

THE
SACRED *and* PROPHANE
HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD
CONNECTED,

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

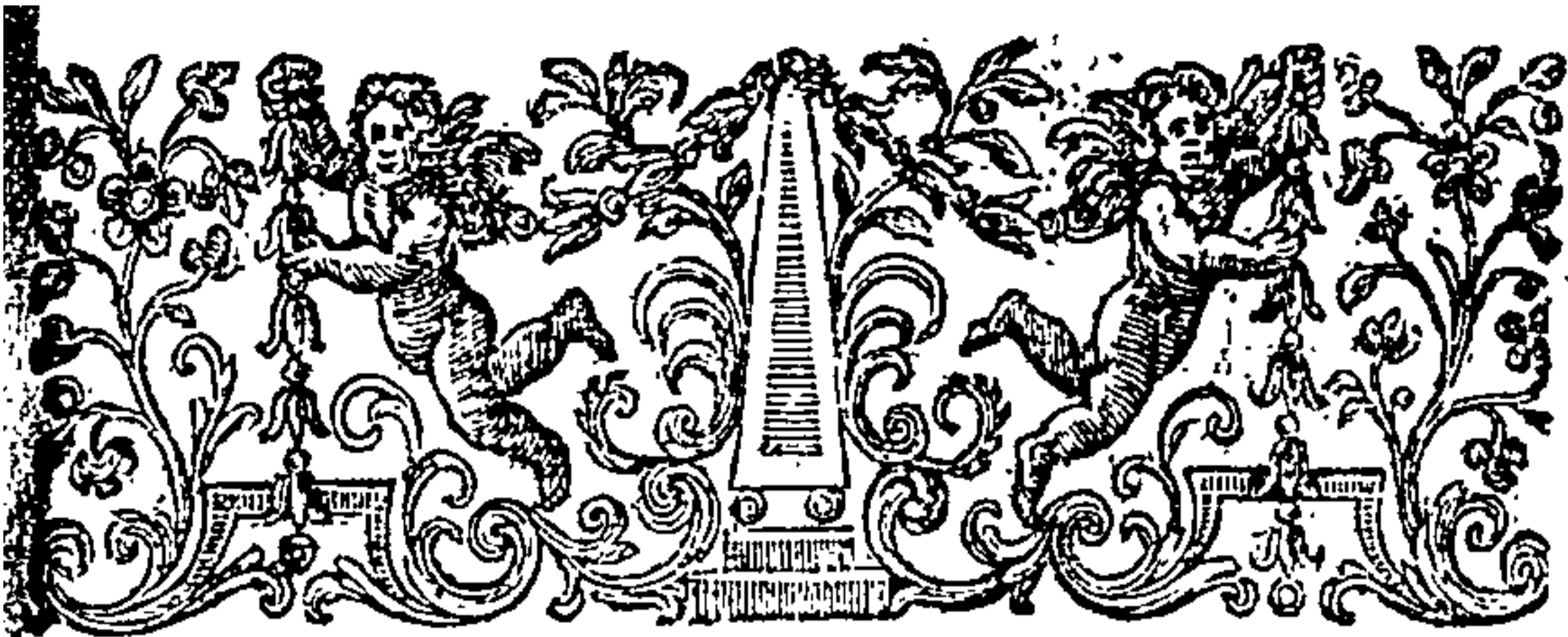
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T H E
P R E F A C E.

THIS Second Volume, which I now offer to the Publick, carries down the History of the World to the *Exit* of the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*. The Method I have kept to is the same as in the former Volume; and I have in this, as in the other, interspersed, as I go along, several Digressions upon such Subjects, as either the Scripture Accounts, or the Hints we meet with in Prophane Authors concerning the Times I treat of, suggested to me.

Sir *Isaac Newton's* Chronology was not published, until after I had finished both my former Volume, and the Preface to it; but as his Sentiments upon the ancient Chronology have been since that time offered to the World, it will become me to endeavour to give some Reasons for my having formerly, and for my still continuing to differ from him. I am not yet come down to the Times where he begins his Chronology, and for that Reason, it would be an improper, as well as a very troublesome Anticipation, to enter into Particulars, which I shall be able to set in a much clearer Light, when I shall give the History
of

of the Times which he has supposed them to belong to. But since there are in Sir *Isaac Newton's* Work several Arguments of a more extensive Influence, than to be confined to any one particular *Epoch*, and which are, in Truth, the main Foundation of his whole *Scheme*, and do affect the whole Body of the ancient Chronology, I shall endeavour to consider them here, that the Reader may judge, whether I have already, as well as whether I shall hereafter proceed rightly, in not being determined by them. The first of them which I shall mention, is the *Astronomical* Argument for fixing the Time of the *Argonautic* Expedition, formed from the Constellations of *Chiron*. This seems to be Demonstration, and to prove incontestably, that the ancient *Prophane* History is generally carried about 300 Years higher backward than the Truth: The full Force of this Argument is clearly expressed in *the short Chronicle (a)* as follows.

I. “ *Chiron* formed the Constellations for the
 “ Use of the *Argonauts*, and placed the *Solstitial*
 “ and *Equinoctial* Points in the fifteenth Degrees
 “ or Middles of the Constellations of *Cancer*,
 “ *Chelæ*, *Capricorn*, and *Aries*. *Meton*, in the
 “ Year of *Nabonassar* 316, observed the Summer
 “ *Solstice* in the eighth Degree of *Cancer*, and
 “ therefore the *Solstice* had then gone back seven
 “ Degrees. It goes back one Degree in about
 “ 72 Years, and seven Degrees in about 504
 “ Years: Count these Years back from the Year
 “ of *Nabonassar* 316, and they will place the *Ar-*
 “ *gonautic* Expedition 936 Years before Christ.”
 The *Greeks* [says our great and learned Author (b)]

(a) See Short Chronicle, p. 25. The Argument is offer'd at large in Chronology of the Greeks, p. 83.

