptians too, as we are assured by Monsieur Maillet, who mentions some circumstances that are not a little strange. “What is surprising,” says this writer, speaking of the astonishing quantity of fish in the Nile, and its dependencies, “is, that there
 “are hardly any of the sorts found there
 “which are taken in the rivers of Europe,
 “excepting the eel. It is, however, true,
 “that in December, January, and February,
 “they catch very good *herring* here. What
 “will surprise you is, that this kind of fish
 “is only found in the neighbourhood of
 “Cairo; that none are taken at Rosetto, and
 “very few at Damietta, past which cities
 “however they must go in ascending to the
 “first-mentioned place. This odd appearance
 “of nature deserves attention².”

If Moses knew what the vulgar of Ægypt now know, and which their sages in ancient days must, at least, have remarked, he could be no stranger to that change of place that may be observed as to fish, and their crowding together at certain times; and to some such a *natural*, but surprising and unknown

¹ Acts 7. 22.

² Let. 9, p. 25.

occurrence, as to the inhabitants of this sea, the words of Moses seem to point: “ Shall
“ the flocks and herds be slain for them? . . .
“ or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered
“ together” (by some natural impulse, to this place, for a month or more, which none of us have had any notion of, nor received any information about,) “ to suffice them?” Such is, I apprehend, the *spirit* of these words.

OBSERVATION CXCIII.

Irwin complains heavily of the *slowness* of the navigation of the Red-Sea, owing to the number of rocks on that coast, the numerous banks of sand, and the unfavourableness of the wind, to those that want to go up towards the north end of this sea, or gulph¹: upon which he remarks, that by their mode of coasting alone, he could easily conceive Ulysses to have been ten years rounding the shores of Greece; without the intervention of any enmity, but what the mariner may expect from the winds and waves².

Surely the observation might be better applied to the time consumed by Solomon's navy, in fetching gold from Ophir, though he had the assistance of Hiram's subjects, and that

¹ The southerly winds prevail only in December, January, and February; and at the changes of the moon, they are sometimes felt for a day or two in the other months, p. 140.

² Voy. up the Red-Sea, p. 84.

the Tyrians were the most skilful navigators of the world in those times. Solomon's navy failed *precisely in the same sea* with Irwin, and were gone but *three years*¹. The adventures of Ulysses took up ten years, on a less dangerous coast.

They often dared not sail on the Red-Sea by night, and there are particular places, he tell us, on that coast, which vessels are obliged to reach during the day, or else they must, at times, run back to the birth which they left, for want of anchoring ground².

In a light open boat, they took up very near a month in ascending from Yambo to Cape Mahomet, which, according to Niebuhr's chart of the Red-Sea, is not quite one fourth of the way from Suez to the strait of Babel-mandel. What time must a large ship, laden with riches, that required the most cautious management, have anciently taken up, in returning from Ophir? to which must be added the expence of time in going down the Red-Sea, which, though less, was not inconsiderable³.

Rocks

¹ 1 Kings 10. 22, 2 Chron. 9. 21.

² P. 71.

³ Even our own ships meet sometimes with great delays. In p. 106, 107, he tells us, the great Judda annual ship sails in the proper month, and in "following the track
" which we have gone, as near as possible, she is generally
" fifty days, or two months, on her voyage to Suez; and,
" as it has happened this year, from some accident or other,
" she sometimes gets no farther than Tor. To fail in the
" performance of so short a voyage, in the most favourable
" season of the year, would be an inexplicable circum-
" stance

Rocks have been, anciently and of late, made use of as places of refuge on the land by the people of the East; but they are not, perhaps, looked upon in that light at sea. It seems, however, that it is customary *there* to fasten their vessels to some of the rocks, that are spread like a net¹ all over the Arabian coast. For want of anchoring ground, we are informed, they fasten to such rocks there as are proper for their purpose: “As the boat approaches the reef, one of the crew jumps from the fore-castle, with an hook in each hand, and, diving under the reef, fastens the hooks to the *rocks*, which are rendered porous by the water. The boat rides here in smooth water, with her sides almost touching the rocks².” And sometimes, when the wind blew very strong, their Arabs made their boat fast with another rope, by a turn round a pointed *rock*³.

“stance to a mariner unacquainted with the navigation of this *extraordinary* coast. To us who are no strangers to the course, the wonder is, how a vessel of her great burden, and unwieldy structure, can accomplish the passage at all.”

¹ P. 89.

² P. 71.

³ P. 85.

C H A P. X.

MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS.

OBSERVATION CXCIV.

WHEN the prophet describes the Israelites as being carried to Jerusalem, by the Gentile nations, as an offering was carried thither in a clean vessel¹: some have understood it to mean with songs²; and others understand it of pomp and joy in general: though there may be cleanliness without either songs or magnificence. Commentators too suppose that the vessel in which an oblation was wont to be carried, was well cleaned before it was applied to that use³. But all this, put together, expresses imperfectly, I apprehend, the thought of the prophet.

1. Very *different things* were sent as sacred presents to the house of God: we have an instance of this in the history of King Saul: “ Then shalt thou go on forward from thence, “ and thou shalt come to the plain of Tabor, “ and there shall meet thee three men going “ up to God to Beth-el, one carrying three “ kids, and another carrying three loaves of

¹ If. 66. 20.
Poli Syn. in loc.

² The Septuagint.

³ Vide

“ bread,

“ bread, and another carrying a bottle of wine,” 1 Sam. x. 3. The word *minchah*, used in the original, and translated here offering, and which seems commonly to be used for offerings of the bread kind, might be applied to all these things: for, as in secular matters, it stands for presents of any kind—*cattle*, Gen. xxxii. 13, &c; *balm, honey, spices, myrrh, pistachio nuts, and almonds*, Gen. xliii. 11; so it expresses *live-offerings* to God, as well as *inanimate oblations*, as is evident from a passage in Malachi, (ch. i. 13, 14,) “ Ye brought that which was *torn*, and *the lame*, and *the sick*; thus ye brought an offering” (*minchah*): “ Should I accept this of your hands? saith the Lord. But cursed be the deceiver, which hath in his *flock* a male, and voweth and sacrificeth unto the Lord a corrupt thing.”

2. It is believed that such things were carried to the house of God with *great pomp*, and therefore undoubtedly in very *clean vessels*¹, if any of them were of such a nature as to make such an assistance necessary, or agreeable. The passage of Isaiah, I just now quoted, shows, that when they went to the house of God, on more solemn occasions, it was with the pomp of music playing before them, “ Ye shall have a song, as in the night when a holy

¹ So the word in this passage translated *clean*, signifies magnificence, or glory, in Pf. 89. 44, and is accordingly so translated in our version of that passage.

“ solemnity is kept, and gladness of heart, as
 “ when one goeth *with a pipe* to come into
 “ the mountain of the Lord, to the Mighty
 “ One of Israel.”

When the first fruits were carried to the Sanctuary, according to the Jewish writers, *an ox went before them with gilded horns, and an olive crown upon his head*¹, and the pipe played before them, until they approached near to Jerusalem. When they came to Jerusalem, they crowned their first fruits, (that is, they exposed them to sight in as much glory as they could, Lightfoot says,) and the chief officers of the Temple went out to meet them².

It is natural to suppose something of this pomp attended their *voluntary oblations*³: certainly *cleanliness*, essential to Levitical pomp, though the lowest part of it.

And I should suppose the baskets, or their vessels, in which *loaves of bread, cakes*, and other things were carried, were not merely carefully *cleaned*, but that they were generally, if not *always, new*. This would appear most respectful; and be thought most effectual for guarding against impurity and defilement. The Eastern people seem to have made *newness* an important quality, where they would ex-

¹ The heathens adorned their sacrifices in something of the same manner, according to Acts 14. 13.

² Lightfoot, vol. 2, p. 307.

³ The cattle might be adorned with garlands, if their horns were not gilded.

prefs respect, as well as where purity is particularly required.

I have frequently remarked this in the accounts given by travellers of the people of the East'. Most probably then the Jewish people carried their sacred presents in new vessels: however, *freedom from pollution* was the main thing about which they were concerned.

3. The application of *blood* to such vessels must have been esteemed, in particular, very polluting: "Do ye abide without the camp," said Moses to Israel, "seven days: whosoever hath killed any person, and whosoever hath touched any slain, purify both yourselves and your captives, on the third day, and on the seventh day. And purify all your raiment²."

But in such long journies as are supposed in this passage, when Israel should be brought from among the nations to their own land, they might be obliged to *shed blood* in their own defence. This is supposed in that passage of the book of Ezra, in which Ezra saith, speaking of his taking much such a journey as Isaiah refers to, (coming up from Babylon to Jerusalem, in consequence of a Persian prince's favouring the return of the Jews, of those times, into the country of their forefathers,) "I was ashamed to require of the king a band of soldiers and horsemen, to

¹ They generally have new clothes for the celebration of their religious festivals. ² Numb. 31. 19, 20.

“ help us against the enemy in the way: be-
 “ cause we had spoken unto the king, saying,
 “ The hand of our God is upon all them for
 “ good, that seek him, but his power and his
 “ wrath is against all them that forsake him.”
 Ezra viii. 22.

The carrying then of Israel to the land of their forefathers, as oblations were wont to be carried to the Temple in a clean (in an unpolluted) vessel, seems to intimate, that they should meet with no enemies to oppose their passage thither, and occasion the shedding of blood. That seems to be the *principal* thought; though, very probably, the ideas of magnificence and joy might be united with that of peace.

The Mohammedan pilgrims to Mecca have, in our times, soldiers to guard them in their journey, and are themselves commonly armed; yet, notwithstanding, are sometimes set upon, pillaged, and abused, according to Niebuhr, on the account of misunderstandings with the Bedouin Arabs¹. He mentions several late instances, but says nothing, in that passage, of the Arabs *slaughtering*, lately, many of the pilgrims, as well as their military protectors, which yet it seems was the fact. But no bloodshed, according to the prophet, was to attend the bringing Israel back to the holy city: neither of those returning Jews, nor of their conductors, nor of any enemies that should

¹ Niebuhr, *Descript. de l'Arabie*, p. 330, 331.

oppose their passage. They were to be presented an unpolluted offering to God.

That the Mecca pilgrims were not many years since slaughtered in considerable numbers, as well as robbed, appears from the Memoirs of the Baron de Tott¹: “Constantinople, at the same time, received intelligence, that the admiral’s ship, while the officers and the greater part of the men were on shore, had been seized on, and carried into Malta, by the slaves who were on board; and that the caravan, notwithstanding it was escorted by the pacha, with soldiers and artillery, had been attacked and cut in pieces by the Arabs of the desert. By these two catastrophes, the superstition and vanity of the nation were hurt at the same time.” They were on the way from Mecca to Damascus, and it was said, in the papers of that time, that the pilgrims were 50 or 60,000 in number. Their perishing in such numbers, in so sacred a journey, must certainly have hurt their superstition; and their vanity, as effected by the despised and injured Arabs.

A violent commotion, the Baron tells us, was apprehended, but prevented by the artful management of the vizier, and “as to the unhappy pilgrims of the caravan, they were looked upon as so many *martyrs*².” It is evident then from this writer, who lived long

¹ Vol. 1, part 1, p. 127.

² P. 130.

in Turkey, that they were not only *plundered*, but very many of them *slaughtered*. The time when Constantinople was thus filled with lamentation, and apprehensions of a commotion, from these events, was the beginning of the reign of Sultan Mustapha III, who succeeded his brother Osman in the beginning of October, 1757.

OBSERVATION CXCIV.

I have taken notice of the traces of rain found in the desert between the Nile and the Red-Sea; and I would here remark, that rain sometimes is found to fall in that part of the desert which lies on the Eastern side of the Red-Sea, where Israel wandered so many years, which circumstance is referred to in the Scripture, and therefore claims some attention among the other Observations contained in these papers.

Pitts, in his return to Ægypt from Mecca, which he visited on a religious account, found rain in this desert. His words are as followeth': " We travelled through a certain valley, which is called by the name of *Attasb el Wait*, i. e. the *River of Fire*, the vale being so excessively hot, that the very water in their goat-skins hath sometimes been dried up with the gloomy, scorching heat.

' P. 159.

" But

“ But we had the happiness to pass through
 “ it *when it rained*, so that the fervent heat
 “ was much allayed thereby; which the *bag-*
 “ *ges*¹ looked on as a great *bleffing*, and did
 “ not a little praise God for it.”

This naturally reminds us of a passage in the 68th Psalm, “ Thou, O God, didst send
 “ a plentiful rain, whereby thou didst con-
 “ firm thine inheritance when it was weary²,”
 speaking of God’s going before his people when they came out of Ægypt, and entered upon their sojourning in this Wilderness.

The Mohammedan pilgrims that were with Pitts, do not seem to have wanted water to drink, but the fall of the rain, it seems, was highly acceptable to them, on account of cooling the air in a place where, from it’s situation, it was frequently wont to be extremely hot.

One of the first things that occurs, to a thinking mind, upon reading this passage of the Psalmist, is, an enquiry whether this rain was miraculous, or a common exertion of the power of the God of nature, though under the direction of a gracious providence. It seems now, from this account of Mr. Pitts, to have been the last, and not contrary to the common course of things in that Wilderness.

The time of year when Pitts passed through this desert is not exactly known. In his youth he was taken by the Algerines, and his having,

¹ Pilgrims.

² Verse 9.

in consequence, forgotten our way of computing time, must be admitted as a just apology for his omitting dates. It is however certain that it was in the *latter end* of the year, probably some time in *December* ¹.

No mention is made of this merciful shower in the books of Moses, so far as I remember; but as we are told in the Psalm, immediately after, of the fleeing of kings, if the circumstances referred to here are ranged in exact order, it must have been before the Amalekites set upon Israel in *Rephidim*; but there can be no dependence upon that, especially as mention is made of *Sinai* in a preceding verse, and in the outset of the description of God's marching before his people through the Wilderness.

OBSERVATION CXCVI.

It was soon found to be advantageous, in point of ease and healthfulness both, to have

¹ It should seem, by circumstances, he was at Mecca in the year 1685 or 1686, and consequently it will be found by calculation, and an attention to various circumstances, that he arrived at Grand Cairo, along with the caravan of pilgrims, in their return, about the close of the year, according to our reckoning. In their month of Ramadan he found a very considerable shower of rain fell at Mecca, which must therefore probably have been some time in *August*; which earliness of the rain, in that country, and its quantity, deserves a good deal of notice. His account of this rain is in p. 83 and 127.

a carpet,

a *carpet*, or some soft and rather thick cloth, spread upon the ground on which persons sat who dwelt in tents, which we find in after times were made use of too by the inhabitants of *houfes*.

How soon this began to be practised it is impossible to say, but it is proved to have been in use, even in their *temples*, as early at least as the days of Amos, as appears by a passage in that prophet: "They lay themselves down upon clothes laid to pledge, by every altar." I would make some remarks on this passage.

It appears, in the first place, that when they held their idolatrous feasts, in the temples dedicated to the gods worshipped by the heathens of those countries, they sat upon the ground. Next, that they sat not on the bare earth, or marble pavement of those temples, they had something soft and dry, perhaps warm, spread under them. Thirdly, That these things were not part of the furniture of such places, they were brought *occasionally* by the worshippers themselves, for they were things taken for a pledge by these worshippers that the prophet speaks of. Farther, when they are called clothes, I would observe, it is by no means necessary to suppose the word meant dresses worn in the day, or designed for that purpose; it appears, from 1 Kings i. 1, that the word may mean the coverings of the body

¹ Amos 2. 8.

for the *night*, as well as those for the day¹. Lastly, That the coverings of their beds were either *carpets*, or what might with sufficient commodiousness be used as such.

When it was dark, says Dr. Chandler², *three coverlets, richly embroidered, were taken from a press in the room which we occupied, and delivered, one to each of us; the carpet or sofa, and a cushion, serving, with this addition, instead of a bed.*

After this confirmation of the last particular, I would go on, and next observe, that such carpets, or embroidered coverlets, would be neither an improper pledge for money borrowed, or disgrace the pomp of an heathen temple³.

So then it is sufficiently plain, that in the days of *Amos* carpets were made use of; that they sat upon them when laid on the ground, and that when they feasted in the most magnificent and solemn manner. It doth not however follow, that this mode of sitting at taking their repasts has prevailed among the Eastern

¹ "Now King David was old, and stricken in years; and they covered him with *clothes*, but he gat no heat."—So, in our language, we talk of *bed-clothes*, as well as clothes worn in the day-time.

² Travels in Asia Minor, towards the beginning.

³ That their bed-coverings were wont to be pledged, not unfrequently, in those early times, appears from Exod. 22. 26, 27, "If thou at all take thy neighbour's raiment to pledge, thou shalt deliver it unto him by that the sun goeth down. For that is his covering only, it is his raiment for his skin: wherein shall he sleep?"

Jews from the age in which we live, without variation, up to the time of the prophet Amos, and from thence to the remotest generations. As the names of places were many of them changed, according to an observation of Mr. Maundrell¹, from Ammianus Marcellinus, when the Greeks and Romans were concerned in Syria, but never took with the natives, the places reassuming their first Oriental names, which continue to this day ; so it might very possibly be as to some customs : thus it should seem, that at the time of our Lord, they sat not with their legs crossed under them as now, at the sacred Paschal feast which he celebrated with his disciples, but *reclined* after the Roman manner, and consequently, in all probability, on carpets laid upon low couches.

With Roman customs fixed in their minds, our translators also use the term *lay down* here, (“ they lay themselves down on clothes laid “ to pledge,”) which the Hebrew word doth not determinately signify. The same objection, I doubt, may be made to the word *stretch*, which has been used in a late version ; for which the world is indebted to the learned Bishop of Waterford. Stretching themselves leads us, I should think, to the Roman attitude in their sacred feasts ; but placing themselves on those carpets, in the manner *used* at *that time* in that country, when people partook of an idolatrous feast, is indisputably what is,

¹ P. 54.

in the general, meant. As to the precise attitude, the word signifies the spreading out a tent, (Gen. xxxiii. 19,) which much better answers a man's being placed in the present Eastern way, than the lying along according to the Roman mode, which would be much more exactly resembled by a tent just taken down, and laid along upon the ground, previous to it's removal, than the setting one up.

Before this passage is totally dismissed, it may not be amiss just to consider, why the circumstance of being *clothes that were taken to pledge* is mentioned here. Attending an idolatrous feast must have been undoubtedly wrong in these Israelites; but of what consequence was it to remark, that some of them seated themselves on carpets that had been put into their hands *by way of pledge*? It may be answered: that it might be galling to those that had been obliged to pledge these valuable pieces of furniture secretly, to have them thus publicly exposed; that it may insinuate that these idolatrous zealots detained them, when they ought to have been restored; and that they subjected them to be injured, in the tumult of an extravagant and riotous banquet in an heathen temple; to which may be added, that they might belong to some of their countrymen who abhorred those idols, and might consider them as dishonoured, and even dreadfully polluted, by being so employed.

* Ezek. 18. 7, 12, 16, ch. 33. 15.

With respect to the last of these circumstances but one, (the being injured in extravagant and riotous banquetting,) I would remark, that they are wont, in their common repasts, to take great care that their carpets are not soiled, by spreading something over them¹; but in public solemnities they affect great carelessness about them, as a mark of their respect and profound regard. Thus de la Vallé, describing the reception the Armenians of Ispahan gave the king of Persia, in one of their best houses, when he had a mind to attend at the celebration of their *Epiphany*, says, after the ceremonies were over, he was conducted to the house of Chogia Sefer, a little before deceased, where his three sons and his brother had prepared every thing for his reception: “ All the floor of the house, and
 “ all the walks of the garden, from the gate
 “ next the street to the most remote apart-
 “ ments, were covered with carpets of broca-
 “ tel, of cloth of gold, and other precious
 “ manufactures, which were *for the most part*
 “ *spoiled*, by being trampled upon by the feet
 “ of those that had been abroad in the rain,
 “ and their shoes very dirty: their custom
 “ being not to put them off at entering into
 “ an house, but only at the door of the apart-
 “ ments, and the places where they would sit
 “ down².”

¹ Ruffell's Descript. of Aleppo, p. 105.

² Tome 5, p. 45.

At the same time that the prophet complains, that they fixed themselves in their idolatrous repasts on the clothes they had taken to pledge, he adds, according to our version, “ And they drink the wine of the condemned “ in the house of their God.” Perhaps it may not be amiss, a little to consider that clause too before I finish this paper.

It is admitted by all, that *wine* was used in the sacred feasts of the heathen : if it were at all doubted, Judges ix. 27. might be alledged as a proof of it : “ They went out into the “ fields, and gathered their vineyards, and “ trod the grapes, and made merry, and went “ into the house of their God, and did eat “ and *drink*, and cursed Abimelech,” i. e. expressed their malevolence towards him in the *songs* they sung, on that occasion, in the temple.

But the difficulty is to determine who are meant by the term translated the condemned. Now, if the one clause of the prophet *accurately* answers the other, it should seem to mean those whose vineyards were seized by these idolaters, that had made *usurious contracts* with their poor brethren.

Nothing is more common with the prophets, in their complaints against Israel, than the joining together the detaining of pledges and usury. Ezek. xviii. 8, 13, 17. are proofs of it. When they lent on usury, on failure of complying with their exorbitant demands, they were wont to seize on the lands and *vine-*

yards of those that were indebted to them. Neh. v. is a proof of this. The same chapter shows this course of procedure was esteemed, by the virtuous Jews, extremely cruel and oppressive, and is, I imagine, what Amos inveighs against here—the drinking in their idolatrous temples the produce of those vineyards they had seized upon, and kept in their hands, because their usurious demands were not complied with: the original word, which signifies *mulcted*, may well be understood, I think, after this manner, as it means not only paying a penalty fixed by law, but being oppressed with an *arbitrary* exaction¹.

“The wine of the *condemned*,” I should think rather an unhappy translation, as it leads the imagination, to think of such an idolatrous feast as *Abab* might have held with his lords, after having got possession of the *vineyard of Naboth*, unjustly condemned to death: a crime too atrocious, to be paired with the detaining and making use of valuable carpets left as a pledge in their hands. The rendering it “the wine of men punished by *unjust fines*,” leads us to think of the injustice of courts of judicature, instead of the oppressions of common life, to which the other clause refers: not to say that pecuniary mulcts were to be given to the injured, and if seized

¹ Which appears from the use of the word, 2 Kings 23. 33, and 2 Chron. 36. 3.

² See the Bishop of Waterford's Transl. of the Minor Prophets.

upon by the judge ¹, their being made use of for an idolatrous purpose would not easily appear, if they really were applied to that purpose; while the drinking wine in a temple, by those who oppressively held the vineyards of other people in their hands, and used the wine produced by them for their drinking on all occasions, and consequently when they drank their own wine in an idolatrous temple, was apparent to every eye.

Especially if it was the new wine produced by these vineyards, which seems to have been the case when the men of Shechem went into an *heathen temple*, and eat, and drank, and cursed Abimelech, according to a passage just now cited from the book of Judges. So Dr. Chandler, in his travels in the Lesser Asia, could only obtain a few *boiled eggs, some grapes and bread*, in one village; while another furnished them with a dish of *boiled wheat, some must of wine, with honey*, but in a very small quantity ².

OBSERVATION CXCVII.