(b) Chronology of the Greeks, p. 94.

placed it 300 Years earlier. The Reader will easily see the whole Force of this Argument. *Meton*, *Anno Nabonass.* 316, found that the *Solstices* were in the 8th Degrees of the Constellations: *Chiron*, at the time of the *Argonautic Expedition*, placed them in the fifteenth Degrees: The *Solstice* goes back seven Degrees in 504 Years; from whence it follows, that the Time when *Chiron* placed the *Solstices* in the fifteenth Degrees was 504 Years before *Anno Nabonass.* 316, when *Meton* found that they were in the eighth Degrees.

The Fallacy of this Argument cannot but appear very evident to any one that attends to it; for suppose we allow that *Chiron* did really place the *Solstices* as *Sir Isaac Newton* represents, (tho' I think it most probable that he did not so place them) yet it must be undeniably plain, that nothing can be certainly established from *Chiron's* Position of them, unless it appears that *Chiron* knew how to give them their true Place. It was easy for so great a Master of *Astronomy* as *Sir Isaac Newton*, to calculate where the *Solstices* ought to be placed in the Year of our Lord 1689 (d), and to know how many Years have passed since they were in the fifteenth Degrees of the Constellations; but tho' we should allow, that *Chiron* imagined them, in his Time, to be in this Position, yet, if he really was mistaken in his Imagination, no Argument can be formed from *Chiron's* Position of them; for supposing the true Place of the *Solstices*, in the Days of *Chiron*, to be in the nineteenth Degrees of the Constellations, it will be evident, from what was the true Place of them in the Year of our Lord 1689, as well as from what was the Place of them *Anno Nabonass.* 316, that the Time of *Chiron's* making his Scheme of the Heavens was about 300 Years earlier than

(d) Ibid. p. 86.

our great and learned Author supposes, tho' *Chiron* erroneously placed the *Solstices* at that Time in the 15th Degrees of the Constellations, instead of the 19th; and whether *Chiron* might not mistake four or five Degrees this way or that way, we may judge from what follows.

Chiron's Skill in Astronomy was so imperfect, that we cannot imagine he could find the true Place of the *Solstices* with any tolerable Exactness. The *Egyptians* were the first that found out, that the Year consisted of more than 360 Days. *Strabo* informs (e) us, that the *Theban* Priests were the most eminent Philosophers and Astronomers, and that they numbered the Days of the Year, not by the Course of the Moon, but by that of the Sun; and that to twelve Months, consisting each of thirty Days, they added five Days every Year. *Herodotus* testifies the same Thing (f). "The *Egyptians* (says he) were the first that found out the Length of the Year." And he tells us particularly what they determined to be the true Length of it, namely, "twelve Months of thirty Days each, and five Days added besides them." *Diodorus Siculus* says, "The *Thebans*, (i. e. the Priests of *Thebes* in *Egypt*) were the first that brought Philosophy and Astrology to an Exactness;" and he adds, "They determined the Year to consist of twelve Months, each of thirty Days; and added five Days to twelve such Months, as being the full Measure of the Sun's Annual Revolution (g)." And thus, until the *Egyptians* found out the Mistake, all Astronomers were in a very great Error, imagining the Sun's Annual Motion to be performed in 360 Days.

(e) *Strabo*. Geogr. Lib. 17. p. 816. (f) *Herodot.* Lib. 2. cap. 4.

(g) *Diodor. Sic. Hist.* Lib. 1. p. 32. *Diodorus* indeed mentions the τέτταρα, or six Hours, which were added afterwards; but these were not accounted to belong to the Year so early as the five Days.

It may perhaps be here said, that the *Egyptians* had improved their Astronomy before *Chiron's* Days, and that *Chiron* may be supposed to have been instructed by them, and so to have been a pretty good Astronomer. To this I answer.

If the *Egyptians* had improved their Astronomy before *Chiron's* Time, yet the *Greeks* were ignorant of this Measure of the Year, until *Thales* went to *Egypt*, and conversed with the Priests of that Nation: *Thales*, says *Laertius* (b), was the first who corrected the *Greek* Year. And this Opinion of *Laertius* is confirmed by *Herodotus*, who represents *Solon*, a Cotemporary of *Thales*, in his Conference with *Cræsus* very remarkably mistaking the true Measure of the Year. *Thales* had found out, that the Year consisted of 365 Days; but the exact Particulars of what he had learned in this Point, were not immediately known all over *Greece*, and so *Solon* represents to *Cræsus* that the Year consisted of 375 Days; for he represents it as necessary to add a whole Month, *i. e.* thirty Days, every other Year, to adjust the Year then in use to its true Measure (i): The Notion therefore of the received computed Year's being too short, was new in *Solon's* Time: He was apprized that it was so; but what *Thales* brought from *Egypt* upon the Subject, was not yet generally known or understood, and so *Solon* made Mistakes in his Guesses about it. *Thales*, according to the vulgar Account, lived above 600 Years after *Chiron*, and above 300 Years after him according to *Sir Isaac Newton*; and therefore *Chiron* was entirely ignorant of all this Improvement in Astronomy. *Chiron* imagined 360 Days to be a Year, and if he knew no better how to estimate the Sun's Annual Motion, his *σχήματα ὀλύμπου*, his Draughts of the Constellations, must be very in-

(b) Laert. in vitâ Thaletis.

(i) Herodot. l. 1. c. 32.

accurate; he could never place the *Solstices* with any tolerable Exactness, but might easily err four or five Degrees in his Position of them; and if We had before us the best *Scheme* that He could draw, I dare say, we should be able to demonstrate nothing from it, but the great Imperfection of the ancient Astronomy. “ If indeed it could
 “ be known what was the true Place of the *Sol-*
 “ *stitial* Points in *Chiron’s* Time, it might be
 “ known, by taking the Distance of that Place
 “ from the present Position of them; how much
 “ Time has elapsed from *Chiron* to our Days:”
 But I answer, It cannot be accurately known from any *Schemes* of *Chiron’s*, what was the true Place of the *Solstices* in his Days; because, tho’ it is said, that he calculated the then Position of them, yet he was so inaccurate an Astronomer; that his Calculation might err four or five Degrees, from their true Position.

Our great and learned Author mentions *Thales* and *Meton*, as if the Observations of both these Astronomers might confirm his *Hypothesis*. He says, “ *Thales* wrote a Book of the *Tropics* and
 “ *Equinoxes*, and predicted the *Eclipses*. And *Pliny*
 “ tells us, that he determined the *Occasus matu-*
 “ *tinus* of the *Pleiades* to be upon the 25th Day
 “ after the *Autumnal Equinox*.” And from hence he argues, 1. That the *Solstices* were in *Thales’s* Days in the middle of the eleventh Degrees of the Signs. 2. That the *Equinoxes* had therefore moved backwards from their Place in *Chiron’s* Time; to this their Position in *Thales’s* Days, as much as answers to 320 Years; and therefore, 3. That *Chiron* made his *Scheme*, and consequently the *Argonautic Expedition* was undertaken not more than so many Years before the Days of *Thales*. But here it cannot but be remarked, That the chief Force of this Argument depends upon *Chiron’s* having rightly placed the *Solstices* in his Times, so that
 what

What has been said of *Chiron's* Inaccuracy must fully answer it. If *Chiron* erred in placing the *Solstices*; if their true Place in his Time might be in the nineteenth or twentieth Degrees, and not (as he is said to suppose) in the fifteenth, then however true it be, that they were in the eleventh Degrees in *Thales's* Time, yet it will not follow that *Chiron* lived but 320 Years before *Thales*. If *Chiron* could have been exact, there had been a Foundation for the Argument; but if *Chiron* was mistaken, nothing but Mistake can be built upon his uncorrected Computation. But if *Chiron* was not concerned in this Argument; if it depended solely upon the Skill of *Thales*, I should still suspect that there might be, tho' not so much, yet some Error in it: *Thales*, tho' a famous Astronomer for the Age he liv'd in, yet was not skilful enough to determine with a true Exactness the Time of the setting of the *Pleiades*, or to fix accurately the *Autumnal Equinox*, and therefore no great Stress could have been laid upon any Guesses which He might have been reported to make in these Matters.

Thales, as I before hinted, was the first of the *Græcians* who learned that the Year consisted of more than three hundred sixty Days; but tho' he had learned this, yet he was ignorant of another material Point, namely, that it consisted of almost six Hours over and above the five additional Days before mention'd. When the *Egyptians* first found this out is uncertain, but their Discovery of it was not so early as the Time of their coming to the Knowledge of the other Point, as is evident from the Fable in which their *Mythologic Writers* dressed up the Doctrine of the Year's consisting of three hundred sixty five Days (*n*); for according to that Fable, five Days were the exact seventy

(*n*) See the Fable, Note in Pref. to Vol. I. p. 19.

second Part of the whole Year, and five is so of three hundred sixty, and therefore, when the five Days were first added, the Year was thought to consist of three hundred sixty five Days only: It is hard to say when the *Egyptians* made this further Improvement of their *Astronomy*; but whenever they did, it is certain that *Thales* knew nothing of it, for Sir *John Marsham* rightly observes, that *Herodotus* takes no Notice of the quarter Part of a Day, which should be added to the Year over and above the five additional Days, and adds (o), that *Eudoxus* first learned from the *Egyptian* Priests, that such farther Addition ought to be made to the Measure of the Year, and he cites *Strabo's* express Words to confirm his Observation (p); now *Eudoxus* liv'd about three hundred Years after *Thales*, and therefore *Thales* was intirely ignorant, both of this, and according to *Strabo* of many other very material Points in *Astronomy*, which *Eudoxus* learned in *Egypt*.

Thales is indeed said to have foretold an *Eclipse*, i. e. I suppose he was able to foresee that there would be one, not that he could calculate exactly the Time when; perhaps he might guess within two or three Weeks, and perhaps he might err twice the Number, and yet be thought in his Age, a very great Astronomer. Sir *Isaac Newton* says, that he wrote a Book of the *Tropics* and *Equinoxes*; undoubtedly it was a very sorry one: I cannot apprehend, that *Thales* could settle the *Equinoxes* with so much Exactness, as that any great stress could have been laid even upon his Ac-

(o) Marsham Can. Chron. p. 236. (p) Strabo says, that *Eudoxus* and *Plato* learned from the *Egyptian* Priests, τὰ ἐπιτρεχόνια τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ τῶν νυκτῶν μόλις τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐξήκοντι πέντε ἡμέραις εἰς τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τῆς ἐναυσίας χρόνου, And he adds ἀλλ' ἠγνοεῖτο τέως ὁ ἑνίαυτος τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὡς καὶ ἄλλοι πλείω. Strabo. Geog. l. 17. p. 806.

count of the *Pleiades* setting 25 Days after the Autumnal *Equinox*: He might, or might not happen to err a Day or two about the Time of the *Equinox*, and as much about the setting of the *Pleiades*.