Much of the *distinguishing spirit* of a passage of St. Peter is, I think, lost, when it is understood as descriptive of the *immoralities of common life*; it is rather to be considered,

¹ As is now frequently done, very unrighteously, in the East.

² P. 171.

I should apprehend, as giving an account of the *polluted nature* of what the heathens called *sacred* transactions.

The words of St. Peter are, “ For the
 “ time past of our life may suffice us to have
 “ wrought the *will of the Gentiles*, when we
 “ walked in *lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine,*
 “ *revellings, banquetings*, and abominable ido-
 “ latries.” 1 Ep. iv. 3.

Commentators have not been exact in distinguishing *one species of sinfulness* from another here, which yet must be highly requisite, when the faults of *common life* are supposed to be intended; nor do they seem to understand the passage as having any reference to *Gentile worship*, except the last clause, “ abominable idolatries.” Whereas I should suppose, the five particulars are intended to point out those circumstances that made their idolatries *more especially abominable*. All idolatry is represented as undoubtedly wrong, “ Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him
 “ *only* shalt thou serve,” Matt. iv. 10; but setting aside the consideration of it’s being wrong in it’s own nature, it might have been conducted, as to it’s circumstances, agreeably enough—it might have been modest and solemn. It seems to be the impropriety of the circumstances attending their idolatries, which the apostle points out by the word translated *abominable*, which word in the original, or a kindred term, is elsewhere translated *unlaw-*

lul', and means what is abhorrent *from all propriety and becomingness*, supposing the adoring the idol was in itself innocent.

If we should next set ourselves to consider what is *precisely* meant by the words here used, and which made their idolatries so detestable, independently of the evil of worshipping the creature instead of the Creator, I should suppose the first means lewd practices, the second irritation of their voluptuous desires, the next buffoonery, the two last riotous and excessive eating and drinking, which made their idolatries, which were otherwise wrong, still more detestable.

The third word I would more particularly endeavour to illustrate: it is *Οινοφλυγία*, translated in our version *excess of wine*, but should seem to mean *buffoonery through drinking too much wine*, if the words *φλυω* and *φλυζω*, from whence part of that compound word is derived, signify to trifle, to play the buffoon, as lexicographers tell us they do. All worship, and the conducting all matters supposed to be sacred, should be *with solemnity*.

To illustrate this, I would here present my reader with a passage of *Maillet*, who, after telling us that many traces of ancient heathenism remain in *Ægypt*, goes on to take notice of the *ridiculousness* of some of their present managements derived from that source. “ You

* Acts 10. 28.

“ can hardly imagine, fir, how many traces of
 “ this ancient religion are ftill met with in
 “ Ægypt, which have fubfifted there for fo
 “ many ages. In fact, without fpeaking of
 “ their paffion for pilgrimages, which not-
 “ withftanding it’s having changed it’s ob-
 “ ject, is nevertheless the fame; the modern
 “ Ægyptians have ftill the fame tafte for
 “ *proceffions*, that was remarked in their an-
 “ ceftors. There is perhaps no country in
 “ the world, where they are more frequent
 “ than here. All the difference that I find
 “ in the matter is, that the ancients practifed
 “ them in honour of their idols, and that the
 “ Ægyptians of our days perform them in
 “ honour of their fantons, or faints, who are
 “ not much better. As to what remains,
 “ there is no regularity in thefe ceremonies,
 “ neither in their way of walking, or in
 “ their veltments. Every one drefles him-
 “ felf as he likes; but thofe that are in the
 “ *moft grotesque, and moft ridiculous habits*, are
 “ always moft efteemed. Some dance; others
 “ caper; fome fhout; in one word, the great
 “ point is *who fhall commit moft follies in thefe*
 “ *extravagant mafquerades. The more they do,*
 “ *the more they believe themfelves poffeffed by*
 “ *the fpirit of their prophet*.”

If this is a copy of the old heathenifh pro-
 ceffions in honour of their idols, I think we may
 fafely admit it to be a very exact explanation

’ Lett. 10, p. 59, 60.

of the *Ονομαφυγίαι* of St. Peter, and which made their idolatries, which were wrong in themselves, so much the more abhorrent from all propriety.

With regard to the first of those five things mentioned by the apostle, and which relates to *acts of lewdness*, often attending heathen worship, a common Christian, unacquainted with the writings of the Greeks and Romans, may see what St. Peter meant, by reading a passage in the Apocrypha: “ To pollute also
 “ the temple in Jerufalem, and to call it the
 “ temple of *Jupiter Olympius*; and that in
 “ Garizim, of *Jupiter the defender of strangers*,
 “ as they did desire that dwelt in the place.
 “ The coming in of this mischief was sore
 “ and grievous to the people: for the temple
 “ was filled with riot and revelling, by the
 “ Gentiles, who *dallied with harlots*, and *had*
 “ *to do with women* within the circuit of the
 “ holy places; and besides that, brought in
 “ things that were not lawful. The altar also
 “ was filled with *profane* things which the
 “ law forbiddeth.” 2 Macc. vi. 2—5. Here we find obscene actions, and even whoredom, practised by the Gentiles, not directly to do dishonour to the temple of Jehovah; but in that structure after it was become the temple of Jupiter Olympius, consequently in his service.

The *more refined* morals and devotion of the *Mohammedans*, will not admit of my producing remains of heathenish worship, among them, entirely resembling this; but as to the
 second,

second, (*επιθεμιαι*), which expresses such managements as tended to excite *voluptuous desires*, Maillet has given us a curious account of that article, in the representation he has given of modern *Ægyptian pilgrimages*, derived from those of heathen antiquity.

“ I ought not to forget here a singular
 “ usage, which was constantly practised in
 “ this kind of voyages ¹. In all the places,
 “ where festivals of this kind were held, and
 “ at which the pilgrims always arrived by
 “ water, as they could not otherwise get
 “ there ², it was the custom to have a mock
 “ fight, between those that wanted to disembark and those of the place, or at least of the boat-men who had already landed. On those occasions they wet one another on the water’s edge; they tumbled one another into the Nile, from whence they came out soaked thoroughly with water; they treated one another at these times with much scurrilous language; ’till at length, after a pretty long struggle, in which the shirts and drawers were torn in pieces, the last-comers were always victorious over those that opposed their landing. This practice, observed generally in all those places in *Ægypt*, where any of these festivals were celebrated, was very particularly

¹ He is speaking of the ancient *Ægyptian water-pilgrimages*.

² On account of their being celebrated in the time the *Nile* overflowed.

“ in use at *Canopus*, where people went annually to visit a famous temple dedicated to *Serapis*. Whole troops of sailors were to be found there, who came thither on purpose to combat the inhabitants of that city, and after having obtained the victory, to make some advantage of the liberality of the spectators. Historians assure us, that of all spectacles which were presented at this festival, people were most pleased with these skirmishes. The most famous combatants were commonly only in drawers of silk, and without a shirt; so that when they seized hold of one another, they soon tore these drawers in pieces, and became stark naked. This spectacle occasioned never-ending shouts. In the mean while those that were reduced to this state took refuge in the water, while their adversaries made use of every method to force them out of it. After long combating, they without distinction presented themselves to all present with a basin in their hands. The women with one hand put in a piece of money, and were *supposed to cover their eyes with the other*. The men, at giving them money with one hand, had a right, by custom, to strike them with the other a severe blow with a bull’s pizzle, which they furnished themselves with for this very purpose. The poor wretches oftentimes received an hundred strokes to get a few halfpence, which they thus dearly earned.

“ To

“ To these festivals have since succeeded
 “ those of *Sidy Ibrahim*, of *Sidy Hamet the*
 “ *Bedouin*, and of many other *Turkish santons*,
 “ whose tombs are still visited every year with
 “ the same concourse of people, and *nearly*
 “ *the same ceremonies*. The oquelles of our
 “ days are used instead of the victualling
 “ boats of ancient times, and now, as for-
 “ merly, the dancing women, with the men
 “ (that attend them), are of the lowest
 “ class’.”

The men’s exposing their nudities in these combats tended to excite voluptuous desires in the women; and if these managements are now laid aside, as he only says, the visits paid to the tombs of the Turkish saints are with *nearly* the same ceremonies; yet we are sure the postures of the modern dancing women, of the East, are irritating to the last degree to the passions of the men, according to the complaint of many travellers, yet these, it seems, attend these Turkish *devotions*, derived from those of the ancient heathens.

I am sorry that I have to add, that if the heathens of the East, in the time of St. Peter, were surpris’d at finding that the converts to the Gospel would not run to the same excess of riot that they did, neither complying with the established religious ceremonies of their countrymen, or adopting new objects of veneration, but retaining similar managements

* Lett. 2, p. 81, 82.

to their's, he would have had but little cause for such a remark, had he lived in our times. "Coming to the church of the holy sepulchre," says Maundrell, speaking of the day in which the holy fire was expected to appear, "we found it crowded with a numerous and distracted mob, making an hideous clamour very unfit for that sacred place, and better becoming *Bacchanals* than Christians. Getting with some struggle through this crowd, we went up into the gallery, on that side of the church next the Latin convent, whence we could discern all that passed in this religious frenzy.

"They began their disorders, by running round the holy sepulchre with all their might and swiftness, crying out as they went *Huia*, which signifies *this is he*, or *this is it*; an expression by which they asserted the verity of the Christian religion. After they had by these vertiginous circulations and clamours turned their heads, and inflamed their madness, they began to act the most *antick* tricks and postures, in a thousand shapes of distraction. Sometimes they *dragged one another along the floor* all round the sepulchre; sometimes they set one man upright on another's shoulders, and in this posture marched round; sometimes they took men with their heels upward, and hurried them about in such an indecent manner, as to *expose their nudities*; sometimes they tumbled
" round

“ round the sepulchre, after the manner of
 “ *tumblers on the stage*. In a word, nothing
 “ can be imagined more *rude or extravagant*,
 “ than what was acted upon this occasion.”

He afterwards observes, that when the glimmering of the holy fire was seen through some chinks of the door of the sepulchre,
 “ certainly *Bedlam itself* never saw such an
 “ unruly transport, as was produced in the
 “ mob at this sight.”

Such mad pranks would have been called by St. Peter *Οινωφλυγίαι*, (actions like those done by men distracted by excess of wine,) but oh! how unbecoming the seriousness of the religion of Jesus, and the veneration they would be supposed to pay to the sacred sepulchre of our Lord!

OBSERVATION CXCVIII.

The ancient heathens were wont to paint their idols red: but we may be at a loss to guess why this colour should be chosen for a divinity, rather than another, and particularly why rather chosen than the *natural colour* of the human body.

Since they chose, in common, to give them an human form, one would have imagined they should rather have made the resemblance as complete as might be, and consequently painted them with the last-men-

¹ Journey, p. 94, 95, 96.

tioned colour. May we not conjecture that the practice of colouring them red, arose *originally* from their being set up in memory of *warriors*, remarkable for shedding much blood? Such a conjecture seems to be favoured by an observation made by Niebuhr, which shall be recited under this article.

That it was the custom of the heathens to colour them *red*, in the East, is remarked by the author of the Wisdom of Solomon, ch. xiii. 13, 14. The carpenter “carved it
“diligently when he had nothing else to do,
“and formed it by the skill of his under-
“standing, and fashioned it to the image of
“a man; or made it like some vile beast,
“laying it over with vermilion, and with paint,
“colouring it red, and covering every spot
“therein.”

As they covered them with *purple raiment*¹, the dress of *royalty*, agreeably enough to their known character of being the deified representations of *deceased kings*; they might, in like manner, besmear them with red paint, on the account of their being images of dead warriors, who had been often besmeared with blood.

This thought was suggested by what Niebuhr has said, concerning an Indian festival², in which they are said “to rub their clothes,
“their faces, and their hands, with yellow and
“red, in memory of the clothes of the hero of

¹ Baruch 6. 12.

² Voyages, tome 2, p. 22.

“ that solemnity’s being coloured with blood,
 “ and those of his attendants, in a battle they
 “ at that time commemorate. The Indians at
 “ that time run about the streets with their
 “ hands daubed with proper materials of these
 “ colours, and also syringes full of liquids of the
 “ same dyes, which they apply to those of their
 “ religion, and nobody pretends to wipe off these
 “ spots, since another would come in an instant
 “ and renew them.”

Is it then unnatural to suppose *red* was used at first, on the account of their images being set up in remembrance of princes who were great warriors, and deified on account of their success in war? Later painters have drawn angels in white, as a natural mode of expressing heavenly purity; and I cannot think of a more natural reason to be assigned for the painting the deities of the heathens red, than that I have proposed, deduced from this East-Indian solemnity.

From deified warriors the colour might come to be applied to idols of *every kind*, and to be considered as having something *god-like* in it.

But however that be, these Indians of the coast of Malabar, that daub themselves and their countrymen with yellow and red, in a solemnity that commemorates a great victory of one of their heroes, daub, in like manner, their *deities* with that colour: so Niebuhr informs us, in the same volume¹, that he found

¹ P. 32.

a chapel in the great pagode, or Indian temple which he visited, which is the only part of it which the Indians at present make use of, and that he found not only two figures there, of human shape with an elephant's head, lately rubbed with red colouring; but some heaps of rough unshaped stones also, which probably represented some subaltern divinity, or some hero or saint, for such are often found at Bombay upon the highway, and especially under certain trees, that the Indians look upon to be sacred.

The custom then the *apocryphal* writer mentions, seems to be of great extent among the heathen, and used not only as far as *Babylon*, but much farther, whether it arose from the cause I have been assigning, or some other.

Nor were sacred figures in human shape only thus adorned, or of *beasts* which this *apocryphal* writer mentions, but heaps of unhewn stones in like manner, which are supposed to be representatives of some being which they were disposed to worship.

The passage in *Arnobius*, quoted by the very learned *Grotius*, in his comment on this passage of the *Apocrypha*¹, is cited with great propriety to illustrate that clause, that mentions the *sacred images of beasts* being painted by the heathen, since *Arnobius* is speaking of the *sacred heads of lions*, whose consecrated *busts*, it seems, were thus coloured. That is clear and uncontrovertible in general; though

¹ *Adv. Gentes*, lib. 6, p. 196, ed. Lugd. Batav. 1651.

the learned seem to be very much puzzled, distinctly to explain what these lions heads were designed to represent¹, and Arnobius himself, who lived so many years back, and in the countries where these objects of worship were to be seen, seems not to have known, with precision, what they were designed to point out.

I cannot, by any means, adopt the sentiment of the learned Gebhartus Elmenhorstius², who (citing a passage from Pliny's Natural History, in which he observes that it was the custom *on festival days* to paint the face of the image of Jupiter with minium,) seems to suppose the painting Arnobius refers to was of the same kind. As they were water-colours, I apprehend, that the ancients made use of, they must of course be liable to be washed off, or at least to fade in the moist air of a temple, and the cheeks were therefore, I should imagine, repainted from time to time, to give the statue something more of the appearance of life; just as I remember Dr. Richard Chandler tells us, in his Travels through Greece³, he saw a child lay dead, dressed, it's hair powdered, the *face painted*, and farther bedecked with leaf-gold. This

¹ Vide Desid. Heraldus Animad. in Arnob. p. 242, ib. Whether modern antiquarians have made these lions heads the subject of their more successful disquisitions, I do not know.

² Observ. ad Arnob. ibid. p. 176.

³ P. 300.

was visibly to remove the ghastliness of death as much as possible, and to comfort the afflicted mother with something of the appearance of life, and of it's preceding beauty. But this could not be any part of the intention of painting the *face of a lion* with minium, which Arnobius speaks of; that was not it's natural colour.

OBSERVATION CXCIX.

There is a remarkable addition in the Septuagint to the sacred history concerning *Joshua*, which deserves attention, and naturally engages the mind to enquire, whether it was made by these Ægyptian translators of the Jewish Scriptures, in conformity to what they knew was practised in the *burials of Ægypt*; or whether it was, on that account, expunged by the Jewish critics from the Hebrew original.

The *Vatican* copy of the Septuagint has given us this addition, to the account that appears in the Hebrew copies, of the interment of Joshua, in the 30th verse of the 24th chapter of that book that bears his name:

“ There they put with him, into the sepulchre in which they buried him, the *knives*
 “ of *flint* with which he circumcised the children of Israel in Gilgal, when he brought
 “ them out of Ægypt, as the Lord command-
 “ ed

“ ed them; and they are there unto this
“ day ’.”

On the contrary, the famous Alexandrine copy of the Septuagint, and some others, have not these clauses.

Whether this superadded account is *spurious*, or not, there seems to be a manifest allusion to the manner in which the ancient Ægyptians were wont to bury their dead.

Maillet, in his papers, informs us, “ that
“ some time before he wrote, the principal
“ person of *Sacara*, a village near to the
“ plain where the mummies lie buried, caused
“ some of these subterraneous vaults to be
“ opened; and as he was very much my
“ friend, he communicated to me various cu-
“ riosities, a great number of mummies, of
“ wooden figures, and inscriptions in hiero-
“ glyphical and unknown characters, which
“ were found there. In one of these vaults
“ they found, for instance, the coffin and
“ embalmed body of a woman, before which
“ was placed a figure of wood, representing a
“ youth on his knees, laying a finger on his
“ mouth, and holding in his other hand a
“ sort of a chafing-dish, which was placed
“ on his head, and in which, without doubt,
“ had been some perfumes. This youth
“ had divers hieroglyphical characters on

Ἰ Εκκε εθηκαν μετ' αυτη εις το Μνημα εις ο εθαψαν αυτον εκει τας
μαχαιρας τας πελινιας, εν αις περιεγεμε της υιου Ισραηλ εν Γαλιλαοις,
οτε εξηγαγεν αυτου εξ Αιγυπτου, καθω συνελαξεν αυτοις κυριος· η εκει
εισιν εως της σημερον ημερας.

“ his stomach. They broke this figure in
 “ pieces, to see if there was no gold inclosed
 “ in it. There was found in the mummy,
 “ which was opened in like manner for the
 “ same reason, a small vessel, about a foot
 “ long, filled with the same kind of balsam
 “ with that made use of to preserve bodies from
 “ corruption. Perhaps this might be a mark
 “ by which they distinguished those persons
 “ who had been employed in embalming the
 “ dead’.”

He goes on: “ I caused another mummy to
 “ be opened, which was the body of a female,
 “ and which had been given me by the Sieur
 “ Bagarry. It was opened in the house of the
 “ capuchin fathers of this city².—This mum-
 “ my had it’s right hand placed upon it’s
 “ stomach, and under this hand were found
 “ the strings of a (musical) instrument, per-
 “ fectly well preserved. From hence I should
 “ conclude, that this was the body of a per-
 “ son that used to play on this instrument, or
 “ at least of one that had a great taste for
 “ music. I am persuaded, that if every mum-
 “ my were examined with the like care, we
 “ should find some sign or other by which
 “ the character of the party would be
 “ known.”

The burying of those knives of flint with
 Joshua must have been done, or supposed to
 have been done, as a mark of an event the

¹ Deser. de l’Egypte, p. 277, 278.

² Grand Cairo.

most remarkable of his life, in conformity to the Ægyptian modes of distinguishing the dead by tokens of a similar nature.

Whether I have been right in it, or not, I cannot say, but I have been sometimes inclined to conjecture, that the enjoining Joshua to make use of flints for the purpose of circumcising, at a time when the manufacturing of iron and brass was not unknown¹, might be derived from the customs of Ægypt. They that have given an account of the *Ægyptian way of embalming*, tell us, it was an Æthiopian stone, called *bafaltes*, that was used for opening the body to be embalmed, by which embalming it acquired a sort of immortality². In this view might he not be enjoined to use a like kind of knives for the circumcising the Israelites, which circumcision the Jews, of after times at least, looked upon as a token and pledge of their resurrection from the dead, never to return to corruption? The precept to use knives of this kind might be intended to give some expectation of this nature. The hope of a resurrection from the dead seems to have been no stranger to the breast of Job³, whose story, it is commonly believed, was written before Joshua assumed the government of the Jewish people⁴.

At worst, it is not the *most* improbable supposition that ever was formed.

¹ See Gen. 4. 22.
25, 26, 27.

² Greenhill, p. 251. ³ Job 19.
⁴ For it is apprehended that it was written by Moses.

OBSERVATION CC.

The Septuagint, in their translation, suppose that the children of Israel not only laid aside their ear-rings, and *such like* ornaments, in a time of professed deep humiliation before God, but their *upper, or more beautiful, garments* too. Moses says nothing of this last circumstance; but as it is a *modern* practice, so it appears by their version to have been as ancient as *their time*, and probably took place long before that.

The passage I refer to is in the 33d of Exodus, (verse 4—6,) “ When the people
 “ heard these evil tidings, they mourned: and
 “ no man did put on him his *ornaments*. For
 “ the Lord had said unto Moses, Say unto
 “ the children of Israel, Ye are a stiff-necked
 “ people: I will come up into the midst of
 “ thee in a moment, and consume thee:
 “ therefore now *put off thy ornaments* from
 “ thee, that I may know what to do unto
 “ thee. And the children of Israel stript
 “ themselves of their *ornaments*, by the Mount
 “ Horeb.”

The Septuagint gives us this as the translation of the passage¹, “ The people having

¹ Και ακουσας ο λαος το ρημα το πονηρον τειλο, κατεπενθησεν εν πενθικαις. Και ειπε κυριος τοις υιοις Ισραηλ, . . . νυν συν αφελεσθητας ΣΤΟΛΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΔΟΣΕΩΝ υμων, κη τον Κοσμον, κη δεϊξω σοι αποποιηση σοι. Και περιειλαντο οι υιοι Ισραηλ τον κοσμον αυτων, κη την περιβολην απο τε Ορησ τε Χωρηβ.

“ heard this sad declaration, mourned after
 “ the manner of mourners. And the Lord
 “ said to the children of Israel . . . Now
 “ therefore put off your *robes* of glory, and
 “ your *ornaments*, and I will shew you the
 “ things I will do unto you. And the chil-
 “ dren of Israel put off their ornaments and
 “ robes by the mount, by Horeb.”

If it had not been a custom to put off their upper garments, in times of deep mourning, in the days that the Septuagint translation was made, they would not have inserted this circumstance in the account Moses gives of their mourning, and concerning which he was silent. They must have supposed too that this practice *might* be in use in those elder times.

That it is now practised in the East, appears from the account Pitts gives of the ceremonies of the Mohammedan pilgrimage to Mecca. “ A few days after this, we came to
 “ a place called *Rabbock*, about four days sail
 “ on this side *Mecca*, where all the haggess¹
 “ (excepting those of the female sex) do enter
 “ into *birrawem*, or *ibram*, i. e. they take
 “ off all their clothes, covering themselves
 “ with two *birrawems*, or large white cotton
 “ wrappers; one they put about their *middle*,
 “ which reaches down to their ankles; the
 “ other they cover the *upper part* of the body
 “ with, except the *head*; and they wear no other

¹ Pilgrims.