Sir *Isaac Newton* observes, that *Meton*, in order to publish his *Lunar Cycle* of nineteen Years, observed the Summer *Solstice* in the Year of *Nabonnassar* 316, and *Columella* (he says) tells us, that he placed it in the 8th Degree of *Cancer*, from whence he argues, that the *Solstice* had gone back from *Chiron's* Days to *Meton's* at least seven Degrees, and therefore *Meton* was but 504 Years after *Chiron* (q): But here again the Argument depends upon *Chiron's* having accurately settled the *Equinoxes* in his Time, and therefore the Answer I have before given will be here sufficient: As to *Meton*; From this Account of his settling the *Equinoxes*, and from Dean *Prideaux's* of his nineteen Years Cycle (r), it would seem probable that he was a very exact Astronomer: But I must confess, there appear to me to be considerable Reasons against admitting this Opinion of him; for how could *Meton* be so exact an *Astronomer*, when *Hipparchus*, who liv'd almost 300 Years after *Meton* (s), was the first who found out, that the *Equinox* had a Motion backwards, and even he was so far from being accurate, that he miscounted 28 Years in 100, in calculating that Motion (t)? *Meton* might not be so exact an Astronomer, as he is represented. The *Cycle* that goes under his Name might be first projected by him, but he perhaps did not give it that Perfection which it afterwards received. *Columella* lived in the Times of the Emperor *Claudius*, and he might easily ascribe more to *Meton* than belonged to

(q) *Chronology of the Greeks*, p. 93.

(r) *Prideaux Connect.*

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(s) *Newton's Chronology*, p. 94.

(t) *Id. Ibid.*

him, living so many Ages after him. Later Authors perfected *Meton's* rude Draughts of Astronomy, and *Columella* might imagine the Corrections made in his Originals by later Hands to be *Meton's*. We now call the nineteen Years Cycle by his Name; but I cannot imagine that any more of it belongs to him, than an original Design of something like it, which the Astronomers of After-Ages added to and compleated by degrees.

Before I leave the Astronomical Argument of our truly great Author, I would add the very celebrated *Dr. Halley's* Account of the Astronomy of the Ancients; which he communicated some Years ago to the Author of *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*. His Words are (*w*),

“ As for the *Astronomy* of the Ancients, this is
 “ usually reckon'd for one of those Sciences
 “ wherein consisted the Learning of the *Egypti-*
 “ *ans*, and *Strabo* expressly declares, that there
 “ were in *Babylonia* several Universities, wherein
 “ Astronomy was chiefly professed; and *Pliny* tells
 “ us much the same Thing: So that it might
 “ well be expected, that where such a Science
 “ was so much studied, it ought to have been
 “ proportionably cultivated. Notwithstanding all
 “ which, it does appear, that there was nothing
 “ done by the *Chaldeans* older than about *CCCC*
 “ Years before *Alexander's* Conquest, that could
 “ be serviceable either to *Hipparchus* or *Ptolomy* in
 “ their Determination of the *Celestial* Motions;
 “ for had there been any Observations older than
 “ those we have, it cannot be doubted but the
 “ victorious *Greeks* must have procured them, as
 “ well as those they did, they being still more
 “ valuable for their Antiquity. All we have of

(*w*) See *Wotton's Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*,
 Chap. 24. p. 320.

“ them is only seven *Eclipses* of the Moon pre-
 “ served in *Ptolomy's Syntaxis*, and even those but
 “ very coarsely set down, and the oldest not much
 “ above DCC Years before *Christ*; so that after
 “ all the Fame of these *Chaldeans*, We may be
 “ sure that they had not gone far in this Science:
 “ And tho' *Callisthenes* be said by *Porphiry* to have
 “ brought from *Babylon* to *Greece*, Observations
 “ above MDCCC Years older than *Alexander*,
 “ yet the proper Authors making no mention or
 “ use of any such, renders it justly suspected for a
 “ Fable (a). What the *Egyptians* did in this Mat-
 “ ter is less evident, no one Observation made by
 “ them being to be found in their Countryman
 “ *Ptolomy*, excepting what was done by the *Greeks*
 “ of *Alexandria* under CCC Years before *Christ*;
 “ so that whatever was the Learning of these two
 “ ancient Nations, as to the Motions of the
 “ Stars, it seems to have been chiefly *Theoretical*;
 “ and I will not deny, but some of them might
 “ very long since be apprized of the Sun's being
 “ the Centre of our *System*, for such was the Do-
 “ ctrine of *Pythagoras* and *Philolaus*, and some o-
 “ thers, who were said to have travelled into
 “ these Parts.

“ From hence it may appear, that the *Greeks*
 “ were the first *practical* Astronomers, who en-
 “ deavoured in earnest to make themselves Masters
 “ of the Science, and to whom we owe all the
 “ old Observations of the *Planets*, and of the *E-*
 “ *quinoxes* and *Tropics*: *Thales* was the first that
 “ could predict an *Eclipse* in *Greece* not DC Years
 “ before *Christ*, and without doubt it was but a
 “ rude Account he had of the Motions; and
 “ 'twas *Hipparchus* who made the first Catalogue

(a) *Callisthenes's Account may not be a Fable: The subsequent Au-*
thors neither mention'd nor us'd these Observations, because they were in
Truth such jerry ones, that no Use could be made of them.

“ of the fix'd Stars not above CL Years before
 “ *Christ*; without which Catalogue there could
 “ be scarce such a Science as *Astronomy*; and it
 “ is to the Subtilty and Diligence of that great
 “ Author, that the World was beholden for all
 “ its *Astronomy* for above MD Years. All that
 “ *Ptolomy* did in his *Syntaxis*, was no more but a
 “ bare Transcription of the Theories of *Hippar-*
 “ *chus*, with some little Emendation of the *Perio-*
 “ *dical* Motions, after about CCC Years Inter-
 “ val; and this Book of *Ptolomy's* was, without
 “ dispute, the utmost Perfection of the ancient
 “ *Astronomy*, nor was there any thing in any Na-
 “ tion before it comparable thereto; for which
 “ Reason, all the other Authors thereof were
 “ disregarded and lost, and among them *Hippar-*
 “ *chus* himself. Nor did Posterity dare to alter
 “ the *Theories* delivered by *Ptolomy*, though suc-
 “ cessively *Albategnius* and the *Arabs*, and after
 “ them the *Spanish* Astronomers under *Alphonsus*
 “ endeavoured to mend the Errors they observed
 “ in their Computations. But their Labours
 “ were fruitless, whilst from the Defects of their
 “ Principles it was impossible to reconcile the
 “ Moon's Motion within a Degree, nor the Pla-
 “ nets *Mars* and *Mercury*, to a much greater
 “ Space.”

Thus we see the Opinion of this learned and
 judicious Astronomer. He very justly says, that
Thales could give but a rude Account of the Mo-
 tions, and that before *Hipparchus* there could be
 scarce such a Science as *Astronomy*; most cer-
 tainly therefore no such a nice Argumentation as
 our great Author offers, can be well grounded
 upon (as he himself calls them) the *coarse*, I might
 say, the *conjectural* and *unaccountable Astronomy* of
 the Antients.

II. Another Argument which Sir *Isaac Newton*
 offers, in order to shew, that the ancient prophane
 History

History is carried up higher than it ought to be, is taken from the Lengths of the Reigns of the ancient Kings. He remarks, that (b) “the Egyptians, Greeks, and Latines, reckon’d the Reigns of Kings equipollent to Generations of Men, and three Generations to an hundred Years, and accordingly they made their Kings reign one with another thirty and three Years apiece and above.” He would have these Reckonings reduced *to the Course of Nature*, and the Reigns of the ancient Kings put one with another at about eighteen or twenty Years apiece (bb), and this, he represents, would correct the Error of carrying the prophane History too far backward, and would fix the several *Epochs* of it more agreeable to true Chronology.

In Answer to this I would observe, 1. The Word [$\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\alpha$] Generation may either signify a Descent; thus *Jacob* was two Generations after *Abraham*, *i. e.* he was his Grandson: or it may signify an Age, *i. e.* the space of Time in which all those who are of the same Descent, may be suppos’d to finish their Lives. Thus we read that *Joseph died and all his Brethren, and all that Generation* (c): In this Sense the Generation did not end at *Joseph’s* Death, nor at the Death of the youngest of his Brethren, nor until all the Persons who were in the same Line of Descent with them were gone off the Stage. A Generation in this latter Sense, must be a much longer space of Time, than a Generation in the former Sense: *Manasseh* and *Ephraim* the Sons of *Joseph* were two Generations or Descents after *Jacob*, for they were his Grandchildren; and yet they were born in the same Age or Generation in which *Jacob* was born; for they were born before he died. But I

(b) *Newton’s Chronology*, p. 51. (bb) p. 55. (c) *Exodus* i. 6.

confess the Word γενεά or Generation is more frequently used to signify a Descent: In this Sense it is commonly found in *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pausanias*, in the prophane as well as in the sacred Writers. But I must remark, 2. That Reigns and these Generations are equipollent, when the Son succeeds at his Father's Death to his Kingdom. Thus, if a Crown descends from Father to Son, for seven, or more, or not so many Successions, it is evident that as many Successions as there are, we may count so many either Reigns, or Descents, or Generations; a Reign and a Descent here are manifestly equipollent, for they are one and the same Thing. But, 3. when it has happened in a Catalogue of Kings, that sometimes Sons succeeded their Fathers, at other times Brothers their Brothers, and sometimes Persons of different Families obtained the Crown, then the Reigns will not be found to be equipollent to the Generations; for in such a Catalogue several of the Kings will have been of the same Descent with others of them, and so there will be not so many Descents as Reigns, and consequently the Reigns are not one with another equipollent to the Generations: And this being the Case in almost all, if not in every *Series* of any Number of Kings that can be produced, it ought not to be said that Reigns and Generations are in the general equipollent; for a number of Reigns will be generally speaking, for the Reasons above mentioned, much shorter than a like number of Generations or Descents. 4. When Descents or Generations proceed by the eldest Sons only, then the Generations ought to be computed to be one with another about as many Years each, as are at a *Medium* the Years of the Ages of the Fathers of such Generations at the Births of their eldest Sons. And thus we find from the Birth of *Arphaxad* (d) to the

(d) Gen. xi. 11.

Birth of *Terah* the Father of *Abraham* (e) are seven Generations, and 219 Years, which is 31 Years and above $\frac{1}{4}$ to a Generation: And the seven Fathers in these Generations had their respective Sons; one of them at about 35 Years of Age (f), one at 34 (g), one at 32 (h), three at 30 (i), and one at 29 (k). 5. When Descents or Generations proceed by the younger or youngest Sons, the length of such Generations will be according to the Time of the Father's Life in which such younger Sons are born, and also in proportion to what is the common Length or Standard of human Life in the Age which they are born in. When Men lived to about 200, and had Children after they were an hundred Years old, it is evident, that the younger Children might *survive* their Parents near 100 Years: But now, when Men rarely live beyond 70 or 80 Years, a Son born in the latest Years of his Father's Life, cannot be supposed, in the common course of Things, to be alive near so long after his Father's Death, and consequently Descents or Generations by the younger Sons must have been far longer in the Ages of the ancient *Longevity*, than they can now be: And therefore, 6. Since in the Genealogies of all Families, and in the Catalogues of Kings in all Kingdoms, the Descents and Successions are found to proceed, not always by the eldest Sons, but thro' frequent Accidents many times by the younger Children, it is evident, that the difference there has been in the common length of human Life in the different Ages of the World, must have had a considerable Effect upon the

(e) Gen. xi. 26. (f) Salah was born when Arphaxad was 35. ver. 12. (g) Peleg was born when Eber was 34. ver. 16.