“ thing on their bodies but these *wrappers*,
 “ only a pair of *gimgameea*, i. e. *thin-soled*
 “ *shoes*, like *sandals*, the over-leather of which
 “ covers only the toes, their insteps being all
 “ naked. In this manner, like humble *peni-*
 “ *tents*, they go from *Rabbock* ’till they come
 “ to *Mecca*, to approach the temple; many
 “ times enduring the *scorching* heat of the
 “ sun, ’till the very skin is *burnt* off their
 “ backs and arms, and their heads swollen to
 “ a very great degree¹.” Presently after he
 informs us, *that the time of their wearing this*
mortifying habit is about the space of seven days.
 Again, (p. 138,) “ It was a sight, indeed, able
 “ to pierce one’s heart, to behold so many
 “ thousands in their garments of *humility* and
 “ *mortification*, with their *naked heads*, and
 “ *cheeks watered with tears*; and to hear their
 “ *grievous sighs* and *sobs*, begging earnestly
 “ for the *remission of their sins*, promising *new-*
 “ *ness of life*, using a form of *penitential ex-*
 “ *pressions*; and thus continuing for the space
 “ of four or five hours.”

The *Septuagint* supposes the Israelites made
 much the same appearance as these Moham-
 medan pilgrims, when Israel stood in anguish
 of soul at the foot of Mount Horeb, though
Moses says nothing of putting off any of their
 vestments.

Some passages of the Jewish prophets seem
 to confirm the notion, of their stripping them-

¹ P. 115, 116.

felves of some of their clothes in times of deep humiliation, particularly Micah i. 8 :
 “ Therefore I will wail and howl, I will go
 “ *stript and naked* : I will make a wailing
 “ like the dragons, and mourning as the
 “ owls.”

Saul's *stripping* himself, mentioned 1 Sam. xix. 24, is perhaps to be understood of his assuming the appearance of those that were deeply engaged in *devotional* exercises, into which he was unintentionally brought by the prophetic influences that came upon him, and in which he saw others engaged.

OBSERVATION CCI.

An accident led me into a train of thought, relating to that piece of furniture the Romans called a *conopeum*, and which is said to denote a canopy or pavilion made of net-work, which hung about beds, and was designed to keep away *gnats*, which are sometimes insupportably troublesome to the more delicate. I recollected that it is at this time used in the East; and that if it may be supposed to have obtained so early there as the time of King Saul, it may very happily illustrate a passage of Scripture, of which our commentators have given a very unsatisfactory account.

The passage I refer to is in the first book of *Samuel*, ch. xix. 12—17. “ So Michal
 “ let David down through a window : and

“ he went, and fled, and escaped. And Mi-
 “ chal took an *image*, and laid it in the bed,
 “ and put a *pillow of goats-hair* for his bolf-
 “ ter, and covered it with a cloth. And when
 “ Saul sent messengers to take David, she
 “ said, He is sick. And Saul sent the mes-
 “ sengers again to see David, saying, Bring
 “ him up to me in the bed, that I may slay
 “ him. And when the messengers were come
 “ in, behold, there was an image in the bed,
 “ with a pillow of goats-hair for his bolster.
 “ And saul said unto Michal, Why hast thou
 “ deceived me so, and sent away mine enemy,
 “ that he is escaped?”

I should suppose a *conopeum*, or *guard against gnats*, is what is meant by the word translated a *pillow of goats-hair*. I cannot conceive what deception could arise from the pillow's being *stuffed* with goats-hair, or from making a truss of goats-hair serve for a pillow. This last must have been, on the contrary, very disagreeable to a sick man; especially one, who having married a princess, must be supposed to have been in possession of the agreeable accommodations of life, such at least as were used at that time, and in that country. A piece of fine net-work to guard him from *gnats*, and other troublesome insects that might disturb the repose of a *sick man*, was extremely natural, if the use of them was as early as the days of Saul. It is in one place translated a *thick cloth*, in another a *sieve*; now a cloth of a nature fit to use for a sieve, is just such a thing

thing as I am supposing—a fine net-work or gauze-like cloth. Here it is translated a *pillow*, but for no other reason, but because it appeared to be something *relating to the head*¹; but a *conopeum* relates to the head as well as a *pillow*, being a canopy suspended over the whole bed, or at least so far as to surround the head, and such upper part of the body as might be uncovered.

Modern canopies of this nature may be of other *materials*, may be of silk or thread, but goats-hair was in great use; in those earlier ages, and may be imagined to have been put to this use in those times, as our *modern jieves* still continue frequently to be made of the hair of animals.

After this preparatory remark, I would produce the proof, that this kind of defence against gnats is used in the *East*. “Among the hurtful animals that *Ægypt* produces,” says Maillet, “those that we call *gnats* ought not to be forgotten. If their size prevents all apprehensions of dangerous accidents from them, their multitude makes them insupportable. The Nile water, which remains in the canals and the lakes, into which it makes it’s way every year, produces such a prodigious quantity of these insects, that the air is often darkened by them. The night-time is that in which people are most

¹ Our translators have even taken occasion, from one thing relating to the head, to mention both *pillow* and *bedster*.

“ exposed to receive punctures from them ;
“ and it is with a view to guard themselves
“ from them, that they sleep so much here
“ on the tops of their houses, which are all
“ flat-roofed. These terraces are paved with
“ square flat stones, very thin ; and as in
“ this country, they have no apprehensions
“ from rain or fogs, they are wont to place
“ their beds on these roofs every night, in
“ order to enjoy their repose more undisturb-
“ edly and coolly than they could any where
“ else. Gnats seldom rise so high in the air.
“ The agitation of the air at that height, is
“ too much for them ; they cannot bear it.
“ However, for greater precaution, persons of
“ any thing of rank never fail to have a tent
“ set up on these terraces, in the midst of
“ which is suspended a *pavillon of fine linen,*
“ or *of gauze,* which falls down to the ground,
“ and incloses the mattress. Under the shel-
“ ter of this pavillon, which the people of the
“ country call *namousié,* from the word *na-*
“ *mous,* which in their language signifies fly
“ (or gnat), people are secured against these
“ insects, not only on the terraces, but every
“ where else. If they were to make use of
“ them in Europe, I do not doubt but that
“ people that sleep in the day-time, and above
“ all the sick, would find the advantage
“ of them ; for it must be acknowledged,
“ that in summer-time those small insects,
“ which introduce themselves into all places,
“ are insupportable to people that would take
“ their

“ their repose, and much more so to those
“ that are ill’.”

No curiously carved statue, which indeed one can hardly imagine was to be found in the house of David, was necessary; any thing formed into a tolerable resemblance of the body of a man was sufficient for this deception, covered over with the coverlet belonging to the mattress on which it was laid, and where the head should have been placed, being covered all over with a pavilion of goats-hair, through which the eye could not penetrate. A second visit, with a more exact scrutiny, discovered the artifice.

There is another passage in which the word occurs, and it should seem in the same sense. It is in the account the historian gives us, of the real cause of the death of Ben-hadad, the king of Syria, 2 Kings viii. 15: “ And it
“ came to pass on the morrow, that he took
“ a *thick cloth*, and dipt it in water, and
“ spread it over his face, so that he died:
“ and Hazael reigned in his stead.” If Hazael stifled him, why all this parade? the drawing the pillow from under his head, and clapping it over his mouth, would have been sufficient. Why the procuring a *thick* cloth, according to our translators? why the dipping it in water?

It is the same word with that in *Samuel*, and, it is reasonable therefore to suppose, means

¹ Descript. de l’Egypte, lett. 9, p. 37.

the same thing, a *gnat-pavilion*. The dipping it in water may well be supposed to have been under the pretence of coolness and refreshment.

So *Pitts* tells us, that the people of Mecca
 “ do usually sleep on the tops of the houses
 “ *for the air*, or in the streets before their
 “ doors. Some lay the small bedding they
 “ have on a thin mat on the ground; others
 “ have a slight frame, made much like drink-
 “ stalls, on which we place barrels, standing
 “ on four legs, corded with *palm cordage*, on
 “ which they put their bedding. Before they
 “ bring out their bedding, they sweep the
 “ streets, and *water them*. As for my own
 “ part, I usually lay open, without any bed-
 “ covering, on the top of the house; only I
 “ took a linen-cloth, *dip in water*, and after
 “ I had wrung it, covered myself with it in
 “ the night; and when I awoke, I should
 “ find it dry; then I would wet it again; and
 “ thus I did two or three times in a night’.”

In like manner *Niebuhr* tells us, in his description of Arabia², that “ as it is excessively
 “ hot, in the summer time, on the eastern
 “ shore of the Persian gulf, and they do not
 “ find that the dew there is unwholesome, they
 “ sleep commonly in the open air.” He goes
 on, “ In the island of Charedsj I never en-
 “ joyed my repose *better* than when the dew
 “ *moistened* my bed in the night.”

¹ Pitts’s Account, p. 123, 124.

² P. 9.

Hazael then had a fair pretence to offer to moisten the gnat-pavilion, (if *Ben-badad* did not himself desire it,) on the account of his extreme heat, which might prove the occasion of his death, while the distemper itself was not mortal. Whether the moisture of that piece of furniture proved at that time destructive, from the nature of the disease; or whether *Hazael* stifled him with it: we are not told by the historian, and therefore cannot pretend absolutely to determine. Conjecture is not likely to be very favourable to *Hazael*.

OBSERVATION CCII.

Nothing can be more natural, than the representation given by our translation of the royal and sacred feast *David* made, on occasion of his bringing the ark of God into a tent he had prepared for it, in the city in which he had chosen to reside, which is described in 2 Sam. vi. 19: “ He dealt among all the
 “ people, even among the whole multitude
 “ of Israel, as well to the women as men, to
 “ every one a cake of bread; and a good piece
 “ (of flesh); and a flagon (of wine): so all
 “ the people departed every one to his house.”
 For all this is agreeable to what *must be supposed* to have happened on such a solemn occasion. It is surprising, on the contrary, that the Septuagint version should represent the royal donative as consisting merely of different
 kinds

kinds of *bread*, or at least farinaceous preparations of the *bread and cake* kind.

The presents daily made to Dr. Chandler and his associates, by the Greeks of Athens, are described by him¹ as consisting of *flowers*, (*sometimes perfumed*,) of *pomegranates*, *oranges* and *limons fresh gathered*, *pastry*, and *other like articles*. But very different, sure! would the presents of King David be to his people, on so solemn an occasion, and when so many of them were from home, and of course scantily provided. Would he have confined himself to a *little pastry*, when so many animals were sacrificed; though the poor oppressed² Greeks of Athens might present nothing else of any consequence?

Leavened bread, and three sorts of unleavened, might be made use of on this occasion³. The greatest part of the *flesh* also of the peace-offerings was to be eaten by the offerer⁴, and those whom he thought fit to make partakers with him of the repast, and was wont to be eaten in private houses⁵; but when presented as a thanksgiving, as it should seem these peace-offerings were, they were to be eaten *in the day* in which they were offered, and not to be kept so long as the next⁶. Other peace offerings might be kept to the second day, but no longer⁷. The number of

¹ Trav. in Greece, p. 132, 133.

² P. 119.

³ See Lev. 7. 11, &c.

⁴ In the same chapter.

⁵ Prov. 7. 14, 15.

⁶ Lev. 7. 15.

⁷ Ver. 16, 17.

the peace-offerings, on occasions of this sort, was, at other times, extremely large, as we learn from 2 Chron. vii. 5, 7; and must have been many under such a zealous prince as David. Great numbers *must* then, in consequence, have been partakers of this sacred flesh; and that all that attended should receive a *good piece of flesh*, as large as it could be reasonably expected each would consume, in the limited time, considering the universal abstemiousness of those hot countries, is what it is natural to suppose the historian designed to express.

It is so natural, that Josephus, who adopted the Septuagint translation of 2 Sam. vi. 19, and consequently supposes three different kinds of bread were given to each person, yet could not forbear adding *a piece of sacred flesh* to the royal donation¹, though nothing of that sort appears in that translation: the *nature* of the feast, it should seem, forced him to that *supplement*. If he found *himself so strongly impelled* to make that addition, surely it must be reasonable to suppose it was mentioned originally by the prophet that wrote this history?

The vulgar Latin, accordingly, supposes that *flesh* was given by David in this sacred feast, and that it was the sense of one of the three clauses made use of in the Hebrew ori-

¹ Διαδουε κολληριδα αριε η εσχαριτην η λαγατου τηγαμισου η ΜΕΡΙΔΑ ΘΥΜΑΤΟΣ. Antiq. lib. 7, c. 4.

ginal, though it supposes the other two signify different preparations of the bread kind: *Partitus est universæ multitudini Israel, tam viro quam mulieri, singulis collyridam panis unam, & assaturam bubulæ carnis unam, & similam frixam oleo.*

It is as reasonable, I should apprehend, though neither Josephus nor the vulgar Latin take any notice of it, to suppose David gave the people *wine* as well as bread and flesh.

In eating their peace-offerings they were to *rejoice* before the Lord¹: it is natural to suppose then there was wine in those sacred feasts of joy, to be drank in such quantities as suited a joyous solemnity—Not used *sparingly*; nor yet so as to *disturb the understanding*, or unfit the soul for devout exercises of praise.

This is confirmed by what is said concerning Elkanah and his family, when they went up yearly to sacrifice to the Lord: *he gave them all portions of the sacred meat; to one of his family whom he more dearly loved, a worthy or more delicious portion; and wine, it should seem, was commonly also used, since the high priest thought Hannah was drunken, on occasion of this feast.* 1 Sam. i. 3, 4, 5, 9, 13.

How it came to pass that the historian made use of words different from that used to express portions of meat, both on other joyful occasions, as Neh. viii. 10, 12, Esth. ix. 19,

¹ Deut. 27. 7.

22, and on those too which were sacred, 1 Sam. i. 4, 5; and that used to express, upon other solemnities, certain quantities of wine, 1 Sam. x. 3, Exod. xxix. 40, &c; how it happened that persons so well skilled in the Hebrew, as to be concerned in translating the Old Testament into Greek, should not understand the true meaning of the words; what should be the cause of their translating them *so differently* in different books; or translating them at all, since sometimes they give the Hebrew words in Greek letters; and what the words in the original, which we translate *a good piece of flesh and a flagon of wine*, precisely signify; and what the proofs of their so signifying: are questions of considerable curiosity, and may occasion a good deal of amusement, but which I will not take upon me wholly to examine.

I cannot however forbear observing, that the Rabbinical notion, that the word we translate *good piece of flesh* signifies the sixth part of an animal^a, must be a very idle one, since a peace-offering of thanksgiving was to be eaten up the first day: to what purpose then would it have been to give every person a sixth part of a sacrificed animal, when a great deal less

^a See Buxtorf's Epitome, art. אֶשְׁפֵּר, where he tells us, the *ancient* Hebrews understood it to signify the sixth part of a bullock: Prisci Hebræorum sapientes explicarunt quasi ex tribus vocabulis compositum, nempe unum ex sexta bovis, id est, sexta pars bovis.

would have been as much as each could have consumed in the limited time¹?

But though the word cannot be understood, I think, to signify, that David gave to each person the sixth part of an animal that had been presented to God in sacrifice, yet perhaps this Rabbinical tradition may lead to the true explanation of the word. Maillet affirms that a sheep, with a proper quantity of rice, which answers the purpose of bread very frequently in the East, will furnish a good repast for sixty people. If now the people of a Jewish army were divided into tens, as it should seem they were, who might mess together, and lodge under one and the same tent, as is highly probable, from every *tenth* man's being appointed to fetch, or prepare provision for their fellow soldiers, according to what we read, Judges xx. 10², then the sixth part of a sheep would be sufficient for meat for ten men at one repast, and be sufficient for one mess or tent of soldiers; and from this particular case it may come to signify, in general, *a sufficient portion for each person*, which indeed seems to be the meaning of our translators, when they

¹ Sixty persons, Maillet tells us, will make a good repast (*un juste repas* are his words) with twenty-five pounds of rice and a sheep, in the eleventh letter of his description of Ægypt. A sheep then would be sufficient, with a proper quantity of bread, for thirty people, allowing them twice a day to eat of it. A much smaller part of a bullock than a sixth for each person would be sufficient then. See Obs. on divers Passages of Scripture, vol. I, ch. 4, obs. 30.

² See a preceding supplemental Observation.

render the word a *good piece of flesh*—enough for an ample repast.

As for the *bread*, which the *Septuagint translators* suppose, very improbably, was all that the royal bounty furnished the people with on this joyful solemnity, understanding the three words of three different sorts of the bread-kind, it is observable, that they do not agree in their way of translating the terms made use of in the Hebrew original. In the translation of the second of Samuel, according to the *Vatican* copy, they say David distributed to each of the people

Κολλυριδα Αρτε,
Εσχαριτην,
Λαγανον απο Τηγανε,

that is, three sorts of bread, or farinaceous preparations, distinguished by these three names. Nor doth Lambert Bos give any account of any copy's differing in this representation; but in their translation of the first of Chron. xvi. 3, David distributed to each person present at the solemnity,

Αξιον ενα Αξιλοκοπιον Αμοξιτην	}	according to the <i>Vatican</i> copy; but	{	Χεχαρ Αξι Λαγανον Τηγανε Κολλυριτην	}	according to the <i>Com-</i> <i>plutenfian</i> .
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Strange variations these! Though they agree in both places, as to the *Vatican* copy, that only bread was given, yet translating the words by different Greek terms, in the two parallel places; and, according to the *Complutenfian*

copy, not venturing to translate the first Hebrew word, but merely changing the Hebrew letters into Greek. This shows how little *they* understood, even in those ancient times, the certain meaning of those words, or those that from time to time undertook to make emendations, by altering the original words of that translation.

But not to dwell on these variations. A *kikkar* of bread, which is the first word of the three used by the sacred writer of the book of Chronicles, and which word is that the Greek translators of the Septuagint, according to the Complutensian copy, would not venture to translate, was what was given to the prophet *Jeremiah*, when he was delivered from the dungeon, and treated with *some regard*, as alone sufficient food for a day, in that time of affliction¹, and consequently, *with meat*, might well be esteemed, even by the devout generosity of David himself, sufficient for this day of rejoicing, *if* one of the words relate to meat, of which I can have little doubt, when I consider the multitude of peace-offerings the Jewish princes were wont to offer on solemn occasions. A *liberal* portion then of meat, we may believe, was given every person, abundantly sufficient for a joyous repast, but not *extravagantly large*, which would have been perfectly vain, as *every* one received a portion ;

¹ Jer. 37. 21.

and it was sacred meat, which, according to the Mosaic ritual, might not be long kept.

The other part of this royal and sacred donation was, according to our translation, a *flagon of wine* to each. I should suppose a *gourd-full* of wine is meant.

The *shells of gourds* are used to this day, in the Eastern parts of the world, for holding quantities of wine for present spending, and particularly in *sacred festivals*. So when Dr. Richard Chandler was about leaving *Athens*, he tells us, he supped at the Custom-house, where “the Archon¹ had provided a *gourd* of “choice wine, and one of the crew excelled on “the lyre².” And describing a *panegyris*, or general sacred assembly of the Greeks in the Lesser Asia, he informs us, *that the church was only stones piled up for walls, without a roof, and stuck on this solemnity with wax-candles lighted, and with small tapers, and that after fulfilling their religious duties, it is the custom of the Greeks to indulge in festivity; at which time he found the multitudes sitting under half-tents, with store of melons and grapes, besides lambs and sheep to be killed, wine in gourds and skins, and other necessary provision*³.

What the size of the gourds that anciently grew in that country was, or what that of those that are now found there, may not be

¹ A chief Greek magistrate there.

² Trav. in Greece, p. 207.

³ Trav. in Asia Minor, p. 44.

quite certain¹; but I doubt not but that a *gourd-full of wine*, for each person, was abundantly sufficient for a joyousness that required attention to temperance.

I could not but take notice, with some degree of pleasure, as to the word *flagon*, used in our translation, after Dr. Chandler had led me to think of *gourds*, as what might be meant by the original, that I found upon consulting Lemery's account of the gourd², and particularly of the third species, that he tells us, *it is shaped like a bottle, having a strait neck, and the belly large*; after which he adds, *they cultivate them in gardens; their fruit is good to eat, when properly prepared; they also use them for flagons, after having emptied them, and caused them to be dried*. He uses that very French word from which our English word *flagons* is evidently derived³.

After this account, perhaps it may appear quite unnecessary, to have recourse to the Chaldee sense of the original word used Is. xvi. 7, and there translated in our version *foundations*. It may as well, sure! be rendered *gourds* there, since the rest of the paragraph relates not so much to the ruining strong places by *war*, as the destruction of the fruits of the earth by an unkindly season: "The *fields* of Heshbon
" languish, and the *vine* of Sibmah—There-

¹ De Vitriaco describes them as larger than the head of an ass, Gest. Dei, per Francos, p. 1099.

² Dictionnaire des Drogues, art. Cucurbita.

³ Flaccon.

“ fore I will bewail with the weeping of
 “ Jazer, the *vine* of Sibmah : I will water thee
 “ with my tears, O Heshbon and Elealeh :
 “ for the shouting for thy *summer-fruits*, and
 “ for thy harvest, is fallen, and gladness is
 “ taken away, and joy out of the *plentiful field* ;
 “ and in the *vineyards* there shall be no sing-
 “ ing, neither shall there be shouting: the
 “ treaders shall tread out no *wine* in their
 “ presses ; I have made their *vintage-shouting*
 “ to cease. *Wherefore* my bowels shall found
 “ for Moab like an harp.” After reading
 this, I would ask, whether it be not as na-
 tural to read the 7th verse after this manner,
 “ Every one shall howl: for the *gourds* of
 “ Kirharezeth shall ye mourn, surely they are
 “ stricken ;” as to read, “ for the *foundations*
 “ of Kirharezeth shall ye mourn.” *Gourds* are
 mentioned by Dr. Ruffell, in his account of
 the food of the people of Aleppo, of various
 kinds, and among the rest the *cucurbita lagenaria*,
 or *bottle-like gourd*¹, and they might
 very probably be of still more importance in
 the days of antiquity, when several of the ve-
 getables that are now used among them, and
 preferred to gourds, were unknown. *Kirbare-*
seth, it should seem, is particularly mentioned,
 as being most famous for producing *gourds*, in
 the country of *Moab*, as *Sibmah* was for *vines*.

It may not be very much amiss to add, that
 the interpretation that supposes the donative of

¹ P. 25.

King David consisted of *flesh and wine*, as well as *bread*, is not only agreeable to the nature of the solemnity, in which so many sacrifices were slain, but was in other respects so *natural*, that, among the *old Romans*, when sums of money were left to celebrate their birthdays, in after-times, out of the profits arising from those legacies, it was by distributing among such and such people, *meat, bread, and wine*. An inscription, recording such a gift, is said to be at Spoleto¹.

OBSERVATION CCIII.

“ King Solomon,” it is said, 1 Kings x. 13, “ gave unto the queen of Sheba all her desire, “ whatsoever *she asked*, besides that which “ Solomon gave her of his *royal bounty*: so “ she turned, and went to her own country.” This appears strange to us; but is perfectly agreeable to modern Eastern usages, which are allowed to be derived from remote antiquity.

A *reciprocal giving and receiving* royal gifts has nothing in it strange; but the supposition of the sacred historian, that this Arabian queen *asked* for some things she saw in the possession of King Solomon, is what surprises us. However the practice is very common to this day in

¹ See a note of Lindebrogius, on act 1, scene 1, of the *Phormio* of Terence, of the *Variorum* edition, where the particular words made use of to express the meat, the bread, and the wine, deserve the attention of the curious—*Epu-lum, crustum* or *crustulum, and mulsum*.

the East—it is not there looked upon as any *degradation* to dignity, or any mark of *rapacious meanness*.