(h) Serug was born when Reu was 32. (i) Eber was born when Salah was 30. ver. 14. Reu when Peleg was 30. ver. 18. Nahor when Serug was 30. ver. 22. (k) Terah was born when Nahor was 29. ver. 24.

length of both Reigns and Generations, both which must be longer or shorter in this or that Age in some measure, according to what is the common Standard of the length of Men's Lives in the Age they belong to. 7. Reigns, as has been said, are in general not so long as Generations: But from historical Observations a Calculation may be formed at a *Medium*, how often one time with another such Failures of Descent happen, as make the Difference, and the lengths of Reigns may be calculated in a Proportion to the Lengths of Generations according to it. Sir *Isaac Newton* computes the Lengths of Reigns to be to the Lengths of Generations one with another as 18 or 20, to 33 or 34 (*l*). These Particulars ought to be duly considered, in order to judge of our learned Author's Argument from the length of Reigns and Generations. For,

1. The Catalogues of Kings, which our great and learned Author produces to confirm his Opinion, are all of later Date, some of them many Ages later than the Times of *David*. He says (*m*), the eighteen Kings of *Judah*, who succeeded *Solomon*, reigned one with another 22 Years a-piece. The fifteen Kings of *Israel* after *Solomon* reigned $17 \frac{1}{4}$ Years a-piece. The eighteen Kings of *Babylon* from *Nabonassar* reigned $11 \frac{2}{3}$ Years a-piece. The ten Kings of *Persia* from *Cyrus* reigned 21 Years a-piece. The sixteen Successors of *Alexander* the Great, and of his Brother and Son in *Syria*, reigned $15 \frac{1}{4}$ Years a-piece. The eleven Kings of *Egypt* from *Ptolomæus Lagi* reigned 25 Years a-piece. The eight in *Macedonia* from *Cassander* reigned $17 \frac{1}{4}$ Years a-piece. The thirty Kings of *England* from *William* the Conqueror, reigned $21 \frac{1}{2}$ Years a-piece. The first 24 Kings of *France* from *Pharamond* reigned 19 Years a-

(*l*) See *Newton's Chronol. of the Greeks*, p. 53, 54. (*m*) *Id. Ibid.*

piece. The next twenty four Kings of *France* from *Ludovicus Balbus* reigned $18\frac{3}{4}$ a-piece. The next fifteen from *Philip Valesius* 21 Years a-piece, and all the sixty three Kings of *France* one with another reigned $19\frac{1}{2}$ Years a-piece. These are the several Catalogues which our great and learned Author has produced: They are of various Dates down from *Solomon* to the present Times; but as none of them rise so high as the Times of King *David*, all that can be proved from them is, that the Observation of *David*, who remarked that the length of human Life was in his Times reduced to what has ever since been the Standard of it (*n*), was exceedingly just; for from *Solomon's* Time to the present Days it appears, that the lengths of Kings Reigns in different Ages, and in different Countries, have been much the same, and therefore during this whole Period, the common length of human Life has been what it now is, and agreeable to what *David* stated it. But,

2. It cannot be inferred from these Reigns of Kings mentioned by Sir *Isaac Newton*, that Kings did not reign one with another a much longer space of Time in the Ages which I am concerned with, in which Men generally lived to a much greater Age, than in the Times out of which Sir *Isaac Newton* has taken the Catalogue of Kings which he has produced. From *Abraham* down to almost *David*, Men liv'd, according to the Scripture Accounts of the lengths of their Lives, to I think, at a *Medium*, above 100 Years, exceeding that Term very much in the Times near *Abraham*, and seldom falling short of it until within a Generation or two of *David*: But in *David's* Time the length of human Life was at a *Medium* but seventy Years (*o*); now any one that considers this Difference, must see, that the lengths of Kings Reigns,

(*n*) Psalm xc. ver. 10.

(*o*) Ibid.

as well as of Generations, must be considerably affected by it. Successions in both must come on slower in the early Ages, according to the greater length of Men's Lives. I am sensible I could produce many Catalogues of Successions from Father to Son, to confirm what I have offered; but since there is one which takes in almost the whole Compass of the Times which I am concerned in, and which has all the Weight that the Authority of the sacred Writers can give it, and which will bring the Point in question to a clear and indisputable Conclusion, I shall for Brevity's sake omit all others, and offer only that to the Reader's farther Examination. From *Abraham* to *David* (including both *Abraham* and *David*) were fourteen Generations (*p*); now from *Abraham's* Birth *A. M.* 2008, to *David's* Death about *A. M.* 2986 (*q*) are 978 Years, so that Generations in these Times took up one with another near 70 Years a-piece, *i. e.* they were above double the length which *Sir Isaac Newton* computes them; and which they were, I believe, after the Times of *David*. We must therefore suppose the Reigns of Kings in these ancient Times to be longer than his Computation in the same proportion, and if so, we must calculate them at above 40 Years a-piece one with another; and so the prophane Historians have recorded them to be; for according to the Lists which we have from *Castor* (*r*) of the ancient Kings of *Sicyon* and *Argos*, the first twelve Kings of *Sicyon* reigned more than 44 Years a-piece one with another, and the first eight Kings

(*p*) Matt. i. (*q*) Usher's *Annals*. It may perhaps be thought that I ought not to compute these 14 Generations from the Birth of *Abraham*, but from the Death of *Terah* the Father of *Abraham*, who died when *Abraham* was 75. If we compute from hence, the 14 Generations take up but 903 Years, which allows but 64 Years and $\frac{1}{2}$ to a Generation, this is but almost double the length of *Sir Isaac Newton's* Generations.

(*r*) Euseb. in *Chron.*

of *Argos* something above 46, as our great Author has remarked (s), but the Reigns of the first twelve Kings of *Sicyon* extended from *A. M.* 1920 to *A. M.* 2450 (t); so that they began 88 Years before the Birth of *Abraham*, and ended in the Times of *Moses*, and the Reigns of the first eight Kings of *Argos* began *A. M.* 2154 (u), and ended *A. M.* 2525; so that they reached from the latter End of *Abraham's* Life, to a few Years after the Exit of the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*; and let any one form a just Computation of the Length of Mens Lives in these Times, and it will in no wise appear unreasonable to imagine, that the Reigns of Kings were of this Length in these Days. I might observe, That the ancient Accounts of the Kings of different Kingdoms in these Times agree to one another, as well as our great Author's more modern Catalogues. The twelve first Kings of *Assyria*, according to the Writers who have given us Accounts of them (w), reigned, one with another, about 40 Years a-piece. The first twelve Kings of the *Egyptian* Kingdoms, according to *Sir John Marsham's* Tables, did not reign full so long; but it must be remembered, that in the first Times, the Kings of *Egypt* were frequently elected, and so, many times, Sons did not succeed their Fathers (x).

Our great and learned Author remarks (y), that the seven Kings of *Rome* who preceded the Consuls, reigned, one with another, thirty-five Years a-piece. I am sensible it may be observed, that (the Reigns of these Kings not falling within the Times I am to treat of) I am not concerned to vindicate the Accounts that are given of them; but I would not entirely omit mentioning them,

(s) *Newton. Chron. p. 51.* (t) *See hereafter B. VI.* (u) *See Book VI.*
 (w) *Euseb. in Chron.* (x) *See hereafter in Book VI. p. 97.*
 (y) *Newton's Chronol. p. 51.*

because

because the Lengths of their Reigns may be thought an undeniable Instance of the Inaccuracy of the ancient Computations, more especially because these Kings were all more modern than the Times of *David*; for supposing *Rome* to be built by *Romulus*, *A. M.* 3256 (z), we must begin *Romulus's* Reign almost 300 Years after the Death of *David*, and the Lives of Men in these Times being reduced to what has been esteemed the common Standard ever since, it may perhaps be expected, that the Reigns of these Kings should not be longer, one with another, than the Reigns of our Kings of *England*, from *William the Conqueror*; or of the Kings of *France*, from *Pharamond*; or of any other Series of Kings mentioned by our illustrious Author: But here I would observe, That these Seven Kings of *Rome* were not Descendants of one another. *Plutarch* remarks of these Kings, that not one of them left his Crown to his Son (a). Two of them, namely *Ancus Martius* and *Tarquinius Superbus*, were indeed Descendants from the Sons of former Kings, but the other Five were of different Families: The Successors of *Romulus* were elected to the Crown, and the *Roman* People did not confine their Choice even to their own Country, but chose such as were most likely to promote the publick Good (b). It is evident therefore, that the Lengths of these Kings Reigns ought not to be estimated according to the common Measure of Successive Monarchs; for had these *Roman* Kings been very old Men when advanced to the Throne, their several Reigns would have been very short; and the Reason why they are so much longer, than it may be thought they

(z) Usher's Annals. (a) Τὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄροι Βασιλεῖς, εἰς ἑδραὶς ἡμῶν πρὸς ἀρχὴν ἀπέλιπε. Plut. de animi Tranquillitate. p. 467. (b) See Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. Livii Hist. Flor. Hist.

ought to be, may be, because, as the Affairs of the Infant State of *Rome* required that the City should be in the Hands of the most able Warriors, as well as skilful Counsellors, so they chose to the Crown none but Persons in their Prime of Life; as well to have a King of sufficient Ability to lead their Armies, as that they might not have frequent Vacancies of the Throne to shake and unsettle the Frame of their Government, not as yet firmly enough compacted to bear too many State-Convulsions. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* has been very particular in informing us of the Age of most of these Kings, when they began to reign, how many Years each of them reigned, and at what Age most of them died (*c*): He supposes the oldest Man of them all, not to have lived to above Eighty-three, for that was *Numa's* Age when he died (*d*); and he represents *L. Tarquinius* as quite worn out at Eighty (*e*); so that none of them are supposed to have lived to an extravagant Term of Life. But if after what I have offered, it should be still thought that their Reigns, one with another, are too long to be admitted; I might remark farther, that there were *Interregna* between the Reigns of several of them. There was an *Interregnum* between *Romulus* and *Numa* (*f*); another between *Numa* and *Tullus Hostilius* (*g*); another between *T. Hostilius* and *Ancus Martius* (*h*); another between *A. Martius* and *L. Tarquinius* (*i*). Each of these *Interregna* might perhaps take up some Years. The Historians allot no Space of Time to these *Interregna*; but it is known to be no unusual thing for Writers to begin the Reign of a succeeding King from the Death of his Predecessor, tho' he did not immediately succeed to

(c) In Lib. 2. 3. 4.