Irwin's late publication¹ affords many instances of such management, among *very considerable* people, both in Arabia and Ægypt, though not equal in power to the queen that visited King Solomon. They demanded, from time to time, such things as they saw, and which happened to please them: arms, vestments, &c. What the things were that so struck the queen of Sheba, as that she asked for them, and which Solomon did not before apprehend would be particularly pleasing to her, the sacred historian has not told us, nor can we pretend to guess.

Many other travellers have mentioned this custom, and shown that the great people of that country not only expect presents, but will directly, and without circumlocutions, ask for what they have a mind to have, and expect that their requisitions should be readily complied with; while, with us, it would be looked on as extremely mean, and very degrading to an exalted character.

OBSERVATION CCIV.

There is shameful meanness practised at this time in the East, which I should suppose is of

¹ Voyage up the Red-Sea, and Route through the Deserts of Thebais,

ancient date, and indeed referred to by the wife son of *Sirach*¹; and that is, when those in a somewhat superior station, seize on the gifts given to them that are below them, by persons of liberality, and appropriate to themselves the bounties given to others.

The words of the book of Ecclesiasticus are, “ Be ashamed—to turn away thy face from thy kinsman, or to take away a portion *or a gift.*” The explanation of this particular of the list of those things that may justly cause shame, is contained, I think, in the following account of the Baron de Tott’s passing the river *Pruth*, in his way to *Tartary*.

He describes that stream as dangerous to pass; that his conductor, who was a *tchoadar*, or officer of a Turkish pacha, had, by the assistance of his whip, assembled three hundred Moldavians, and had employed them all night to form a raft of the branches of trees, for the passing over de Tott’s carriage, which, at the risque of their lives, they effected; he then goes on², “ It may easily be imagined Ali Aga³ was triumphant, and that I did not depart without giving some five or six guineas to the workmen; but what may not so readily be supposed, and what I had not foreseen myself, was, that my conductor, ever attentive to all my actions, and most trifling gestures, stayed some time behind,

¹ Ecclef. 41. 21.

² Tome 2, p. 14, &c.

³ The name of the tchoadar, his conductor.

“ to reckon with these unfortunate labourers,
 “ *concerning the small salary they had received.*”

De Tott speaks of this as a piece of *mean-ness* he had no conception of; the son of Sirach teaches us, that the taking away of a gift, bestowed on those in lower life, is a piece of conduct of which men may and ought to be ashamed; and I believe every soul that reads this article, will allow they both are in the right.

It would certainly have been equally wrong, and to be ashamed of, had the Baron given them provisions instead of money, if *Ali Aga* had taken away any man's *portion*, or abridged it contrary to the design of de Tott. Such would have been the light in which Melzar's management would have been to be viewed, had it taken it's rise from avarice, and not from the desire of the parties concerned themselves, when he took away the *portion* of royal meat, and the *portion* of wine, which Nebuchadnezzar had ordered to be given to Daniel and his companions, and gave them *pulse* to eat instead of meat from the royal table, and *water* to drink instead of wine, of which we read Dan. i. 8—16.

OBSERVATION CCV.

Musick is by no means unknown *in our country*; but as in other respects the inhabitants of the East discover more vivacity, so they

they use music in more cases than we are wont to do ; and this remark may serve to explain the ground of some ancient customs.

When Dr. Chandler was at Aiafalúck, a place that has been often taken for the ancient Ephesus, and which certainly is very near it, they employed a couple of Greek peasants to pile up stones, to serve as a ladder against a place they wanted to examine, and having occasion for another after that, to dig ; and sending for one to the Stadium, under the ruins of which many of them dwelt, “ the whole tribe, “ ten or twelve, followed ; one playing all “ the way before them on a rude lyre, and “ at times striking the sounding-board with “ the fingers of his left hand in concert with “ the strings. One of them had on a pair of “ sandals of goat-skin laced with thongs. “ After gratifying their curiosity, they re- “ turned back as they came, with their musi- “ cian in front¹.”

If a common march, to satisfy curiosity, is among this lively people preceded by music, it can be no wonder to find the Jews, when they went up *with solemnity* to the house of God, were wont to have music playing before them, though we find no command for it among the constitutions of the Mosaic law : “ Ye shall have a song as in the night, when “ an holy solemnity is kept ; and gladness of “ heart, as when one goeth with a pipe to

¹ Travels in Asia Minor, p. 130.

“ come into the mountain of the Lord’.” The 42d Psalm, ver. 4, perhaps means the same thing.

Chandler describing elsewhere² a prospect, that occurred to him in the neighbourhood of Smyrna, does it in these terms: “ We saw on
 “ the beach many camels laden, or standing
 “ by their burthens; and met on the road
 “ some boftangees, and travellers from Arabia
 “ and other Eastern countries, going to or re-
 “ turning from Constantinople. The hills
 “ were enlivened by flocks of sheep and goats;
 “ *and resounded with the rude music of the lyre*
 “ *and of the pipe*, the former a stringed instru-
 “ ment resembling a guittar, and held much
 “ in the same manner, but usually played on
 “ with a bow.” And when afterwards he was confined to a country-house, in the neighbourhood of Smyrna, on account of the raging of the plague there, he tells us, that *some of the flock or herd, (belonging to a goat-stand on the top of an hill near him,) were often by the fountain below with their keeper, who played on a rude flute or pipe*³.

This frequent use of music among the lowest ranks, and while attending the meanest employments, may put us in mind of David’s playing on the harp, when he kept his father’s sheep, 1 Sam. xvi. 16—19, which he was often heard to do, and some other passages of Scripture.

The songs that were expected from the Is-

¹ If. 30. 29.

² P. 75.

³ P. 273.

raelites¹, by the waters of Babylon, possibly may signify that they were set in their captivity to keep cattle, and that it was expected that they should sing as in their own country; and when we recollect what Job said, chap. xxx. 1, “ Now they that are younger than
 “ I, have me in derision, whose fathers I
 “ would have disdained to have set with the
 “ dogs of my flock,” it appears that this was looked upon as one of the meanest stations in life: no wonder then that captives should be employed in it; but the anguish of their souls, for the destruction of their country, would not admit of their using their harps. All was hushed in a sad dreary silence, hanging their harps on the trees near them, as the shepherds, among whom Chandler slept², did their utensils, when not in use: of which I have given an account elsewhere. So the Israelites hunged their instruments of music on the trees under which they sat, watching the flocks and herds of those that had carried them away captive, unable, in their state of overwhelming grief, to make use of them. Their imperious masters resented it, and required them to conceal their sorrows.

It should seem the songs the ancient Jewish shepherds sung were of the *religious kind*, and

¹ Pf. 137. But this Psalm may be understood in another view, which is both more natural, I think, and throws a greater energy into the description. See a preceding Observation, vol 3, obs. 57.

² Travels in Asia Minor, p. 157.

their heathen conquerors might be apprized of it. Probably *their* songs, in common life, were often in honour of their deities, as well as in their temples.

OBSERVATION CCVI.

Large splinters of wood, either of a resinous nature in themselves, or perhaps prepared in some cases by art, are made use of in the Levant instead of *flambeaux*; and if they are in use in these times, in which great improvements have been made in all the arts of life, it is natural to suppose they were in use anciently, particularly among the *peasants, shepherds, and travellers of the lower class*.

So Dr. Richard Chandler found *lighted brands* made use of in *Asia Minor*, by some villagers, instead of *torches*¹, and he refers to *Virgil*², representing the Roman peasants as preparing, in his days, the same sort of *flambeaux*, in winter-time, for their use.

If they still continue in use in the East, there is reason to believe they were used anciently, and, indeed, it should seem to be a torch of this kind that is meant by the Hebrew word *lappid*, which our translators sometimes render *fire-brand*, sometimes *lamp*, thus confounding things that are very distinct, and which are expressed by different words.

If the *peasants*, and those that were abroad

¹ P. 115.

² Georg. lib. 1, l. 292.

in the night and wanted light, made use of this kind of torches, it can be no wonder that Gideon should be able, with so much ease, to procure three hundred of them for the three hundred men that he retained with him; or that they should continue burning some considerable time in their pitchers, and blaze with sufficient strength to terrify the Midianites, when those ancient, and perhaps first invented, *dark-lanterns*¹ were broken, and these flambeaux appeared with a considerable strong light, and being such as soldiers encamped were wont to use, as well as other people whose business led them to be abroad in the night.

I would remark farther, that as this word is made use of, Exod. xx. 18, and a very different word is used to express lightning in the *Hebrew*, it is unhappy that our version should render it *lightning* there, when it is to be understood, I apprehend, of the *flaming of the trees* on Mount Sinai, on that memorable occasion, *whole trees* flaming around the divine presence, bearing some resemblance to the torches made of *splinters of wood*, which were made use of on *less august* occasions: “ All the
 “ people saw the thunderings, and the (trees
 “ flaming like so many) torches, and the noise
 “ of the trumpet, and the mountain *smoking*;
 “ and when the people saw it, they removed,
 “ and stood afar off.”

¹ If our translation be accurate: which may very well be doubted.

Lightning is *understood* here without doubt, and that the trees were set on fire by the lightning will hardly be contested; on the other hand, if the word directly meant lightning, still it is evidently supposed the trees and shrubs were fired by it, from whence else would have come the smoke? But as the word signifies *torches*, not *flashes of lightning*, it should not have been translated here lightning, differently from what it properly signifies. Agreeable to this account is the description given us, Exod. xix. 18, “ And Mount
 “ Sinai was altogether on a *smoke*, because the
 “ Lord descended upon it *in fire*: and the
 “ smoke thereof ascended as the *smoke of*
 “ *a furnace*, and the whole mount *quake*d
 “ greatly.”

According to Egmont and Heyman, *a tree, in some measure resembling the tamarisk, which produces a very oily fruit, and from which a celebrated oil is expressed, grows in great quantities on Mount Sinai*¹: whether they were trees of this kind that blazed with such awful pomp when the law was given, or any other, may be left to the curious to enquire.

OBSERVATION CCVII.

I have, in another volume², taken notice of the cutting themselves, which the prophets of Baal practised, in order *to obtain from him*, in

¹ Vol. 2, p. 169.

² Observ. on divers Passages, &c. ch. 10, obs. 66.

a trying season, an *answer to their prayers*; the cutting themselves, that the Israelites made use of in a time of affliction, and when they bewailed the dead; and the modern Arab way of testifying their extreme affection for those they profess to love: but I would beg leave to add a query here, by way of supplement to that article, Whether we may not very naturally suppose the *wounds in his hands*, which *Zechariah* supposes¹ the false prophet had, are not to be illustrated by the first of the above-mentioned usages?

Zechariah there represents a *false prophet* as disclaiming that character, not only for the future, but as not having *previously* belonged to him. When therefore he was reproached, according to that representation, with having, in preceding times, officiated as a prophet to some idol, after laying aside the *distinctive dress* that pointed out the prophetic character, he is supposed to say, he never was such an one, but had been always a plain, unlearned, un-sagacious husbandman or herdsman; and when asked what those wounds then were, whose *scars at least* remained in his hands, such as the idolatrous prophets were wont to inflict on their hands, when they could not obtain any answer to those anxious enquiries they made in a time of perplexity², by any of those modes
of

¹ Ch. 13. 6.

² When the Israelites were forbidden to cut themselves, Deut. 14. 1, it might be to teach them to look up to Jehovah as the God that would hear their supplications,
if

of divination they had used, may we not with great probability suppose, that *Zechariah* represents him as endeavouring to elude this most suspicious circumstance, by saying these were wounds that he gave himself when mourning the *death of a friend* whom he dearly loved, or testifying his affection for some young female, of a family with which he desired to establish the *most endearing friendship*—by making affinity with it?

Such an interpretation appears to me *much more natural*, than the supposition of some of the learned, who imagine these wounds are to be understood of those marks idolaters often received on their hands, as well as other parts of their bodies, in token of their belonging to such or such an idol; and that the false prophet would, in such case as is here foretold, pretend it was the innocent mark that had been imprinted upon him by his master, when he became his slave, whose ground he had been wont to plough, or whose herds he had fed. For the distinction must have been visible to every eye, whatever the mark should be imagined to be: the distinction between the mark of an *heathen deity*, and that of a wealthy Israelite, used for the mere purposes of civil life¹. Not to say that the mark of an idol was not appropriated to his *prophets*; but was

if proper to be granted, without such expressions of violent emotion.

¹ If the Jews *did mark* their servants as some nations did, which is much to be questioned.

imprinted on his *common worshippers*; and it is not to be supposed, that, after a time of general defection to idolatry, *every one* that had been seduced into idol-worship would have been in danger of his life. And, indeed, it evidently appears, that Zechariah is speaking of them that had prophesied in the name of an idol, and that he mentions them only.

OBSERVATION CCVIII.

It may not be amiss to add, in this next article, that it seems, from that *part* of his defence, that *Zechariah* supposes the false prophet would make use of, to clear himself from the charge of having been the prophet of an idol, “ I am no prophet, I am an *husband-man*¹: for man taught me to keep cattle “ from my youth²,” that the prophets of *idols*, as well as those of *Jehovah*, lived a life of abstraction from civil employments, and wholly spent their time in the service of the idol, in some way or other, which it may be natural for us to be a little inquisitive about.

The prophets of God were wont to live in society³, and to be trained up, from early life, in such a way as was supposed to *invite* the in-

¹ This subterfuge was the most natural that such an one could make use of, as the prophets and pretended prophets were wont to wear the coarse and homely dress of those brought up to country business.

² Zech. 13. 5.

³ 1 Sam. 19. 20—24.

fluences of the prophetic spirit—Retirement from the world, reading, meditation, prayer, and singing the divine praises, which last was itself honoured with the name of prophesying, as well as the *foretelling future events*¹.

Accordingly the false prophet's exculpation of himself, "I am no prophet, I am an husbandman—and taught to keep cattle from my youth," reminds us of the account Amos gives of himself: "The words of *Amos*, who was among the *herdmen* of *Tekoah*," ch. i. 1. Again, "Then answered *Amos*, and said to *Amaziah*, I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son; but I was an *herdman*, and a *gatherer of sycamore-fruit*. And the Lord took me as I followed the flock, and the Lord said to me, Go, prophesy unto my people *Israel*." Ch. vii. 14, 15. He was not one that had lived to forty or fifty years of age this consecrated sort of life, when he was sent with the messages of *Jehovah* to *Israel*; nor had even his youth been spent among the sons of the prophets, but he was very unexpectedly taken from among the *herdmen of Tekoah*, and made a messenger of God to *Israel*.

Now had not the idol-prophets lived in something of the same manner, the allegation of the false prophet, that he had been an husbandman or an herdman from his youth, would have been absolutely impertinent.

¹ See 1 Chron. 25. 1, 2, 3, 1 Sam. 10. 5, 6.

Accordingly we find, 1 Kings xviii. 19, that the *prophets of the groves* eat together at *Jezebel's* table ; perhaps those of Baal too : for the words of the sacred historian *may* be so understood, though that is not *necessarily* the sense of the passage. “ Now therefore send, and
 “ gather to me all Israel unto *Mount Carmel*,
 “ and the *prophets of Baal* four hundred and
 “ fifty, and the *prophets of the groves* four
 “ hundred, which *eat at Jezebel's table.*”

We are not, I apprehend, to suppose that these eight hundred and fifty prophets, or even the four hundred of the groves, eat at the royal table, where *Jezebel* herself took her refectio*n* ; for though, I am sensible, it is not unusual in the East for servants to eat at the same table where their masters have eaten, after their masters have done ; and that several hundreds eat in the palaces of the Eastern princes ; yet it could never be thought necessary by *Jezebel* to have four hundred chaplains *in waiting* at once at court. I should think the words mean, that these four hundred prophets of the groves fed daily at a common table, in or near the temple of that idol which they served, and which was provided for *at the expence of Jezebel*, living there in a kind of collegiate way, as the prophets of *Jehovah* appear to have done.

Their business was, I should suppose, to sing the praises of the idols they worshipped ; and to watch from time to time in their temples, under the pretence of receiving oracular answers

answers to the enquiries of those that came to consult them¹; and, it may be, to teach the worshippers in what form of words to address the deity they served.

OBSERVATION CCIX.

The washing foul linen, among us, is performed in the proper apartments of private houses; but in the East, where the women are, in common, kept very close, it is performed in *public view*, by the sides of rivers and fountains.

This may seem very strange, when we reflect on the great solicitude of many of the Eastern people to keep their women concealed; and recollect the privacy with which this female service is performed among us, in a country where the women appear abroad as frequently as the men.

Dr. Chandler, however, in his Travels in Asia Minor, mentions this Eastern custom, and frequently observed it. “The women,” says the Doctor, “resort to the fountains by the houses, each with a large two-handled earthen jar on their back, or thrown over their shoulder, for water. They assemble at one without the village or town, if no river be near, to *wash their linen*, which is afterwards spread on the ground or bushes

¹ 2 Kings 1. 2.

“ to dry ¹.” He elfewhere fpeaks of his having feen them performing this fervice. “ Near the mouth of the river was lively verdure,” fpeaking of the bed which received the Scamander and Simois united, “ with trees, “ and on the fame fide as Sigéum, the caſtle, “ and Chomkali; above which, by the water, “ were many women, their faces muffled, “ *wafhing linen, or ſpreading it to dry,* with “ children playing on the banks ². And of another river on the fame fide of the Hellespont he fays, “ The bed was wide, ſtony, and imperfedted with green thickets, but had water “ in the cavities ³, at which many women, with “ their faces muffled, were bufy wafhing linen, “ and ſpreading it on the ground to dry ⁴.”

May not this obfervation ſerve to confirm the conjecture, that the young woman that was ſent to En-rogel ⁵, with a meſſage of great importance to the ſafety of King David, which ſhe was to deliver to the two young prieſts that were ſtationed there, in ſome place of concealment, went out of the city, with a bundle of linen, as if ſhe was going to waſh it: ſince nothing was more natural, (if it was a place uſed for that purpoſe,) or better calculated to elude jealoufy and apprehenſion, on the one hand; and ſince we can hardly otherwiſe account for the ſending ſuch a perſon, on the other, or at leaſt for it's being recorded with ſuch diſtinctneſs.

¹ P. 21. ² P. 40. ³ Εν βοθροῖσι is the word
Homer makes uſe of. ⁴ P. 13. ⁵ 2 Sam. 17. 17.

The only difficulty, attending this representation, seems to be, the number of females wont to assemble together at such places, (for Dr. Chandler speaks of them as very numerous;) but if we suppose that they did not assemble together in troops in the city, but only gather together at *the places of washing*, the sending her rather earlier than usual, might be sufficient to answer the purpose.

But if what Chandler has said, of this Eastern practice, illustrates no passage of Scripture, it certainly shows that the practice of the Greeks, so long ago as the time of *Homer*¹, and earlier, still continues among their descendants.

OBSERVATION CCX.

The *names* the *Eastern* people give to *women* and to *slaves*, appear to us to be oftentimes not a little *odd*; something of the same kind may however be remarked in the Scriptures, though they are there more frequently of the *devout* kind. A little collection of examples may not be disagreeable.

The author of the History of Ali Bey mentions a female, whose name signified *ruby*². One of the wives of Elkanah, the father of the prophet Samuel, seems to have been named in the same way, for such, I presume, was the meaning of the word *Peninnah*³. It is

¹ Odyf. lib. 6.² P. 70.³ 1 Sam. I. 2.

somewhat remarkable, that this name is left out of that catalogue of ancient names given in some of our old Bibles. The plural word *peninim* signifies *rubies*, or precious stones that are *red*, as is evident from the *Lamentations of Jeremiab*, ch. iv. 7, though some of the Jewish virtuosi suppose *pearls* are meant, and *peninab* seems to be the singular of the word *peninim*, with a feminine termination. If both these ladies were called by names that, in their respective languages, signified a *ruby*, probably both one and the other were so denominated, either from the *floridness* of their complexion, or the *contrary to a ruby tint*: for it may be understood either way.

It not being unusual, with the Oriental nations, to go by the *rule of contraries* in giving people names. Thus d'Herbelot informs us, that camphor, which is a very *white* and odoriferous gum or resin, is one of those names which are wont to be given *negroes* or *blacks* in the East; and *jasmin* and *narcissus*, which are known to be remarkable for their *whiteness*, are names applied to the same *sable-coloured slaves* ¹.

Possibly *Rachel* might have that name put upon her, which signifies a *sheep*, not from the mildness of her temper, but the reverse. What she said to Jacob, before she had children, while her sister had several, Gen. xxx. 1, by no means invalidates such a supposition.

¹ Biblioth. Orient. art. Cafur.

OBSERVATION CCXI.

I have in another volume taken notice, that it is a common thing among the people of the East, to denominate a man the *father* of a thing for which he is remarkable; but here I would say, not only that collection of examples might be enlarged¹, but that people

¹ It certainly might be enlarged: thus we find that one of the beys of Ægypt, mentioned in the History of the Revolt of Ali Bey, was called *Abudabap*, which signifies *father of gold*, on the account it seems of his *avaricious temper*, p. 81. (See also this name given him in a firman of the Grand Signior himself, which is published by Major Rooke, in his Travels to the Coast of Arabia Felix, p. 216, which being a paper of state makes this appellation very remarkable.) In like manner a *pascha of Bagdad*, who generally went out *in the night* in his expeditions against the wild Arabs, in which he was very successful, was called, Niebuhr tells us, in the 2d vol. of his Travels into Arabia and adjacent countries, p. 258, Abu el Lejl, that is, *father of the night*, but by the people of Bagdad *the lion*. In like manner the same author tells us, in his first volume of those travels, that one of the beys of Ægypt, of his time, was called *Abu Seif*, that is, he tells us, he that knew how to handle the scymiter, but if literally translated, I would observe, signifies father of the scymiter, p. 110. And again, in p. 280 of the same work, he observes, that the Arabs call the tree that produces the Mecca balm *abu scham*, that is, he says, the odoriferous tree, but literally translated it signifies the *father of fragrance*, or odoriferousness; and, in like manner, in p. 263 of that volume, he informs us, that the Arabs call *Abu Schanârib* (*father of the mustachio*) a man that has large mustachios; and *Abu Hamâr*, he that is the proprietor of an ass; but this last only, I should imagine, in some particular circumstances.

and

and places may, in like manner, be called the *mother* of such and such a thing for which they are noted.

So Niebuhr tells us, the Arabs call a woman that sells butter *Omm es Sübbet*, the mother of butter. Thus also he tells us, in the same page, that there is a place between Basra and Zobeir, where an ass happened to fall down, and throw the wheat with which the creature was loaded, into some water there, on which account that place is called to this day the *Mother of Wheat* ¹.

In like manner, in the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of d'Herbelot, *Omm Alketab* (or the *mother of books*) signifies the *book of the divine decrees*; and at other times the first chapter of the *Koran*. *The mother of the throat* is the name of an imaginary being, (a fairy,) who is supposed to *bring on and to cure that disorder in the throat which we call the quinsy* ². So in the same collection we are told, that the *acacia*, or *Ægyptian thorn*, is called by the Arabians the *mother of satyrs*, it seems, because those imaginary inhabitants of the forests and deserts were supposed to haunt under them ³.

After this we shall not at all wonder, when we read, in the writings of the prophet Ezekiel ⁴, of Nebuchadnezzar's standing at the *Mother of the Way*, a remarkable place in the

¹ Voy. en Arabie, & en d'autres Pays circonvoisins, tome I, p. 263. ² P. 686. ³ P. 358.

⁴ Ch. 21. 21, according to the marginal translation of the Hebrew.

road, where he was to determine, whether he would go to Jerusalem or to some other place, one branch of the road pointing to Jerusalem, the other leading to a different town¹.

OBSERVATION CCXII.

It is very astonishing, that the Hebrew word², which our translators so readily supposed meant a *crane*, should not be translated at all by the *Septuagint*, or in the other ancient *Greek* versions, so far as appears in the collections of *Lambert Bos*. I have, in a preceding observation, given an account of several migratory birds that appear from time to time in Judæa; but since that article was sent to the press, I have been so much struck with a passage in *Ovid's Fasti*, that I cannot omit communicating some considerations upon it to my readers, leaving it to them to determine, whether that Hebrew word may not, very probably, mean the *upupa*, to use a Latin name, or the hoop or hoopoe³, as English writers call it.

¹ But the most remarkable use of the term *mother*, in d'Herbelot, is, I think, in the article *Omm Mocri*, which seems to signify the *mother of the reader*, and was the surname of a celebrated Mohammedan *male* saint, who, it should seem, according to the article *Mocri*, particularly professed the art of teaching people to read the Koran.

² מוס, fus.

³ Ray calls it the hoopoe, in his *Syn. Avium*.

The passage in the *Fasti* is that in which he describes the lamentation of *Ceres*, when she lost her daughter, and filled the world with her *moans*, which he compares to the mournful noise made by *this bird*.

“ Quacunq̄ue ingreditur, miseris loca cuncta querelis
 “ Implet: ut amissum cum gemit *ales* Ityn.”

Lib. iv. v. 481, 482.

Here it is supposed that the noise made by *Tereus*, after he was imagined to have been turned into this bird, and to have lamented his son *Itys* with bitter anguish, is extremely mournful, since the vehement lamentations of *Ceres* are compared to this bird's noise, which is said to be *pupu*, and supposed to have been the occasion of it's being called *upupa*.

I would next remark, that, according to Dr. Ruffell, it appears, in the country about *Aleppo*¹, which is known very much to resemble *Judæa* in it's climate and productions.

Farther, it is a migratory bird in those countries about *Aleppo*, according to Ruffell, who says, “ the *hopooe* (*upupa*) and *bee-eater* “ come in the spring, and remain all the “ summer and autumn.” It might then be one of the birds Jeremiah was speaking of, ch. viii. 7, being *migratory* as well as the *crane*; and as likely to be meant by Hezekiah²

¹ Descript. of Aleppo, p. 70.

² Isaiah, 38. 14.

as the crane, since it's mournful noise is so remarkable, as to be chosen by Ovid to express the lamentations of Ceres.

Lastly, It must be difficult, I should imagine, to find out any resemblance between an *borse*, which the Hebrew word indisputably signifies, and a *crane*, which it is also by moderns supposed to mean; but no great difficulty of finding a likeness between this bird, (and some *sort of bird* it undoubtedly means, from what Jeremiah says about it,) and an *borse*, if we recollect an observation in the third volume of this work¹, which gives an account of it's being customary for both men and *horses* to have their heads adorned *with feathers*. For this is Dr. Berkenhout's description of the *hoopoe*: “Crest orange, tipped with black, *two inches long*, &c.” How beautiful this plume! somewhat resembling those worn by princes and their courtiers, and also their horses! consisting, other writers tell us, of many feathers, and very long, considering the size of the bird, which is but little larger than a *quail*.

But if this is not the bird Hezekiah *actually* meant, it must be allowed it might, without impropriety, have been referred to on that occasion—the noise it makes is mournful. At the same time it observes the due time for returning, from the places to which it withdraws itself when it migrates.

¹ Obs. 77.

It is a bird also remarkable for it's *filthiness*, said to live on *excrements*, to make it's nest of *human dung*, and to be fond of *graves*¹, circumstances that do not make this bird less proper to be referred to, when the *moans of a sick chamber* are described.

OBSERVATION CCXIII.

Hezekiah, immediately after, makes use of another *similé*, in that hymn of his which *Isaiah* has preserved, and which *similé* appeared, many years ago, very perplexing to a gentleman of good sense and learning, who resided in one of the most noted towns of the kingdom for *weaving*. He could not conceive, why the cutting short the life of that prince, should be compared to a weaver's cutting off a piece from his loom when he had finished it, and he and every body that saw it in that state expected it as a thing of course. He consulted those that were acquainted with the manufactory, but could gain no satisfaction.

Perhaps it may appear more easy to the mind, if the *similé* is understood to refer to the weaving of a carpet, filled with *flowers* and other *ingenious devices*: just as a weaver, after having wrought many decorations into a piece of

¹ Com. Hieronymi in Zach. cap. 5. Lemery, a modern writer not ill-versed in natural history, has given a like account, *Dict. des Drogues*, art. *Upupa*.

carpeting, *suddenly* cuts it off, while the figures were rising into view as fresh and as beautiful as ever, and the spectator is expecting the weaver would proceed in his work; so, after a variety of pleasing and amusing transactions in the course of my life, suddenly and unexpectedly it seemed to me that it was come to its period, and was just going to be cut off. Unexpectedness must certainly be intended here.

It is certain that now the Eastern people not only employ themselves in *rich embroideries*, but in making *carpets filled with flowers and other pleasing figures*. Dr. Shaw gives us an account of the last ¹, as other travellers do of the first. “ *Carpets*, which are much coarser than those from Turkey, are made here in great numbers, and of *all sizes* ²— But the chief branch of their manufactories is, the making of hykes, or blankets, as we should call them. The women alone are employed in this work, (as Andromache and Penelope were of old,) who *do not use the shuttle*, but conduct every thread of the woof with their fingers.”

If *shuttles* are not now used in the manufacturing of hykes, can we suppose they were in use in the time of Job? Yet our translators suppose this: “ My days are swifter than a

¹ Trav. p. 224.

² If of such different sizes, they might sometimes be cut off very unexpectedly.

“ weaver’s

“ weaver’s *shuttle*, and are spent without
 “ hope’.” Whereas the original only says,
 my days are swifter than a weaver².

I would add, that I can hardly imagine
 our present Hebrew copies are exact, which
 use a term that signifies *I* have cut off: the
 Septuagint do not seem to have read it so;
 and a very little alteration, and a very proba-
 ble one, would make it, *thou* hast cut off, re-
 ferring to God.

Perhaps it may be thought, that it is hard-
 ly probable that weaving *ornamented* carpets,
 though now so common in the East, was then
 practised there; but it should be remembered,
 that skill to perform the works of the *weaver*
 is mentioned, in the same passage, with those
 of the *engraver* and the *embroiderer*, which
 were then practised in a considerable degree
 of perfection: “ Them hath he (God) filled
 “ with wisdom of heart, to work all manner
 “ of work, of the engraver, and of the cun-
 “ ning workman, and of the embroiderer, in
 “ blue, and in purple, in scarlet, and in fine
 “ linen, *and of the weaver*, even of them that
 “ do any work, and of those that devise cun-
 “ ning work.” Exod. xxxv. 35.

Plain or simple weaving could never be meant
 here: it was in use before the time of Moses.

¹ Ch. 7. 6.

² The motion of whose fingers must have been exceed-
 ing quick, when no shuttle was used; it might be as quick
 as most motions the *Temanites* were familiarly acquainted
 with.

For we read that *Joseph* was arrayed in *fine linen*, when he was made viceroi of Ægypt; that more refined skill in weaving then should seem to refer, to the working pleasing figures into the web. The hangings of the court of the tabernacle, probably, are to be understood not to have been simple linen cloth, but cloth diapered, or wrought in pleasing figures of some such a kind, Exod. xxvii. 9. The curtains of the sacred tent itself were to be of fine linen, intermingled with blue, purple, and scarlet, wrought into the figure of cherubs with great art, Exod. xxvi. 1. From which *the veil hanging over the door*, certainly designed to be *richer* than the preceding, if there was any distinction between them, is described as formed of the same materials, but the figures made of *needle-work*, verse 36, a very different word from that used in the first verse, which is a general term used to point out some new *ingenious* invention in any art¹, and consequently may as well relate to the art of weaving as any other.

So I find R. Solomon, and Aben Esra, understood the word, in the first verse, to refer to *weaving* those figures in the curtains of the tabernacle, but on different grounds, I believe, from that I have proposed, namely, the authority of their old writers². I deduce it, from the wonted superior richness of the *veil of the*

¹ 2 Chron. 26. 15.
Hebr. p. 308.

² Vide Buxtorfi Epit. Rad.

door-way to the other hangings of an apartment.

It may not be amiss to add, that the word which we translate to weave, signifies interweaving any slender substances together, in such a manner as to make any firm texture, and therefore expresses the making wicker-work, as well as fine linen: so we find the word אָרָג (*arag*) is used in the sense of making wicker-work, Is. xix. 9, where our translators render it "they that weave net-works," and in the margin "white-works." Certainly *fish* may be caught by wicker-work as well as by nets, and something of that kind appears in the *Prænestine Mosaic pavement* which Dr. Shaw has given us. *Reeds*, he observes¹, are now commonly made use of; those toils Isaiah speaks of, might be described as made of *wicker-work*, which was *white* from the peeling the twigs made use of, probably to mark out the frequent magnificence of the Ægyptians of that time, in their fishing. For the same reason he speaks of their using *flax of different colours*, (for that is supposed to be the meaning of the words translated *fine flax*,) and which must be imagined to have been for pomp and splendor, more than for use.

After all, the *needle-work* of the Scriptures might sometimes differ very much from what we call *embroidery*: it is certain that the *Per-*

¹ P. 424, 4to. edit.

ians, if we may believe *Sir John Chardin*, have a kind of needle-work very different. The account he gives of it, in short, is as follows: *Their tailors certainly excel ours in their sewing. They make carpets, cushions, veils for doors, and other pieces of furniture of felt, in Mosaic work, which represents just what they please. This is done, so neatly, that a man might suppose the figures were painted, instead of being a kind of inlaid work. Look as close as you will, the joinings cannot be seen*¹.

This Persian kind of needle-work somewhat resembles our old tapestry, which, instead of being woven, was made of many pieces of different colours sewed together, but by no means joined together with *Persian* dexterity. Whether the *needle-work on both sides*, which the mother of *Sisera* supposed² would become a prey to her son, was needle-work of this kind, the curious may consider: certainly we should never think of describing our common embroidery, by it's beauty *on both sides*.

If this account of the sudden, and, to a by-stander, unexpected cutting off his work by the weaver of a carpet, or some such curious kind of workmanship, should not be admitted; yet *Niebuhr* will be allowed, I presume, to have clearly illustrated what is said concerning a shepherd's tent in the same verse.

For, in his description of Arabia, he mentions a circumstance relating to the *Bedouin*

¹ *Voy.* tome 2, p. 85.

² *Judges* 5.

Arabs, which is very amusing to the imagination, and serves to give great energy to that other similé made use of by *Hezekiah*, in the hymn he is supposed to have composed, relating to his dangerous illness and subsequent recovery¹.

“ In the well-watered parts of the country
 “ between the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris*, there
 “ are still several tribes who support them-
 “ selves by their horses, their buffaloes, their
 “ cows, and by agriculture, occupations that
 “ the Arabs of the more noble families judge
 “ below them to follow. The principal tribes
 “ are named *Ahl el Abaar*, the others *Mocœ-*
 “ *dân*. These *Mocœdân* tribes are of a mid-
 “ dle rank, between true Arabs and pea-
 “ sants. They remove their pitiful habitations
 “ from country to country, according as they
 “ want lands to till, or pasturage; it is for
 “ this reason *we sometimes find whole villages,*
 “ *in a place where, the day before, there was not*
 “ *a single hut*.”

The opposite to this is what *Hezekiah* refers to: he felt just such sensations as a man would do, that saw a large encampment of Arabs, surrounded with people, and flocks and herds, one day; and the next, nothing but an *uninhabited desert*.

Mine age, or, as others translate it, *my habitation*, or, perhaps, the word may rather fig-

¹ H. 38. 12.

² P. 336.

nify the *people of my generation*, the people about me, and with whom I have been connected, are gone, and disappear from my eyes; I am just in the situation of one that saw, a few days ago, the tent of an Arab sheik, surrounded by a multitude of tents or huts of his attendants, with flocks and herds, but who, on a sudden, and very unexpectedly, decamping with all his people and possessions, leaves a dreary solitude behind him. Thus, instead of a long train of officers and attendants, marching in great pomp about Hezekiah, and crowds of people paying him royal honours as he passed along; all was reduced to the solitude of a sick chamber, which, though occupied by royalty, could admit only a very few unceremonious attendants, waiting upon him with great silence, on account of the extremity of his illness—*My company about me is dispersed, and silence surrounds me, so that I am like a lonely place in the desert, where a little before the tent of an Arab sheik was pitched, surrounded by his people and cattle.* Such, I apprehend, is the lively meaning of Hezekiah.

OBSERVATION CCXIV.

Though it should be admitted, that the 12th chapter of Isaiah was not composed as an hymn of thanksgiving, for the deliverance of Israel, on some particular occasion, from the hands of their enemies, by means of a copious

fall of rain that filled their exhausted reservoirs of water, by which means they were enabled to hold out, and their enemies were obliged to give over besieging them, and to retire with disgrace; yet it must, I think, be allowed, that, under *that image*, the copious pouring out of the influences of the spirit of God on men, at the coming of the Messiah, is sketched out, and it seems requisite to attend to this representation, in order to enter into all the energy and liveliness of this passage of the prophet.

We meet with such events sometimes in history, and among the Jews too. So Josephus informs us, *that the rain which fell, in one night, was so abundant as soon to fill the cisterns at Masada, where some hundreds of the partizans of Herod were besieged, who by that means were enabled to maintain their post, though they were before just ready to quit it for want of water*¹.

With what joy must these *Herodians* have drawn water out of their wells and cisterns, in the morning after this copious rain, the prelude of others soon to follow! for it seems to have been the first rain, at least of any consideration, that had fallen that autumn. They might, without impropriety, call them the *wells of salvation*, for they were the means, through the

¹ Antiq. lib. 14, cap. 14, § 6, p. 728, edit. Hav. This rain must have been *very copious*, and may serve to confirm an observation in a former volume (obs. 9, of ch. 1.) relating to the very heavy rains that fall in the East in the night. See also obs. 17, of the same chapter.

interposition of Providence, of saving them out of the hands of their enemies. Jonathan, the son of King Saul, is said to have wrought a *great salvation* for Israel, 1 Sam. xiv. 45: and as he was the *instrument* made use of by God to effect that salvation; so the wells, or cisterns, of Massada were the *instruments* that effected the salvation of the adherents of Herod at that time.

I do not however suppose this 12th of Isaiah was composed originally by the prophet, with the design of celebrating an event of his time, similar to that at *Massada*; for he begins it with these words, “And in that day thou shalt say,” plainly referring to the preceding chapter, which relates to the times of the Messiah. But he makes use of the description, of a thanksgiving for such deliverance, to point out the consolatory effects of the pouring out the instructions of the spirit of inspiration in the time of the Messiah, in the most copious manner, after a long suspension of that mercy, under which numbers of them, we may reasonably suppose, were ready to sink, and to desert the cause in which they had been engaged, since we find, that even at the time the 89th Psalm was composed, they began *to reproach the slowness of the footsteps of God's anointed*¹. The describing then the joy for receiving these influences, which are so often compared in holy writ to *water*, and to *rain* in particular, by the

¹ See ver. 50, 51.

rejoicing of those that were delivered from a very painful, and even distressing situation, by the sudden filling their reservoirs by plentiful showers, was an image natural enough, and certainly very lively, and as such made use of by the prophet.

OBSERVATION CCXV.

I leave it to physicians and naturalists to determine, with minute exactness, what effect *extreme hunger* produces on the body, particularly as to *colour*. It is sufficient for me to remark, that the *modern* inhabitants of the East suppose it occasions an approach to *blackness*, as the ancient Jews also did.

“ Her Nazarites,” says the prophet, complaining of the dreadful want of food, just before Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, “ her Nazarites were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk, they were more ruddy in body than rubies, their polishing was of sapphire. Their visage is *blacker* than a coal: they are not known in the streets: their skin cleaveth to their bones; it is withered, it is become like a stick.” Lam. iv. 7, 8.

The like is said, ch. v. 10. “ Our skin was *black* like an oven, because of the terrible famine.”

The same representation of it's effects still obtains in those countries. So Sir John Char-

din tells us', that the common people of Persia, to express the sufferings of *Hosseïn*, a grandson of their prophet Mohammed, and one of their most illustrious saints, who fled into the deserts before his victorious enemies, that pursued him ten days together, and at length overtook him, ready to die with heat, thirst, and fatigue, and slew him with a multitude of wounds, in memory of which they annually observe ten days with great solemnity; I say, he tells us, that the common people then, to express what he suffered, *appear entirely naked, excepting the parts modesty requires to be covered, and blackened all over; while others are stained with blood; others run about the streets, beating two flint-stones against each other, their tongues hanging out of their mouths like people quite exhausted, and behaving like persons in despair, crying with all their might, Hossein, &c. Those that coloured themselves black, intended to represent the extremity of thirst and heat which Hossein had suffered, which was so great, they say, that he turned black, and his tongue swelled out of his mouth. Those that were covered with blood, intended to represent his being so terribly wounded, as that all his blood had issued from his veins before he died.*

Here we see thirst, want of food, and fatigue, are supposed to make an human body look black. They are now supposed to do so; as

¹ Voy. tome 3, p. 173.

they were supposed anciently to have that effect.

OBSERVATION CCXVI.

Odd speculations have been founded on the original expression, in Ezra iv. 14, and published by commentators to the world; which expression informs us, that those that discouraged the rebuilding the Temple at Jerusalem, and wrote to an *ancient Persian king* on that subject, *were salted with the salt of his palace.*

Some have supposed the words refer to their receiving a stipend from the king of Persia, which was wont to be paid in salt¹; others suppose it expresses an acknowledgment that they were preserved by that king's protection, as flesh is preserved by salt². And many pieces of *collateral* learning are introduced to embellish these conceits.

It is sufficient, to put an end to all these conjectures, to recite the words of a *modern Persian monarch*, whose court Chardin attended some time about business. *Rising in a wrath against an officer, who had attempted to deceive him, he drew his sabre, fell upon him, and hewed him in pieces, at the sect of the Grand Vizir, who*

¹ See Bishop Patrick on the place.

² Sanctius ap. Poli Syn.

was standing (and whose favour the poor wretch courted by this deception). And looking fixedly upon him, and the other great lords that stood on each side of him, he said, with a tone of indignation, "I have then such ungrateful servants and traitors as these to eat my salt. Look on this sword, it shall cut off all these perfidious heads." Tome iii. p. 149.

The Persian great men do not receive their salaries, it is well known, in salt; and the officer that was killed was under the immediate protection of the Grand Vizir, not the prince: our English version has given then the sense, though it has not literally translated the passage. It means the same thing as eating one's bread signifies here in the West, but, perhaps, with a particular energy.

I beg leave to introduce one remark here, of a very different nature, that we may learn from this story, that Samuel's *beheading Agag in pieces*¹, though so abhorrent from our customs, differs very little, in many respects, from this Persian execution. Samuel was a person of high distinction in Israel, he had been their judge, or their supreme governor under God; he was a prophet too; and we are ready to think his *holy hands* should not have been employed in the actual shedding of blood. How strange would it be in our eyes, if we should see one of our kings cutting off the head of a traitor with his own hands; or an

¹ 1 Sam. 15. 33.

archbishop of Canterbury stabbing a foreign captived prince! But different countries have very different usages. Soliman king of Persia, who hewed this unfaithful officer in pieces, reigned over a much larger and richer country than Judæa, and at the same time was considered by his subjects as sacred a person as Samuel: supposed to be descended from their *prophet Mohammed*, to reign by a *divine constitution*, and to be possessed, we are assured by this writer in another place, of a kind of *prophetic penetration and authority*.

I have said, it appears to signify the same thing as eating one's *bread* in the West, but, probably, with some particular kind of *energy*, marking out not merely the obligations of gratitude, but the *strictest ties of fidelity*.

For as the letter was wrote not only by some of the great officers on the western side of the Euphrates, but in the name of the several colonies of people that had been transplanted thither, the Dinaites, the Apharsathchites, the Tarpelites, &c. ver. 9, 10, it is not to be supposed these *tribes* of people all received their food from the palace, or a stipend for their support, but with great adulation they might pretend, they considered themselves as held under as strong engagements of fidelity to the kings of Persia, as if they had eaten *salt in his palace*. The following story from d'Herbelot will explain this, if the views of these ancient *Persians* may be supposed to correspond with those of the *Persians* of the ninth century.

Jacob

Jacob ben Laith, the founder of a dynasty of *Persian* princes called the *Soffarides*, rising, like many others of the ancestors of the princes of the East, from a very low state to royal power, being, in his first setting out in the use of arms, no better than a free-booter or robber, is yet said to have maintained some regard to decency in his depredations, and never to have entirely stripped those that he robbed, always leaving them something to soften their affliction.

Among other exploits that are recorded of him, he is said to have broken into the palace of the prince of that country, and having collected a very large booty, which he was on the point of carrying away, he found his foot kicked something, which made him stumble. He imagined it might be something of value, and putting it to his mouth, the better to distinguish what it was, his tongue soon informed him it was a lump of salt. Upon this, according to the morality, or rather superstition of the country, where the people considered salt as a symbol and pledge of hospitality, he was so touched, that he left all his booty, retiring without taking away any thing with him.

The next morning, the risque they had run of losing many valuable things, being perceived, great was the surprise, and strict the enquiry what should be the occasion of their being left. At length *Jacob* was found to be the person concerned, who having given an account, very sincerely, of the whole transaction to the prince, he gained his esteem so effectually, that it might
be

be said, with truth, that it was his regard for salt, that laid the foundation of his after fortune. The prince employing him as a man of courage and genius in many enterprizes, and finding him successful in all of them, he raised him, by little and little, to the chief posts among his troops, so that at that prince's death, he found himself possessed of the command in chief, and had such interest in their affections, that they preferred his interests to those of the children of the deceased prince, and he became absolute master of that province, from whence he afterwards spread his conquests far and wide¹.

When then the *Apharsathchites*, the *Tarpelites*, and the other transplanted tribes told Artaxerxes, the Persian monarch, that they were *salted with the salt of his palace*, it should seem, according to these things, to mean, that they considered themselves as eating his bread, on account of being put and continued in possession of a considerable part of the Jewish country, by him and his predecessors; and that their engagements of fidelity to him were indeed as strong, as if they had eaten *salt in his palace*.

OBSERVATION CCXVII.

There is so much resemblance between an expression of *surprise*, made use of by the

¹ *Bibl. Orient*, p. 466.

Turks, upon an exhibition of the military kind among them by the Baron de Tott, and some words of *Balaam* recorded in the book of Numbers, that I thought it might be worth while to take notice of it.

When the Baron de Tott was endeavouring to make them better gunners, for want of which they suffered such great losses in the war with the Russians, which terminated in 1774, he was forced by them, very contrary to his wish, to fire a cannon at a certain mark. Upon redoubled solicitations, he was prevailed on to point the piece, and was not less surpris'd than those around him, to see the bullet hit the piquet, in the center of the butt. The cry *machalla* resounded on all sides¹.

At the bottom of the page is this note: Machalla (What God has done!) An expression of the greatest admiration.

This reminds one of an expression of *Balaam*, Numb. xxiii. 22, 23. "God brought them out of Ægypt; he hath as it were the strength of an unicorn. Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel: according to this time it shall be said of Jacob, and of Israel, *What hath God wrought!*"

These words may be understood to be expressive of *devotion* as well as *surprise*; but a word of this import appears to be used now in the East merely to signify surprise,

¹ Mem. vol. 2, part 3, p. 96.

and nothing more, probably, was meant by Balaam.

OBSERVATION CCXVIII.

According to the book of Tobit, the Jews of the ten tribes, that were carried away into captivity, were frequently slain, without just cause, by Sennacherib, out of resentment for his bad success against Jerufalem, in the time of Hezekiah; and also afterwards by his son and successor. These slaughtered Jews, among his other good works, Tobit *buried*, and by that means exposed himself to great danger of being *put to death*.

The account is given us in the first and second chapters of that book, and contains, in other words, the following particulars:—That the poor Jews of the captivity were frequently put to death arbitrarily—That their slaughtered bodies were oftentimes left unburied—That they were left on the outside of the town, near the walls of Nineveh; or left hanging upon the walls: for a different reading renders the account somewhat uncertain—That the prince sometimes enquired after the dead bodies—That Tobit being complained of for burying them, he was sought for to be put to death for that reason—And that they were sometimes

¹ The Vatican copy reading, *οτισω τε ταυχης Νινευη*; the Alexandrine, according to Lambert Bos, *επι τα ταυχης εις Νινευη*.

put to death in private, and afterward exposed to public view.

These modes of procedure are very abhorrent from our apprehensions of government, but quite answerable to what is to this day practised in the despotic countries of the East, which affords us a clear comment on these passages of the book of Tobit.

We are told, in this ancient Jewish book, that Tobit's son came and told his father, *that one of their nation was strangled, and was cast out in the market-place*¹. His being cast into a place of public view, *after* he was strangled, seems to intimate that he was put to death in private, and afterwards exposed.

Niebuhr, in his description of Arabia, p. 11, gives just such an account of what happened at *Basra*², a few days before his arrival there. *In that city, he tells us, a very rich merchant, who had been received into the powerful body of the Janizaries, and had been at Mecca as a pilgrim, but who lived in enmity with the governor, was strangled privately a little before Niebuhr's arrival there, and his dead body thrown into the public market-place.*

Their executions are at other times *public*, and then commonly *without their cities*³. It seems to have been so anciently, and it is to this circumstance, I should suppose, the Psalmist refers, when he says, (Ps. lxxix. 2, 3,)

¹ Ch. 2. 3. ² Or Bussorah, as we commonly call it.

³ As appears by both Dr. Shaw, and Pitts's account of Algiers.

“ The dead bodies of thy servants have they
 “ given to be meat unto the fowls of the
 “ heaven, the flesh of thy faints unto the beasts
 “ of the earth. Their blood have they shed
 “ like water *round about* Jerusalem : and there
 “ was none to bury them.”

It is to these executions without the walls that, probably, the author of this book of Tobit refers, when he says, “ And if I saw
 “ any of my nation dead, or cast *about* the
 “ walls of Nineveh, I buried him.” The word in the Greek, according to some copies, is *οπισω*, *behind*, the walls of Nineveh. So the margin tells you it may be translated: it is, indeed, the proper meaning of the word. Different words are made use of to express lying about without the walls of the city, according to the view in which we speak of them. The people of Tyre, who lived at a distance from Jerusalem, when they brought their merchandise to this last-mentioned city, but were not permitted to enter it, are said to have lodged *about*, or rather, according to the marginal translation, *before*¹ the wall, Neh. xiii. 20, 21. But if this lodging *without the walls* of Jerusalem was lodging before the wall, with respect to strangers that lived in other towns, it was *behind* the wall with respect to those in Jerusalem. Thus, in a *sacred song*, the hero of the piece is said by the lady, who is supposed to have been in a pleasure-house, or arbour, in a

¹ *Απεναντι τῶ τειχῆς* is the translation of the Septuagint.

garden, to have stood *behind the wall*¹, shewing himself through the lattice.

If the reading of the Vatican copy (*behind the walls of Nineveh*) be right, Tobit appears to refer to the scene of Eastern executions, which is without the walls, and where afterwards the dead bodies were left unburied; if the Alexandrine (*επι, upon the walls*) then he must refer to the Eastern manner of sometimes executing criminals *on the walls* of their cities, either by hanging them from thence *by ropes*, or on *hooks* fastened in the wall².

I should think the first *most natural*, as it must have been much more difficult for Tobit to have taken the bodies of his countrymen from the walls, in order to inter them; than when left dead on the ground, after having had a cord twisted about their necks 'till they were dead, in which manner people are now often strangled in the East.

But in what place soever they lost their lives, it was, and is *now* understood to be highly criminal to *bury them without permission*. It is with us, in some cases, criminal, but not so universally as in those countries of slavery and cruelty. So Windus, in his account of Commodore Stewart's journey to Mequinez, assures us, as to those that are tossed by order of the emperor of *Morocco*, by which their necks are frequently broke, but who some-

¹ Where the Septuagint renders it, *οπισω τε τοιχε ημων.*

² Of both which modes of punishment Dr. Shaw has given an account, p. 253, 254.

times escape with their lives, that such an one “ must not stir a limb, if he is able, “ while the emperor is in sight, under penalty “ of being tossed again, but is forced to lie as “ if he were dead, which if he should really “ be, nobody *dares bury the body* ’till the em- “ peror has given orders for it ‘.” Again, speaking of a man sawn in two, p. 157, 158, he informs us, his body “ must have remained “ to have been eaten by the dogs, if the em- “ peror had not pardoned him : an extrava- “ gant custom, to pardon a man after he is “ dead ; but unless he does so, nobody dares “ bury the body.”

The like severity, according to this old Jewish writer, was practised at Nineveh, in the time of King Sennacherib : the supposing this was their way of proceeding, explains the nature of the complaint made to this prince concerning Tobit, by one of the Ninevites ; and shows how natural it was, that he should be sought for *to be put to death*, and should withdraw *for fear*, though he was a person of *some consideration* : the dead that have been executed for real or pretended crimes not being to be buried without leave.

The emperor of Morocco not unfrequently pardons one he has put to death, upon which he is to be buried ; which illustrates what is meant by the bodies being sought for by the king, and which could not be found, as having

been buried by *Tobit*. The king of Nineveh directing such and such to be put to death; or having perhaps slain them, like this modern African prince, with his own hand, after some pause ordered them to be buried, when they were found to have been beforehand taken away, and interred, which, it must be supposed, must have been extremely displeasing to so haughty and irritated a prince as Sennacherib is represented to have been.

The supposition of the book of *Tobit*, that many of the Jewish captives at Nineveh were slain arbitrarily by Sennacherib, and merely because he was in an ill-humour, was an exertion of power frequently practised by Muley Ishmael of Morocco; so similar are the effects of ancient and modern despotism in the East and the South.

OBSERVATION CCXIX.

Sir John Chardin describes the Persians as sometimes transporting *their wine in buck or goat-skins, which are pitched: and when the skin is good the wine is not at all injured, nor tastes of the pitch*¹. At other times they send it in bottles, whose mouths are stopped with cotton, upon which melted wax is poured, so as quite to exclude the air. They pack them up

¹ Tome 2, p. 67.

in chests in straw, ten small bottles¹ in each, sending the celebrated wine of Chiras thus through all the kingdom, into the Indies, ana even to China and Japan.

In the same paragraph he tells us, they make *rose-water* to transport to the Indies, and other things which he mentions, very good, and which will keep long, which are sent thither in *bottles*, which may hold about two pounds weight each, and are sent thither in *chests*. These bottles are apparently stop-ped with *wax*, like those of wine, though he doth not say so in express terms. Hasselquist, however, I remember, speaking of the *rose-water of Ægypt*, which is so much praised for its *fragrancy*, tells us, that “an incredible
“ quantity is distilled yearly at Fajhum, and
“ sold in Ægypt, being exported to other coun-
“ tries. An apothecary, who kept a shop in
“ the street of the Franks, bought yearly
“ 1500 lb. (about 180 gallons) which he
“ caused to be brought to the city in cop-
“ per vessels, *lined with wax*, selling it to
“ great profit at Cairo. The Eastern people
“ use the water in a luxurious manner, sprink-
“ ling it on the hands, face, *head*, and clothes
“ of those they mean to honour².”

The term *lined* does not seem to be a word

¹ These small bottles hold, according to him, four pints and an half, (equal to nine English pints;) some are so large as to hold five of the smaller sort, made of thick glass, and wickered to prevent their breaking. Tome 3, p. 145.

² P. 249.

chosen with accuracy here, however it is evident *wax* was the substance made use of to preserve this precious perfume from *evaporating*, or suffering any *diminution as to the richness of it's odour*.

As to the ancient Romans, they were wont most certainly to use *pitch* to secure their wine vessels, as we learn from Horace¹, whose editors have shown that it was according to one of the precepts of Cato. However, though *pitch*, and other matters of a grosser kind, might be used to close up their wine vessels, those that held their perfumes were doubtless closed with *wax*, or some such *neat cement*, since they were small, and made of *alabaster*, and other precious materials, which would by no means have agreed with such a coarse matter as pitch.

To close this observation, and bring it to the point I have in view, I would observe, that *Propertius* calls the opening a wine-vessel, by breaking the cement that secured it, *breaking the vessel*:

Cur ventos non ipse rogis, ingrâte, petisti?

Cur nardo flammæ non oluere meæ?

Hoc etiam grave erat, nullâ mercede hyacinthos

Injicere, & fractis busta piare cado.

Lib. iv. El. 7, v. 31, &c.

It cannot be supposed that *Propertius* meant, the earthen vessel should have itself been shiver-

¹ Carm. lib. 3, Od. 8, v. 9, 10, 11, 12, ed. Delph.

ed into pieces, but only that it's *stopple* should be taken out, to do which it was necessary to *break the cement*. For, according to *Tibullus*, a contemporary Roman poet, the wine used on those occasions was wont to be *sprinkled* on the bones, not poured like an *ill-directed* torrent upon them, by breaking the earthen vessel itself.

Pars quæ sola mei superabit corporis, ossa
 Incinctæ nigrâ candida veste legant :
 Et primum *anneſo ſpargant collecta* bycæ,
 Mox etiam niveo fundere lacte parent ;
 Poſt hæc carbaceis humorem tollere velis,
 Atque in marmoreâ ponere *ſicca* domo.

Lib. iii. El. 2, v. 17, &c.

Agreeably to this mode of expreſſion, I preſume, we are to underſtand that paſſage of St. Mark, in which he mentions *a woman's bringing an alabaſter box of ointment of ſpikenard*, (or *liquid nard*, according to the margin,) *very precious* ; and ſhe brake the box, and poured it on his head. Ch. xiv. 3.

Commentators have been perplexed how to underſtand this : it ſeemed not only a piece of vain profuſion to break an *alabaſter* box in pieces, but diſagreeable to have the ſlivers tumbling about the head of our Lord ; on the other hand, the word tranſlated *brake* ſeems to ſignify ſomething different from the mere ſhaking the veſſel, to render it more liquid. But if we underſtand it of the breaking the *cement*, with which it was more cloſely ſtopped, that circumſtance appears natural, and ſuch

such an explanation will be justified by the phraseology of *Propertius*, a writer of the *same age*.

I will only add, that it appears, from a passage in the Septuagint, that it was not usual to *break* vessels of *alabaster*, when they made use of the perfume in them, for they understand. 2 Kings xxi. 13. of such a vessel, rendering what we translate, "I will wipe Jerusalem, as a man wipeth a dish, wiping it, and turning it upside down," after this manner, "I will unanoint Jerusalem" (if I may use such a term, that is, wipe away it's perfume,) "as an alabaster unanointed box is unanointed, and is turned down on it's face," that is, I apprehend, as an alabaster box emptied of it's perfume is wiped out as clean as possible, and turned upside down. This shows these Jewish translators supposed these vessels of perfume were not wont to be broken; but the *cement that fastened the cover must have been broken* when they first made use of a box.

Horace supposes some of those vessels into which perfumes were put, were considerably large:

———— funde *capacibus*
 Unguenta de conchis. —————
 Carm. lib. ii. od. 7, v. 22, 23,
 ed. Delph.

The same is supposed in the gospel of Saint John, ch. xii. 3, where the quantity some alabaster boxes would hold is supposed to be

10 a pound

a pound weight of those times, or somewhat more than twelve ounces of our avoirdupois weight.

Liberal as one of the temper of *Horace* might be, we may believe he would not wish to apply such a quantity to every guest, and our Lord accordingly supposes, verse 7, that this was more like a *funeral unction*, than that of an *entertainment*, even of the most generous kind.

I will only add, that though a vase of *alabaster* was made use of when our Lord was anointed, yet *Horace* uses the term *conchis*, which signifies *shells*, shells being, probably, the things first used for the putting up perfumes, they being principally the produce of *Arabia*, and the *Red-Sea*, which washes the coasts of that country, furnishing the inhabitants of it with shells very capacious for that purpose, and sufficiently convenient, as well as beautiful.

OBSERVATION CCXX.

Whatever sense we put upon that circumstance of the swearing of Abraham's servant, when he was to fetch a wife for Isaac out of Mesopotamia—the putting his hand under his master's thigh, it is, I think, by no means to be considered as a *deception*, owing to a defect in Abraham's eye-sight, but an intended *ceremony*, belonging to the solemnity of swearing.

I should hardly have made this observation,
had

had not a learned and ingenious writer¹ seemed to suppose it was merely a deception: his words are these, “As the patriarchs so frequently ratify their promises by an oath, it may not be improper to observe, that the most solemn form was to raise the hand, and swear by the name of God. Gen. xiv. 22, xxi. 23. Abraham’s servant indeed puts his hand under his master’s thigh when he swears; but this I should suppose to arise from *the eyes of the patriarch being so dim* that he could not distinguish, whether his servant raised his hand according to the common form, it being stated in the preceding verse, ‘that Abraham was old, and well stricken in age.’ Gen. xxiv.”

I cannot help expressing my surprise at this interpretation: the Hebrew historian informs us, that when *Isaac was old, his eyes were so dim, that he could not see*, Gen. xxvii. 1. The same is said of Jacob, Gen. xlviii. 10. But not a word of this kind concerning Abraham: nor do all aged people lose their eyesight. There is no sufficient ground then, on this account, to *suppose* a deception. Farther, it was not the *construction* that Abraham put on the transaction, arising from the imperfection of his sight; but what he *previously*

¹ The honourable Daines Barrington, Esq. Archæologia, vol. 5, p. 125, note. The same paper furnishes the materials for the two succeeding observations.

desired his servant to do: "Abraham said "unto the eldest servant of his house, that "ruled over all that he had, 'Put, I pray "thee, thy hand *under my thigh,*'" Gen. xxiv. 2. Jacob requested his son Joseph to do the like, ch. xlvii. 29. It was then intended, and desired by Abraham and Jacob, consequently to be understood as a *ceremony* of swearing, in those times, whether we understand it's true meaning, or not.

Had the historian only said, the patriarch desired his servant to swear, and that, in consequence, he put his hand under Abraham's thigh, this writer's supposition would have been then *inadmissible*: for the servant appears to have been too religious a person, and too respectful to his master, to have treated him in this supposed ludicrous manner. The same may certainly be said of Joseph. Both he then, and Abraham's servant, undoubtedly swore in the manner the patriarchs desired; and which they would not have desired, if it had not been thought proper in that age. Nor is it imaginable that they pretendedly lifted up their hands in swearing, in the manner this gentleman supposes they should have done, according to the custom of those times, and that both the patriarchs should be so unluckily deceived, as to think they did, when in truth they only lifted up their hands as high, and no higher, than *their* thighs; and if they had perceived the intended fraud, would they not have required them to perform

form the ceremony, of lifting up their hands to heaven, in the proper manner? However, the putting their hands under the thigh of each patriarch respectively, was what they themselves required. The explanation then of this writer cannot be admitted, turn it which way you will.

The present mode of swearing among the Mohammedan Arabs, that live in tents *as the patriarchs did*, according to de la Roque¹, is, by laying *their hands on the Koran*: it seems they cause those that swear *to wash their hands before they give them the book; they put their left hand underneath, and the right over it; they make them swear upon the truth of what that book contains, and call God to witness they swear true*. Whether, among the patriarchs, one hand was under, and the other upon the thigh, in like manner, is not certain.

For it should seem, that among the ancient Jews, if they lifted up one hand to heaven, the other was frequently placed in another situation. *When the son of Shelomith cursed and blasphemed, they that heard him, (that is, the witnesses against him,) were directed to lay their hands upon his head, and then all Israel were to stone him with stones.* Lev. xxiv. 14. If in swearing then, in attestation of their having heard him, they lifted up one hand to heaven, the other, it should seem, was laid on the head of the criminal. And thus the apo-

¹ Voy. dans la Pal. p. 152.

cryphal writer of the story of Susannah tells us, the wretched elders, that bore testimony against her, laid their hands upon her head, ver. 34. In these cases, it should seem, that one hand was stretched out towards heaven, calling God to witness the truth of what they testified; the other hand laid on the accused party's head. Abraham's servant then, and Joseph, might swear, with one hand stretched out to heaven, the other under the thigh of the patriarchs. Or their manner of swearing might more nearly resemble the present Arab mode.

As the posterity of the patriarchs are described as coming out of their thigh, Gen. xlvi. 26, and Exod. i. 5, (see the margin,) to which may be added Judg. viii. 30, it has been supposed, this ceremony of putting the hand under the thigh, had some relation to their believing the promise of God, to bless all the nations of the earth¹ by means of one that was to descend from Abraham, and from Jacob.

To return to the present Arab mode of swearing: placing one hand under, and the other over a book, supposed to contain in writing the sure promises of God, signifies they believed what they swore to be as true as those declarations, calling God to witness. Now I would ask, whether one hand under the thigh of the patriarch might not be swearing on the truth of an unwritten promise, relating to the posterity of Abraham, which, in the language

¹ Gen. 12. 3, ch. 22. 18.

of that country and age were considered as coming out of the thigh; and if the other hand was lifted up to heaven, as calling God to witness that they spoke from the heart, whether such management would not be very agreeable to the present Arab mode of swearing, or, at least, the Jewish form?

Mr. Barrington's explanation, whatever may be thought of this which I have now proposed, certainly cannot be just.

OBSERVATION CCXXI.

The vessel that the Eastern women frequently make use of, for the purpose of *carrying water*, is described as like our jars, and is, it seems, of earth.

Bishop Pococke, in his journey from Acre to Nazareth, observed a well, *where oxen were drawing up water, from whence women carried water up an hill, in earthen jars, to water some plantations of tobacco*. In the next page he mentions the same thing in general, and speaks of their carrying the jars *on their heads*. There is no reason to suppose, this kind of vessel was appropriated to the carrying water for the purposes of agriculture, it might do equally well when they carried it for *domestic* uses.

Such seems to have been the sort of vessels in which the women of ancient times fetched water, for it is called a *cad* in the history of

¹ Vol. 2, p. 61 and 62.

Rebecca, Gen. xxiv. 14, &c ; and I have elsewhere shown, that that word signifies a *jar* of considerable size, in which they keep their *corn*, and in which, at least sometimes, they fetched their *water* †.

The honourable Mr. Barrington, in the fifth volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 121, mentions, among the other customs of the patriarchs, the women's carrying water in *pitchers on their shoulders* ; which minute circumstance is mentioned, because the painters, in representing subjects from the patriarchal history, often offend against the *costumi*. For the same reason, it may not be improper to observe, that the pitcher, or vessel to receive the water, was probably composed of a skin, or bladder, as Hagar carries the water in *אֶשְׁכּוֹ וְדָרוֹס*, according to the *Septuagint*, though it is rendered in our version a bottle.

The want of attention to what is called the *costumi* in painting, is undoubtedly a fault, and sometimes truly ridiculous. But I am afraid a painter would not escape the censure of a *rigid critic*, if he should follow this writer's ideas, in drawing *Rebecca at the well*. A bladder is, I believe, never used by the Eastern people for carrying of water, nor would it be a proper vessel for that purpose, as water easily passes through a *bladder*, and would waste apace in that hot country. Hagar would be properly drawn with a *leather bottle on her shoulder*, when she was sent away by Abraham

† *Obs.* vol. 1, p. 278, 279, and p. 365.

into the Wilderness, for the Hebrew word seems to signify such a vessel, as well as the Greek term used by the Septuagint; but it would be a transgression of those rules of accuracy Mr. Barrington would have observed, to draw Rebecca at the well with such a vessel, for the original word signifies, it should seem, an *earthen jar*, which ought to be placed somehow on her shoulder, or on her head, if we would explain ancient managements *wholly* by modern customs, not a leather bottle, or a vessel made of a skin, such as was given Hagar.

Instead of such a vessel, I have seen a picture of Hagar's distress, when her son was ready to die with thirst in the Wilderness, of no contemptible workmanship, with respect to the *mechanical* part, in which Ishmael is represented as laying his arm on an empty *Virginian* gourd-shell, (an *American* water-vessel,) and what was worse, the landscape was agreeably verdant and flowery, and the expiring youth, of fourteen years old at least, was represented as a lovely smiling infant of about a year and half, perfectly unacquainted with thirst, or any other want¹.

Since the above was written, I have observed a passage in Dr. Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor, that confirms and illustrates the preceding account: "The women, says the

¹ Observ. vol. 1, p. 366. Gen. 17. 25, compared with ch. 21. 5.

Doctor, “ resort to the fountains by their
 “ houses, each with a *large two-handled*
 “ *earthen jar*, on the back, or *thrown over*
 “ *the shoulder*, for water’.”

This account of the jars made use of by the Greek women of the island Tenedos may, very naturally, be understood to be a modern, but accurate comment on what is said concerning Rebecca’s *fetching water*.

The Eastern women, according to Dr. Pococke, sometimes carry their jars upon their *heads*; but Rebecca’s was carried on her shoulder.

In such a case, it should seem, the jar is not to be supposed to have been placed *upright on the shoulder*, but held by one of the handles, with the hand, *over the shoulder*, and suspended in this manner on the back. Held, I should imagine, by the *right hand*, over the left shoulder. Consequently, when it was to be presented to Abraham’s servant, that he might drink out of it, it was to be gently moved over the left arm, and being suspended by one hand, while the other, probably, was placed under the bottom of the jar, it was in that position, it should seem, presented to Abraham’s servant, and his attendants, to drink out of. “ She said, Drink, my Lord: and she hastened, “ and let down her pitcher *upon her hand*, and “ gave him drink.” Ver. 18.

¹ P. 21.

OBSERVATION CCXXII.

Rebecca's covering herself with a veil, when Isaac came to meet her, which is mentioned Gen. xxiv. 65, is to be considered, I apprehend, rather as a part of the *ceremonial* belonging to the *presenting* a bride to her intended husband; than an effect either of female *delicacy*, or desire to appear in the *most attractive form*.

“ It is impossible,” says Mr. Barrington¹, “ however, that Rebecca's *ἀσπίς* could have “ been the same with Tamar's, for a veil *covering the face* is stated to be peculiar to “ harlots; I therefore rather understand that “ Rebecca, upon seeing her destined husband, “ lights off her camel to put on a clean habit, “ and appear *as smart* as possible. As for “ raising a veil on approaching a man, it “ must be remembered she had travelled with “ Abraham's servant.”

Travelling before with Abraham's head servant, and his *companions*, for he had several men with him², she, doubtless, before Isaac appeared, had observed all the *decencies* ancient Eastern modesty required, as Mr. Barrington supposes: her covering herself then with a veil was not on that account. But neither was it, I should imagine, the effect of female solicitude to set herself off to advantage, as

¹ Archæologia, vol. 5, p. 121.

² Gen. 24. 32, 59.

Mr. Barrington rather humourously supposes. I should imagine it most probable, that it was a part of the ceremonial of those times, on such occasions.

The Eastern brides are wont to be veiled in a particular manner, it should seem, when presented to the bridegroom. Those that give us an account of their customs, at such times, take notice of their being veiled *all over*. Dr. Russell gives us this circumstance in his account of a Maronite wedding¹, which, he says, may serve as a *specimen* of all the rest, there being nothing materially different in the ceremonies of the different sects².

His mentioning her being veiled *quite over*³, seems to express the veil being larger than usual at such time; as the colour, which, he tells us, is *red*⁴, is mentioned as different from that of common veils.

The veil, I should suppose, that Rebecca put on, was such an one as was appropriate to such a solemnity, and that she was presented to Isaac, by her *nurse*, and other female attendants, in form.

I do not know that it is so inconsistent as this ingenious writer supposes, if we should

¹ Descript. of Aleppo, p. 126.

² P. 125.

³ One of the plates in the first volume of Niebuhr's *Voy. en Arabie & en d'autres Pays circonvoisins*, is a representation of a nuptial procession, where the bride is represented in this manner veiled all over, and attended by other women in common veils, which do not prevent their eyes being seen.

⁴ Red gauze, p. 126.

believe Tamar's veil was much the same as Rebecca's: both, it should seem, differed from those the Eastern women wear in common; but the going, in procession, to meet a bridegroom, certainly was a sufficient difference from the sitting by the way side, unattended, and even quite alone, in such a dress as was the wonted prelude to matrimonial transactions.

OBSERVATION CCXXIII.

Vestments, or parts of dress, were certainly, in ancient times, presented among other things to the great¹; but there is one article that comes under that description now made use of in the East, that, probably, was never thought of two thousand years ago—I mean *shauls*.

That *shauls* are frequently made presents of to the great, appears from Irwin's Travels up the Red-Sea, and through the Deserts of Ægypt. In p. 60 he tells us, that they presented a *shaul* to the vizier of *Yambo*. In another place he observes, that the only finery worn by the great *shaik* of the Arabs in Upper Ægypt, was an *orange-coloured shaul* carelessly thrown about his shoulders². They, it seems, had presented him, according to a preceding page³, with *two* fine *shauls*. It is then a part of Eastern

¹ 2 Kings 5. 26, 1 Kings 10. 25.

² P. 285. ³ P. 272.

magnificent drefs, and given to the great by way of present.

Nor was it what these English gentlemen *fancied* might be an agreeable present to them, but he elfewhere informs us, *shauls* were what fome of them defired might be given them by way of present. So the young *shaik* that convoyed them from *Cofire to the Nile*, had a *shaul* given him, to which *he had taken a liking*, befides his proper pay, p. 187. So the avaricious and oppreffive vizier of Ghinnah politely infinuated, that a *shaul or two* would be very acceptable to him, and accordingly, *Irwin* tells us, that having two fine ones belonging to his Turkish drefs, which had flood him in one hundred dollars, thefe were prefented to the vizier, p. 189.

Thefe *shauls* are made, it feems, of *camels-hair*, or fine *Cafhmirian wool*, and are very valuable, according to a note on a paffage of the *Tales of Inatulla*¹.

I mention thefe *shauls*, and the materials of which they are made, in order to remove a difficulty that may arife in fome minds, upon reading the account of the drefs of John the Baptift, who was clothed in raiment made of camel's-hair, Matt. iii. 4, and Mark i. 6. Could the being drefsed in camel's-hair ever be fuppofed to be a drefs of mortification, or even of rural meannefs, when *shauls* are made

¹ Vol. 1, p. 205.

of that material, which are so costly, and so highly valued?

I have touched upon this matter in a preceding volume¹; but, as I think it may be explained more satisfactorily still, I would take the liberty of resuming the consideration of it again, among these *additional observations*.

The vestments of the great, in the time of John Baptist, were *purple and fine linen*, Luke xvi. 19. The first precious on account of the dye, the other for its *fineness*. But woollen garments were not highly esteemed². They did not well agree with that neatness, and freedom from ill scents, so much attended to in the East. *Cashmirian wool* appears not to have been then known, or any wool drawn out to great fineness. The same may be said, I apprehend, of camels-hair. They had not learned to manufacture it, as is now done in the East, in a manner which renders what is made of it so valuable. Possibly the *hair of the Jewish camels* will not now admit of being so manufactured; but if it might have been spun to that degree of fineness, it certainly was not so managed in the time of our Lord, much less in earlier ages, since we find no reference in the Scriptures to what supposes the manufacturing of camels-hair, only in the case of the Baptist, whose raiment is evidently represented as mean, if not mortifying. “What

¹ Observ. on divers Passages of Scripture, vol. 2, p. 487.

² See Ezek. 44. 17, 18.

“ went ye out for to see? A man clothed in
 “ soft raiment? Behold, they that wear soft
 “ clothing are in kings’ houses,” Matt. xi. 8.
 They that wear *shauls* are such as attend the
 houses of kings and princes; the garments
 of John were of a very different kind.

In short, as our shepherds now pick up the
 wool the sheep lose from their backs, by means
 of the bushes, or other accidents, which they
 spin into the *coarsest* yarn, and knit into stock-
 ings for their own wear; so it is sufficiently
 apparent, that the inhabitants of the Jewish
 deserts, where John resided, made a very coarse
 stuff of the hair that came off their camels,
 for their own immediate use, which dress John
 adopted when he lived among those poor
 people.

So we find the Tartars of our time manu-
 facture their camels-hair into a kind of *felt*,
 with which they cover those slight frames of
 wood-work, which, so covered, form the ha-
 bitations in which they live; but the way of
 life of those people is looked upon as the re-
 verse of what is easy and pompous¹.

OBSERVATION CCXXIV.

Among many matters in the Old Testa-
 ment, which the licentious wit of Monsieur
 Voltaire has made the subject of improper

¹ Baron de Tott’s Mem. part 2, p. 50.

pleasantry, is the account Moses has given us of Sarah's being sought for by two kings, when she passed for Abraham's sister, and was supposed to be at liberty to marry. Her age is the great objection, and supposed to be sufficient not only to destroy the *probability* of those facts, but to hold them up as just subjects of ridicule.

The well-known frequent marriages of *Oriental princes* with women of the lowest class, on the one hand; and on the other, the figure that some make in those countries now¹, who lead a pastoral life, which cannot be contested, and which is affirmed to have been the situation of Abraham², cut off all other objections to this account of the sacred historian. But some of my readers may wish to see the difficulty arising from her age somewhat softened.

Sarah, it has been remarked, was just ten years younger than Abraham³. Consequently, as Abraham was seventy-five years old when

¹ See Obs. on divers Places of Scripture, vol. 1, chap. 2, obs. 17.

² "Abram was very rich in *cattle*, in *silver*, and in *gold*," Gen. 13. 2. "When Abram heard that his brother was taken captive, he armed his *trained servants*, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued them to Dan; and he divided himself against them, he and his servants by night, and smote them," (namely, four Eastern kings,) Gen. 14. 14, 15. "The children of Heth answered Abraham, saying unto him, Hear us, my lord; thou art a *mighty prince* amongst us: in the choice of our sepulchres, &c." Gen. 23. 5, 6.

³ For, according to Gen. 17. 17, when Abraham was one hundred years old, Sarah was ninety.

he removed from Haran to the land of Canaan', Sarah must have been at that time *sixty-five*; is it possible to believe, that after that time princes could desire to associate her with their other women? Such is the objection of *Voltaire*, and it is proposed with a triumphant air.

I would beg leave to observe two things in reply.

In the first place, the circumstances of mankind are represented, by Moses, as considerably different in the earlier ages of the world from what they are now. The *length* of human life very much differed, according to Moses, from what it was in after times, and all allow that he makes *this supposition*. I apprehend he supposes, *in like manner*, the length of the middle stage of life differed from what is now known to take place. Before Isaac was born it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women²; but this change doth not appear to have happened before her coming into Canaan, yet that would have been the case, many years before, had human nature undergone no alteration since her time³. The representations of Moses seem to point out, not only a change as to the *length of life*; but a difference as to the approach of the imperfections of old age. Sarah's capacity then for the having of children might continue till eighty,

¹ Gen. 12. 4.

² Gen. 18. 11.

³ Russell's Hist. of Aleppo, p. 78, note.

or near ninety, as well as a modern Aleppine lady find those powers continue 'till forty and sometimes forty-five; and Abraham might be in a state of no greater decay at one hundred and seventy-five, than is among us in men at eighty-five, who are considered as persons that wear well¹. This seems *visibly* the representation of Moses.

And as there are *occasional* deviations, in these respects, from the usual course of things among us, from time to time, unknown causes might operate generally, in those early periods, in retarding matters. Moses appears to have supposed such a difference existed, and his accounts are to be explained accordingly.

If then it ceased not to be with *Sarah* after the manner of women 'till she was about *eighty*², and her comeliness 'till that time as great as in many women in our country at forty, her age, when fought for by the king of Ægypt³, (which, according to the common chronological tables, was when she was about sixty-six, and, consequently, according to the representations of Scripture, when she had all the agreeableness of a woman of three and thirty among

¹ I have since remarked, that the author of the Letters of the German and Polish Jews to Monsieur Voltaire, had made a similar observation.

² It is certain, that she gave not over expecting children, 'till she had been ten years in the land of Canaan, from what Moses has said, Gen. 16. 1, 2, 3, when she was seventy-five years old.

³ Gen. 12. 14, 15.

us,) her age, I say, cannot be considered as a circumstance that renders the account incredible.

What her age was when *Abimelech* the king of *Gerar* took her, Gen. xx. 1, 2, doth not appear. She was older, and probably some years; but as the particulars of this history do not appear to be ranged in nice order, we cannot say how many.

The second thing I would mention is, that though the modern kings of the East have many women, and choose the persons most agreeable to them out of all their subjects, yet, for one reason or other, they *sometimes* pitch upon such as are not very *young*. The ancient princes then of that country, it must be allowed, might do the same. Sir John Chardin has given us, in his Travels, a remarkable instance of this kind, which I would here set down, after premising that it relates to a *princess of Georgia*, and a celebrated and mighty *Persian monarch*.

Abas, surnamed the Great, endeavouring to make a total conquest of Georgia, *Taimuras*, who then reigned over part of that country as a dependent prince, sent his mother to try to accommodate matters with him. *This princess was at that time a nun, having assumed that character upon her becoming a widow. The nuns of that country make no vows, nor quit their former abode; they only wear a religious habit, and live more retired than they did. Mariana, or Ketavané, (for the Georgian princess was called by*

by both names,) set out with a great train, and magnificent presents. She made so much haste, that Abas had not left Ispahan when she arrived there. She threw herself at his feet, implored pardon for her son, and made such submissions as she apprehended might appease the king.

This princess was then considerably advanced in age¹; but it is certain was still handsome. Abas fell in love with her, or pretended to do so, the day he saw her. He desired her to embrace his religion, and said he would marry her. This princess, attached to her religion and a life of chastity, still more than she hated the confinement of the Persian queens, refused to comply, with a virtue and firmness that could not be conquered, and quite astonishing in a Georgian lady. Abas, irritated by the refusal, or making this a pretence, (for it is believed that he intended not to marry Ketavané, but in order to take vengeance on Taimuras,) sent the princess a prisoner to a distant place, and caused her two grandsons to be castrated, and to become Mahometans², whom Taimuras had sent to him as hostages. After which he set out for Georgia. Ketavané remained a prisoner many years, and afterwards was removed to Chiras, where she suffered a cruel martyrdom, in the year 1624, a considerable time after Abas had conquered all Georgia. He then wrote to the governor of Chiras to force Ketavané to embrace Mahometanism at

¹ Her age is not distinctly mentioned, but she was then a grandmother.

² The Georgians are Christians.

any rate, and to proceed to the utmost extremities, of promises, threatenings, and even blows, should be not succeed. The governor shewed the order to the princess, supposing the sight of it might prevail, but he was disappointed. Torments could not subdue this heroic and holy soul. She suffered a variety of them, and died upon burning coals, with which they were tormenting her, having endured a martyrdom of eight years for Jesus Christ, so much the more bitter, as they were continually varying her torments, and daily renewing them.

Her body, thrown out on a dunghill, was taken away in the night by the Augustinian monks, who were then settled at Chiras, embalmed, put into a coffin, and secretly sent to Taimuras by one of their companions.

Such is the substance of the story¹, which shows, that it is by no means an *incredible* thing, that an *Eastern prince*, with a great variety of women belonging to him, might, nevertheless, wish to add another, *in middle life*, to the rest, either really from affection, or for political reasons. And it shows, that if it was not from an affection he had really conceived, which yet the violence with which he afterwards treated her seems to indicate, his love, like that of *Amnon* in the Old Testament², turning into hatred; yet that at least it was not so improbable an event, but that he might very well make it pass for an affec-

¹ Voy. tome 1, p. 127.

² 2 Sam. 13. 15.

tion he had conceived for her. *Abas* was too refined a politician to make use of a pretence that was unnatural, and even absurd.

Nor is this the only instance of this kind that Sir John has given us, in his account of his travels. Presently after this story, he gives an account of a princess of *Mingrelia*, who, after having married a petty Christian prince thereabouts, was married to a Persian nobleman, whose name was *Rustan-Can*. *Rustan*, he says, died in 1640. His adopted son succeeded him, whom the Persian monarch caused to be circumcised when young. When *Rustan* died, the princess *Mary*, his widow, understood, that from too advantageous representations of her beauty, made to the king of Persia, his majesty had ordered she should be sent to him. She was advised to fly into *Mingrelia*, or to conceal the place of her abode. She took a different course; for being very sensible that there was no place in all Persia where the king would not find her out, she shut herself up for three days in the fortress of *Tifflis*; which was, in truth, nothing less than the delivering herself up to the mercy of him that wanted to have her in his power. She submitted herself all this time to the inspection of the wives of the commander; and having sent for him afterwards into her apartment, she caused him to be told, that upon the testimony of those ladies there, who had seen her, ¹ he might write

¹ Il pouvoit écrire au Roi, qu'elle n'étoit pas d'une beauté à se faire désirer, qu'elle étoit âgée, & même un peu contrefaite.

word to the king, that she was not of such a beauty as to be desired by him, that she was in years, and not altogether straight. That she conjured his majesty to permit her to end her days in her own country. At the same time she sent the king a present of a large quantity of gold and silver, and four young damsels of extraordinary beauty. After sending away her present, this princess would see nobody. She gave herself up to devotion, giving many alms to poor people, that they might pray for her. At the end of three months, an order came from the king to Canavas-Can (the adopted son of her husband Rustan) to marry her. He received the order with joy, as this princess Mary was very rich, and he married her, though he had at that time another wife. He always testified a great regard for her, on the account of her great wealth¹.

Such is the account in short, and it proves, with the other, that it is very possible for reports to be raised, in those countries, of the extraordinary beauty of some of the women there; that their being in middle life will not prevent such reports, or hinder princes from seeking to add them to those they are already possessed of; and that the mere proving they are not young, has not been thought sufficient, by the parties concerned, to prevent disagreeable consequences.

The great preservative from such applica-

¹ P. 129, 130.

tions, used among the people of *Georgia*, is to marry their daughters that are handsome very young. And it seems they are very cautious not to violate such connexions, even though they are infants that are so married, and that they do not easily allow themselves to take them away, from the families to which they belong¹.

If such attention is wont to be paid to the rights of marriage in those countries, their whole history shows, their princes are not very scrupulous as to the *taking away the lives* of considerable people, when they stand in their way.

And if the like spirit was common in *Ægypt* and *Gerar*, in the time of *Abraham*, it is neither incredible, nor very unlikely, that the beauty of *Sarah* should be much talked of, or that *Abraham* should be apprehensive of his life on that account².

OBSERVATION CCXXV.

Monfieur Voltaire objects, in like manner³, to the probability of the Old Testament history, in the account given us there of the dishonour done to Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, by an Hivite prince in Canaan, Gen. xxxiv. 1, 2, who, he supposes, was too young to have suf-

¹ P. 130.

² The like appears in the history of Rebekah, Gen. 26. 7.

³ White Bull, 2d part, p. 19.

ferred such an injury, or to have excited the libidinousness of Shechem.

The age he is pleased to assign her, when this unhappy affair happened, is *six* years only. As he has not informed us, from what documents he derived this discovery, we are at liberty to contest it.

Those that added little chronological notes to our English Bibles, have supposed, it did not happen 'till seven years after Jacob's return from Padan-Aram, for they set down the year 1739 before Christ for the year of his return, and 1732 as the year when Dinah was dishonoured. Whether this computation be exact or not, there is reason to believe there could not be less than seven years between Jacob's return and that unhappy event. For as Jacob was but twenty years in all in Padan-Aram, (or Mesopotamia,) Gen. xxxi. 41; and was seven years there before he married, Gen. xxix. 20—27; Reuben could be but twelve years when Jacob returned, Simeon eleven, and Levi ten, and seven years after Simeon could be only eighteen, and Levi seventeen, and we cannot well suppose, that, under that age, they would have used their swords with such boldness, in resentment for the affront offered to their sister, as to set upon the Hivite prince and his people, though they were in a wounded state, and though these youths might be accompanied by some of their father's servants.

And if Levi was then seventeen, and Judah sixteen, Leah might have ceased bearing
four

four years, and becoming pregnant again might have presented Jacob with a fifth and a sixth son, and after them a daughter, who might be ten years of age, when Simeon was eighteen. But the suspension of Leah's child-bearing might very well be estimated at less than four years; and it might be a year or two more than seven years before the event happened.

Reckoning her, however, only at ten years of age when *Shechem* treated her after this manner, the two following citations will prove there was nothing incredible in it, and that a young libidinous Eastern prince may be supposed to have been guilty of such a fact.

The first citation shall be from Niebuhr's account of *Arabia*: "I have heard speak
" in Persia of one that was a mother at thir-
" teen: they there marry girls at nine years
" of age, and I knew a man whose wife was
" no more than *ten years old when the marriage*
" *was consummated.*" P. 63.

The other is from Dr. Shaw's Travels and Observations. Speaking of the inhabitants of Barbary, he says, "The men, indeed, by
" wearing only the *tiara*, or a scull-cap, are
" exposed so much to the sun, that they
" quickly attain the swarthiness of the *Arab*;
" but the women, keeping more at home,
" preserve their beauty 'till they are thirty; at
" which age they begin to be wrinkled, and
" are *usually* past child-bearing. It sometimes
" happens that one of these girls *is a mother at*
" *eleven, and a grandmother at two and twenty.*"

P. 241, 242. If they become mothers at eleven, they must have had intimate intercourse with the male sex at ten, or thereabouts; and this cannot be supposed to be very extraordinary, when the daughter of such an one is supposed to become a mother too by eleven.

It cannot then be incredible that Shechem should cast his eyes on Dinah at ten years of age, and should desire to marry her at that age; *if* human nature in the East then was similar, in that respect, to what it is now. But she might be considerably older than *ten* when this affair happened, for aught that is said in the book of Genesis relative to this matter.

OBSERVATION CCXXVI.

The Bedouin Arabs are said to *make a purchase* of their wives; and it may be supposed, that the patriarchs, who lived much the same kind of life under tents, had the same usage: but we are not to imagine, I apprehend, that the sheep and the oxen, the servants, with the camels and asses, mentioned Gen. xii. 16, acquired by Abraham in Ægypt, were paid by Pharaoh to Abraham, in exchange for Sarah; nor that they were simply the fruits of his industry and skill in the arts of the pastoral life. Neither the one nor the other is to be understood, it should seem, to have been pointed out in that passage.

That the modern Arabs who live under
tents

tents purchase their wives, is affirmed by de la Roque: "Properly speaking, a young man that would marry *must buy his wife*, and fathers, among the Arabs, are never more happy than when they have many daughters. This is a principal part of the riches of an house. Accordingly, when a young man would treat with a person whose daughter he is inclined to marry, he says to him, Will you give me your daughter for fifty sheep; for six camels; or for a dozen cows; &c? If he is not rich enough to make such offers, he will propose the giving her to him for a mare, or a young colt: considering in the offer, the merit of the young woman; the rank of her family; and the circumstances of him that desires to marry her. When they are agreed on both sides, the contract is drawn up by him that acts as *cadi* or judge among these Arabs, &c'."

Traces of this custom may be remarked in the patriarchal history. Thus *Shechem*, the son of *Hamor*, an Hivite prince of the land of Canaan, who was extremely desirous of marrying *Dinah*, the daughter of *Jacob*, said to Jacob, and his sons, by whom he apparently supposed Jacob might be influenced, as to refusing and complying; and if he complied, as to the terms on which he would consent she should become his wife: "Ask me never so

* Voy. dans la Pal. p. 222.

“ much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me: but give me the damsel to wife. And the sons of Jacob answered Shechem and Hamor his father deceitfully, &c.’” In these views only, I apprehend, the *sons* of Jacob could be supposed to be concerned in the disposal of Dinah. However, we see plainly Shechem proposed both a *dowry and a gift*, according to our translation: that is, a settlement of what should afterwards be the wife’s to support her, and do what she pleased with, in case of his death, or her being divorced by him; and the other a *present in hand* made to the father, to consent that his daughter should become the wife of him that made that present.

But though I question the exactness of the translation, since I find the first of the two words sometimes signifies a gift, which could not be intended *for futurity*, and particularly not for a *dowry*, of which we have an instance 1 Sam. xviii. 25, which, though called a dowry in our translation, could not possibly mean any thing but a present to the father, according to custom, to induce him to be willing to give *Michal*, his daughter, to David for his wife; so in some other places, where it *may* signify a dowry, it may as well signify the *gift given to the father*, as a *dowry settled on the wife*. So the word may be understood, Exod. xxii. 16, 17. But whether the first of these two words in

’ Gen. 34. 12, 13.

Gen. xxxiv. signifies a dowry, or not, it appears a gift was to be given to the father, from some of these places. I would add, that probably the second word translated gift, means the *dowry* properly speaking—the gift to the bride.

But I should hardly think a gift of this kind was, according to their usages, to be given to *Abraham*, as *Sarah's* brother. A brother doth not appear to have had such a right. Accordingly we find, that when Abraham's servant made a contract in his master's name, that Rebekah should be Isaac's wife, we have no account of any *previous present* given, or promised to *Laban her brother*, though after it was agreed upon, and the matter settled, the servant *ex abundantia*, and as an expression of friendship and generosity, *brought forth jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, as well as raiment, which he gave to Rebekah, giving also to her brother, and to her mother, precious things*, Gen. xxiv. 53.

When then the 12th of Gen. (ver. 16) gives an account of many valuable things that Abraham acquired in Ægypt, whither he went to avoid a famine, I cannot think they were the acquisitions arising from his trading, in a common way, with the Ægyptians, since these acquisitions are not only ascribed to the favour of Pharaoh, "He entreated Abram well for *her sake*;" but the *sheep and the camels* he became possessed of there, would, *in trafficking*, have been the very things he would

have sold, in order to obtain *corn* for himself and family. On the other hand, I cannot suppose it was a valuable consideration paid by Pharaoh to Abraham, to permit him to espouse one that was taken to be his *sister* (as a brother appears not to have had such a right); it remains, therefore, that it is to be understood to be a *gift of generosity*, like that made to Laban, mentioned in Gen. xxiv.

Perhaps we may wonder that, in this enumeration of particulars, no mention is made of *corn* or *bread*, (especially as it was a time of famine,) or other provisions of the vegetable kind, as figs, raisins, &c; nor yet any mention made of silver, gold, and precious vestments, and other rich things produced in that country, or imported into it¹: but we are to remember, it appears from Gen. xiii. 2, that there was no design to give us a complete catalogue, on the one hand; and, on the other, that the particulars that are mentioned, were selected to explain the reason of the following account, of the *parting* of Abraham from Lot, which became necessary on account of the great multiplication of their *cattle and servants*².

¹ Especially if we recollect what it was Joseph gave to his brethren, in such a state, Gen. 45. 22, and what he sent to his father at the same time, ver. 23.

² Gen. 13. 6, 7, 8.

OBSERVATION CCXXVII.

There must have been something particular in the *aspect of Judæa*, at least very different from that part of England where I am writing these Observations, since we find mention made of a rock, more than once, of a proper form for offering sacrifices on, which could not easily have been found in the county of Suffolk: the altar here must have been some hillock of earth, or some humble structure of loose stones, piled up in haste.

But the circumstances I am referring to, in the histories of *Gideon and Manoah*¹, are extremely

¹ “Manoah said unto the angel of the Lord, I pray thee, let us detain thee, until we shall have made ready a kid for thee. And the angel of the Lord said unto Manoah, ‘Though thou detain me, I will not eat of thy bread: and if thou wilt offer a burnt-offering, thou must offer it unto the Lord,’ for Manoah knew not that he was an angel of the Lord. . . . So Manoah took a kid, with a meat-offering, and offered it *upon a rock* unto the Lord: and the angel did wondrously, and Manoah and his wife looked on. For it came to pass when the flame went up toward heaven *from off the altar*, that the angel of the Lord ascended in the flame of the *altar*, &c.” Judges 13. 15—20. Here we see the *rock* was made use of as an *altar*, and is so called. Such altar-like rocks seem not to have been very rare in that country: for we read elsewhere in that book, “Gideon went in, and made ready a kid, and unleavened cakes of an ephah of flour: the flesh he put in a basket, and he put the broth in a pot, and brought it out to him under the oak, and presented it. And the angel of God said to him, ‘Take the flesh, and the unleavened cakes, and *lay them upon this*”

“ ‘rock,

tremely well illustrated, by some things mentioned occasionally by *Doubdan*, in the account of his journey to the Holy-Land, for he speaks of many rocks, which he found rising up out of the earth there, and some as parts of great rocks fallen down. Some of them are described in such a manner, as shows they resembled altar-tombs, or altars. It will not be improper to produce some citations here from this writer.

Speaking of his returning from a town called St. Samuel, to Jerusalem, by a way leading to the sepulchres of the judges of Israel, he tells us, p. 98, 99, that he found them in a great field, planted with vines, in which were *great and mighty rocks, which rose out of the earth*; among them, one, near the way-side, was so large, as to be hollowed out into several rooms, in whose sides were long and narrow holes cut out, proper for the placing the dead in, even with the floor. When he was at *Joppa*, waiting to embark, upon his return, he describes himself and companion, as placing themselves, after they had walked 'till they were tired on the beach, viewing some Greek pilgrims, who were also waiting to take ship, and who amused them-

“ ‘ *rock, and pour out the broth.*’ And he did so. Then,
 “ the angel of the Lord put forth the end of the staff that
 “ was in his hand, and touched the flesh, and the unlea-
 “ vened cakes: and there rose up fire *out of the rock*, and
 “ consumed the flesh and the unleavened cakes.” Judges
 6. 19—21.

elves with dancing on the shore, I say, he describes himself and companion as placing themselves in the shade of a great rock, *newly fallen down from the mountains*, p. 455. Rocks then appear in this country here and there: some in their original situation, rising out of the ground; others are fragments, that have been detached from rocky eminences, and have fallen down on the ground below.

Of this considerable number of rocks, some, it should seem, were flat, or nearly flat, on the top, so as conveniently enough to be used for *altars*. There are some such now found in that country. Visiting Mount Olivet, Doubdan found, near the garden of Gethsemane, a great reddish rock, smooth and polished, rising about two feet from the ground, on which were three small protuberances, which he was told served for pillows for St. Peter, St. John, and St. James, to sleep upon, as they lay on the top of this rock, when our Lord was in his agony in that garden, p. 107. If really used by those apostles to sleep upon, no art was used by them to make it flat, and convenient for lying on; and if not, we know of no use that it can be imagined to have been designed for, that should have occasioned it to have been cut into that shape: it appears then to have been a natural accident.

At p. 161, we find an account of their meeting with a rocky stone rooted in the earth, a good foot high, in the middle of their road,
on

on which they were told John the Baptist was sometimes wont to take his repose. This supposes it was tolerably flat. Others might be mentioned¹.

Rocks then, which might conveniently enough be made use of as altars, were not unfrequent in that country: which illustrates those parts of the histories of two of the judges, who are represented as placing their sacrifices on rocks near their respective habitations.

OBSERVATION CCXXVIII.

It is rather surprising, that men of sense, as well as learning, should be so extremely fond of the *marvellous*, as to suppose the place from whence the water was brought, which quenched the thirst of Samson, the judge of Israel, was a hollow place *in the jaw-bone of the ass*, with which he slew a thousand of the Philistines; when the sacred history informs us, that the place of this exploit was on that account denominated *Lebi*, or the *Jaw-bone*. All then that this passage of Scripture affirms is, that in the place where Samson then was, and which, from this transaction, he called *Lebi*, or the *Jaw-bone*, there was an *hollow-place*, which God clave, from whence a foun-

¹ P. 107, and p. 125.

tain flowed, which relieved Samson when ready to perish, and which, it should seem, continued to yield a considerable supply of water, at the time this sacred book was written, and possibly may flow to this day.

For Monsieur *Doubdan*, in one single day, when he visited the country about Jerusalem, met with two such places; and his account of them is so picturesque, and tends to give such a pleasing view of that country, that I apprehend my reader will be pleased with his relation of what he observed that day, as to such matters.

On Easter Monday, the first of April, 1652, he set out, he informs us, with about twenty in company, to visit the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. They went the same road the two disciples are supposed to have taken, when our Lord joined them, of which we read in the 24th of Luke, when he made their hearts to burn within them. A convent was afterwards built in the place where our Lord is imagined to have met them. Only some pieces of the walls of free-stone are now remaining, with some vaults and half broken arches, and heaps of rubbish, together with a great cistern full of water, derived partly from rain, and partly from the springs in the mountain there, particularly from a most beautiful and transparent fountain, a little above it, which breaks out at the farther end of a grotto, naturally hollowed out in the hard rock, and which is over-hung with small trees, where they made

9 a considerable

a considerable stop to refresh themselves. The water of this spring running by a channel into the cistern, and afterwards turning a mill which was just by the cistern, and belonged to the monastery, and from thence flowed, as it still does, into the torrent-bed of that valley, from whence David collected the five smooth stones¹ (of which one proved fatal to Goliath).

Here we see an hollow place, a grotto, in which the God of nature had divided the rock for the passage of the water of a beautiful spring. It was a grotto, it should seem, in *Lehi*, in which God, on this occasion, made the water to gush out, and run in a stream into the adjoining country, where the exhausted warrior stood.

What Doubdan says of that spring's continuing to flow, into the bed of the torrent in that valley *to this day*, at which spring he took his first repast, gives a natural explanation of what the writer of the book of Judges meant, when he says, "Wherefore he called the name thereof *En-hakkore*, which is in *Lehi unto this day*:" that is, which spring continued to flow from that grotto to the day in which he wrote, in contradistinction from some springs which had been known to have been stopped, by

¹ P. 91, 92. Particulièrement d'une tres-belle & claire fontaine qui est un peu plus haut, dans le fonds d'une grotte naturellement taillée dans une dure roche, ombragée d'arbrisseaux, où nous demeurâmes assez long-temps à nous rafraîchir, &c.

some of the many *earthquakes* which are so frequent in that country, or by some other operation of Providence¹.

The same day, pursuing their journey, they came to another fountain, adorned with freestone, and dignified by being named The Fountain of the Apostles, where the way parted, the left-hand road leading them to *Emmaus*, which they visited: then turning back to the Fountain of the Apostles, they took the right-hand road, which led them to a village full of cattle and fowls², by which the inhabitants were greatly enriched, named *Bedon*; from whence they went to a town called *St. Samuel*, where that prophet is supposed to have been buried, anciently *Rama* or *Silo*; *from whence they proceeded to an excellent fountain, called St. Samuel's, hollowed out in the heart of a mighty rock, shaded over by small trees, where they stopped to dine on the grass, in the cool. In taking his repast, he could not but admire the extreme abstemiousness of the Armenian bishops*

¹ As has happened in Italy, according to Mr. Addison, in his beautiful letter from that country:

“ Sometimes, misguided by the tuneful throng,
 “ I look for streams immortaliz'd in song,
 “ That, lost in silence and oblivion, lie,
 “ (*Dumb are their fountains, and their channels dry*)
 “ Yet run for ever by the Muse's skill,
 “ And in the smooth description murmur still.”

² Which circumstance, it should seem, was not often to be remarked in the ancient Jewish villages, since little mention is made of fowls in the Old Testament. See vol. 3, p. 145.

and

and the Maronite monk, who, though great in-treaty was used, would eat nothing but herbs, (without salt, without oil, or vinegar,) together with bread, and drinking nothing but water, not so much as a single drop of wine, excepting the Maronite, who drank a little, and eat an egg, it being their Lent¹.

I admit, that possibly all that the sacred writer meant was, that God cleft an hollow place in the earth, containing an hidden reservoir of water, and which long continued to flow, receiving fresh supplies from springs, after an outlet was once made for the discharge of it's water; but the understanding the account as referring to an opening of the earth or rock, in the farther end of a cave or grotto, is throwing greater energy into the words; is very amusing to the imagination; and agrees with other instances of that kind in this country, two of which Doubdan met with, in one day, in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.

OBSERVATION CCXXIX.

The Mohammedans not only consider themselves as forbidden by their law to *drink wine*; but their zeal is sometimes so impetuous, as

¹ P. 98. Passant un peu plus outre, nous allâmes trouver une excellente fontaine que porte le mesme nom, creusée dans le cœur d'une puissante roche, ombragée de petits arbrisseaux, où nous nous arrestâmes pour dîner sur l'herbe, à la fraischeur, &c.

to prevent their Christian and Jewish subjects absolutely from making it, and at other times, of greater relaxation, to throw difficulties in their way that are not a little perplexing: it is owing to this that we so seldom meet with any mention made now of vineyards in the Holy-Land; and that those that we have an account of, are so *slovenly* managed.

I was struck with the following account of Monsieur *Doubdan*. Having visited Emmaus, mentioned Luke xxiv. 13, and returning to Jerufalem, in his way thither he, at about four miles distance from thence, was shown the *sepulchres of the judges of Israel*. He goes on, "These sepulchres are in a great field
 " planted with vines, which in all this country
 " trail on the ground, very indifferently culti-
 " vated. There one sees great and mighty
 " rocks which rise out of the ground, among
 " which there is one, near the way-side, in
 " which is a porch cut out with the chissel,
 " about two toises long, seven or eight feet in
 " breadth, and the same in height. Out of
 " this porch you enter, with a light you are
 " obliged to carry, through a small door em-
 " bellished with many flowers and morisco-
 " work, cut out of the same rock, into a
 " large room," &c, going on to describe these ancient sepulchres¹.

This is a very unfavourable account of the

¹ P. 98, 99.

vineyards of that country in later times, this slovenly mode of cultivation being supposed to be *universal* there. It might not be so however anciently. Some, indeed, might be left to trail in this manner on the ground, under which the *Benjamites* might be very well concealed, when they surpris'd the virgins of *Siblo*¹; but those passages of Scripture, that speak of *sitting for pleasure* under their vines, suppose, very evidently, that some of them rose to a considerable height, whether by climbing up trees, twisting themselves about treillages, or being supported merely by stakes.

Doubdan mentions nothing of the vine-dressers singing when he travelled through these vineyards; but as the Eastern people are wont to sing in their employments, so St. Jerome supposed those that *pruned* the vines near Bethlehem, where he lived, were wont to sing in his time when pruning them²: so the prophet *Isaiab* distinguishes between the *softer* singing of those that pruned, and the more *noisy mirth* of the time of vintage, *Isaiah* xvi. 10. "Gladness is taken away, and joy
" out of the plentiful field; and in the vine-
" yards shall be no singing, neither shall there
" be shouting: the treaders shall tread out no

¹ Judges 21. 20, 21.

² Quocunque te verteris, arator frivam tenens, alleluia decantat. Sudans messor psalmis se avocat, & curva attondens vitem falce vinitor, aliquid Davidicum canit. Hæc sunt in hac provincia carmina. Ep. ad Marcellam, tom. I, p. 127.

“ wine in their presses ; I have made their
 “ vintage shouting to cease.”

OBSERVATION CCXXX.

The *memorials of the dead*, that are now found in Judæa, are of different kinds ; it seems it was so anciently.

When *Doubdan* set out to visit the remarkable places of the valley of Jehoshaphat, one of the first things he mentions, was a *small place planted with trees*, and inclosed with walls, which was the sepulchre of a Moor¹. He was afterwards conducted to a rock, above ground, which was brought by the chissel into the form of a little building, with a spire of considerable height, which it seems is an addition to the rock : this too is supposed to be an ancient sepulchre, and the antiquarians of that country assign it to Absalom². Another sepulchre, hewn in like manner out of an insulated rock, but not with a pyramidal top, is shown as that of Zechariah the son of Barachiah³. Between the accounts of these two memorials of the dead, he gives us a description of the burial-place of the *modern Jews*, in which are common graves, like our's, covered with one, two, or three stones, badly polished, and without ornament.

Here we see three different kinds of memo-

¹ P. 102.² P. 112.³ P. 113.

rials for the departed—trees, buildings, or what resemble them, and flat grave-stones.

A like difference appears to have obtained anciently: Jacob raised a building, or pillar, as it is called in our translation, over the grave of Rachel¹; it was an oak that kept up the remembrance of the place where the same Jacob buried Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, as we are told in the same chapter². The *tree* under which the men of Jabesh buried the bones of King Saul, was selected, being designed, I should suppose, for the same purpose of keeping the exact place of his interment in remembrance.

Probably some mark of distinction was set about these ancient *sepulchral trees*, as a wall was built round those that formed a memorial for the Moor in the valley of Jehoshaphat, perhaps something of stone-work: either three or four single stones pitched round it; or a greater number forming a closer kind of fence.

¹ Gen. 35. 20. Whatever kind of erection the original word might signify, that which is shown for it at this time is a *building*, but it might have been a single stone, though not a tree. Doubdan's account of what is *now* supposed to be her tomb, is, *That it is a large dome of masonry, without any ornament, supported by four large square pillars, which form the same number of arches, and that underneath is a tomb of the same materials, stone and mortar, made in fashion of a great old chest, with a roundish lid. The workmanship very coarse. The whole surrounded with a low wall, in which inclosure he observed two other small tombs, of the same shape with the great one.* P. 123, 129.

² Verse 8.

Such obtained among the Greeks of former times, according to Homer in his 23d Iliad¹.

“ Yon aged trunk, a cubit from the ground ;
 “ Of some once stately oak the last remain,
 “ Or hardy fir, unperish'd with the rain,
 “ Inclos'd with stones, conspicuous from afar,
 “ And round, a circle for the wheeling car,
 “ (Some tomb perhaps of old the dead to grace ;”) &c.

The mention of Rebekah's *nurse* leads me to set down a passage in *Monsieur Savary's* Letters in *Ægypt*, which an inquisitive and ingenious friend communicated to me very lately, in which *Savary*, speaking of the *Ægyptian* women, and their manner of *nursing* their children, says, “ When circumstances
 “ compel them to have recourse to a *nurse*,
 “ she is not looked upon as a *stranger*. She
 “ becomes part of the family, and *passes the*
 “ *rest of her life* in the midst of the children
 “ she has suckled. She is honoured and
 “ cherished like a second *mother*.”

So this *Syrian* nurse continued 'till her death with Rebekah, and was buried with great *solenmity of mourning* ; since that oak was from that time distinguished by the name of the *oak of weeping*².

¹ Verse 327, 328.

² The mourning for Jacob, *the head* of the family, was kept in remembrance in much the same way, occasioning *Atad's* threshing-floor to be denominated *Abel Mizraim*—the *mourning of the Ægyptians*. Gen. 50. 10, 11.

OBSERVATION CCXXXI.

The Epistle to the Hebrews describes some of the ancient sufferers for piety and virtue, as driven out from the society of their countrymen, and wandering about, like miserable outcasts, in deserts and mountains, with no better vestments than sheep-skins and goat-skins¹, referring, probably, to some in the early beginning of the opposition made by the Maccabee family, to the attempts of the Syrian princes to force the Jewish people to abandon the religion of their forefathers, and unite with the heathens in their idolatrous customs². It may be amusing to the imagination to learn, there are numbers of such miserable outcasts from common society, in that very country, to this day: not indeed on a religious account, for they are all Mohammedans; but from national prejudices, and distinctions arising from that source.

Doubdan frequently met with such in his peregrinations in that country. He sometimes calls them *Moors*, by which, I apprehend, are

¹ Ch. II. 37, 38.—They wandered about in sheep-skins, and goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented; (of whom the world was not worthy:) they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth.

² 1 Maccab. 2. 28, 29, 30.—It appears, by a clause in the last of those verses, that they had their cattle with them, from whence their miserable clothing seems to have been derived.

meant the descendants from the old natives of that country, who inhabited it before the *Turks* (a branch of the *Tartars*) over-ran these parts of Asia. Some of the *Arabs* he met with are not described as in more elegant circumstances: these are another Eastern nation, who are attached to the living in tents, and will by no means be induced to dwell in more fixed habitations, and commonly dwell in deserts and very retired places.

Upon leaving Jerusalem, in order to embark at Joppa, they halted some little time on a small plain, not far from the Holy City, to give time for the caravan to assemble, with which they were to travel: while waiting there, he says, “ we saw six Bedouins pass
“ along,” (he means these wandering Arabs,)
“ who had no other clothing than a sheep-
“ skin on their shoulders, and a rag about
“ their loins, emaciated and burnt up with
“ the heat, of an horrible aspect, their eyes
“ fiery, and each with a great club. These
“ people are *Arabs*, and the greatest robbers
“ in all the country¹.”

He describes some of the *Moors* in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, who live in the village where the shepherds dwelt to whom the angel of the Lord appeared, according to the tradition of the country, in much the same manner. He says, *it is a poor hamlet, of twenty or twenty-five hovels.* That he was informed

¹ P. 438.

it's inhabitants are some of the poorest, and most miserable people of the country. That they saw some who looked like true savages, almost entirely naked, sun-burnt, black as a coal, and shining with the grease and oil with which they rub themselves; horrid in their countenances, with a surly voice, with which they keep mumbling, and terrify those that are not accustomed to meet them. More especially when, upon their going to visit a certain place to which their devotion led them, they saw four poor miserable Moors running to them cross the fields, huge, frightful creatures, all of them naked and sun-burnt, two armed with bows and arrows, the other two with cudgels, threatening to use them with severity, if they did not give them money¹.

The same scenery is exhibited in other places, and represents, I imagine, excepting the violence, an accurate picture of those poor persecuted Hebrews, who wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins, destitute of many of the common comforts of life, emaciated, tormented with the burning heat of the sun, and afflicted with many other bitterneesses in that wild and rough state.

OBSERVATION CCXXXII.

Learned men seem to have given themselves uneasiness, very unnecessarily, about the

¹ P. 145, 146.

caravan to which Joseph was sold, which company of people are sometimes called *Ishmaelites*, sometimes *Midianites*¹: had the account been given us by two different writers, and one had said Joseph was sold to some *Ishmaelites*, and the other to some *Midianites*, it might have been said there was a contradiction between them; but as one and the same writer, in the same paragraph, and even in the same verse, makes use of these two different names, it is apparent that they were to him indifferent. I would add, that probably those that in the age in which this book was written travelled over the deserts, to or through Judæa, with camels, were called, in a loose and general way, *Ishmaelites*, and that when they came up with the sons of Jacob, they were found of that particular tribe called *Midianites*.

I am very sensible that, according to the book of Genesis, *Midian* was a son of Abraham by Keturah, Gen. xxv. 2, consequently his descendants were not *Ishmaelites*; but as the several tribes of the *Ishmaelites*, and those descended from Keturah, all dwelt in the East country², that is, in Arabia, *Petræa* or *Deserta*, they might, by the time this book was written, come to be considered as one body of people, under the common name of *Ishmaelites*, as the several tribes of Israel came after-

¹ Gen. 37.—Three times they are called *Ishmaelites*, ver. 25, 27, 28; and once *Midianites*, ver. 28.

² Ch. 25. 6.

wards to be denominated Jews, though the tribe of Judah was but one out of twelve or thirteen different tribes that descended from Jacob¹.

It is certain that, according to d'Herbelot, the Arabs of later times have considered themselves as *Ishmaelites*, (Voy. art. *Ismaelioun*,) and call Ishmael the *father* of their nation (art. *Ismael, fils d'Abraham*), though there are many tribes of the Arabs who are not Ishmaelites properly speaking, being descended from Joctan the son of Heber, according to d'Herbelot. The Oriental writers, by a mistake indeed, suppose Midian was the grandson of Abraham by his son Ishmael, instead of being his son by Keturah², but a very easy one, as all the Arab tribes acknowledge *Ishmael* as their father, though many of them are not descended from him.

D'Herbelot farther informs us, that the muskulmen suppose that the Arabs that travel about with their merchandise took different roads, according to the different seasons: *Gaza*, in the confines between Syria and Ægypt, being their mart in summer-time, on account of the freshness of the air to be enjoyed in Syria; whereas they went to the southern part of Arabia (or Jemen) in winter, (the heat being excessive there,) in the oppo-

¹ So Holland, in our time, often means all the seven confederated provinces, though, strictly speaking, it is the name only of one of them.

² *Bibliothèque Orient.* art. *Midian*, p. 581.

site part of the year. This, according to them, was an old establishment among them, Hafchem, the grandfather of Mohammed, dying at *Gaza*, in one of these summer commercial journies ¹.

If this account may be depended on, Joseph was sold to the Midianites some time in the summer ²; and these Ishmaelites are not to be understood to have *personally* conveyed him into Ægypt, but stopping at Gaza, to have disposed of him there to Ægyptian merchants. This last *might not* be exactly the case; but would not, however, I apprehend, be inconsistent with the sacred history, understood in that lax and popular manner in which we may believe it was designed to be considered.

¹ Art. Gazza.

² Which appears to have been the fact from other considerations—the feeding the flock at such a distance from home; and the dryness of the pit into which they let him down.



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