(d) Lib. 2. ad fin.

(e) L. 3. c. 72.

(f) Lib. 2. c. 57.

(g) Id. lib. 3. c. 1.

(h) Id. ibid. c. 36.

(i) Id. ibid. c. 46.

his Crown. *Numa* was not elected King, until the People found by Experience, that the *Interregal* Government was full of Inconveniencies (k), and some Years Administration might make them sufficiently sensible of it. When *Tullus Hostilius* was called to the Crown, the poorer Citizens were in a State of Want, which could no way be relieved but by electing some very wealthy Person to be King, who could afford to divide the Crown-Lands amongst them (l). *Ancus Martinus* was made King, at a Time when the *Roman* Affairs were in a very bad State, thro' the Neglect of the publick Religion, and of *Agriculture* (m). And *L. Tarquinius* was elected upon the Necessity of a War with the *Apulani* (n): And thus these Kings appear not to be called to the Crown until some public Exigencies made it necessary to have a King. They seem to have succeeded one another, like the Judges of *Israel*; the Successor did not come to the Crown immediately upon the Demise of his Predecessor; but when a King died, the *Interreges* took the Government, and administered the publick Affairs, until some *Crisis* demanded a new King. If this was the Fact, there can be no Appearance of an Objection against the Lengths of the Reigns of these Kings; for the Reigns of the Kings were not really so long, but the Reigns, and the intervening *Interregna*, put together; and the more I consider the State of the *Roman* Affairs as represented by *Dionysius*, the more I am inclined to suspect that their Kings succeeded in this manner.

III. Sir *Isaac Newton* contends (o), that there were no such Kings of *Affyria*, as all the ancient Writers have recorded to have reigned there from *Ninus* to *Sardanapalus*, and to have governed a

(k) *Dionys. Halic.* l. 2. c. 57. (l) *Id.* l. 3. c. 1. (m) *Id.* l. 3. c. 36. (n) *Id.* *ibid.* c. 49. (o) *Newton's Chron.* chap. 2.

great Part of *Asia* for about 1300 Years. Our great and learned Author follows Sir *John Marsham*, in this Particular; for Sir *John Marsham* first raised Doubts about these Kings (p); and indeed that learned Gentleman hinted a great Part of what is now offered upon this Subject. I have formerly endeavoured to answer Sir *John Marsham's* Objections, as far as I could then apprehend it to be necessary to reply to them (q); but since Sir *Isaac Newton* has thought fit to make use of some of them, and has added others of his own to them, it will be proper for me to mention all the several Arguments which are now offered against these *Assyrian* Kings, and to lay before the Reader, what I apprehend may be replied to them.

And, 1. It is remarked (r), that "the Names of these pretended Kings of *Assyria*, except two or three, have no Affinity with the *Assyrian* Names." To this I answer; *Ctesias*, from whom we are said to have had the Names of these Kings, was not an *Assyrian*: He was of *Cnidus*, a City of *Caria* in the *Lesser Asia*; and he wrote his *Persian* or *Assyrian* History (I think) in the *Greek* Tongue (s). The Royal Records of *Persia* supplied him with Materials (t), and it is most reasonable to think, that the *Assyrian* Kings were not registred by their *Assyrian* Names, in the *Persian* Chronicles; or if they were, that *Ctesias*, in his History, did not use the Names which he found there, but made others, which he thought equivalent to them. *Diodorus Siculus* did not give the *Egyptian* Heroes whom he mentioned their true *Egyptian* Names, but invented for them such as he thought, if duly explained, were *Synonymous* to them (u). The true Name of *Mitradates's*

(p) See Marsham's Can. Chron. p. 485. (q) Pref. to Vol I.

(r) Newton's Chron. chap. 3. (s) See Diodor. Hist. l. 2. p. 84.

(t) Id. ibid. (u) Id. l. 1. p. 8.

Fellow-Servant was *Spaco*, but the *Greeks* called her *Cyno* (j), apprehending *Cyno* in *Greek* to be of the same Import as *Spaco* in the *Mede* Tongue. This was the common Practice of the ancient Writers, and some of the Moderns have imitated it, of which Instances might be given in several of the Names in *Thuanus's* History of his own Times; but certainly I need not go on farther in my Reply to this Objection. If *Ctesias* named these Kings according to his own Fancy, and really mis-named them, it can in no wise prove that the Persons so mis-named never were in Being.

2. It is argued, that *Herodotus* did not think *Semiramis* so ancient as the Writers who follow *Ctesias* imagined (g): I answer; By *Herodotus's* Accounts, the *Assyrian* Empire began at latest *A. M.* 2700; for *Cyrus* began his Reign at the Death of *Astyages*, about *A. M.* 3444 (h). *Astyages*, according to *Herodotus*, reigned 35 Years (i), and therefore began his Reign *A. M.* 3409; he succeeded *Cyaxares* (k). *Cyaxares* reigned 40 Years (l), and therefore began his Reign *A. M.* 3369. *Phraortes* was the Predecessor of *Cyaxares*, and reigned 22 Years (m), and so began his Reign *A. M.* 3347. *Deioces* preceded *Phraortes*, and reigned 53 Years (n), and therefore began his reign *A. M.* 3294. *Herodotus* supposes the *Medes* to have lived for some time after their Revolt from the *Assyrians* without a King (o), we cannot suppose less than two or three Years; and he remarks, that the *Assyrians* had governed *Asia* 52 Years before the Revolt of the *Medes*, so that according to his Computations the *Assyrian* Empire

(f) *Herodot.* Hist. lib. 1. c. 110. (g) *Newton's* Chron. p. 266. 278. (h) *Usher's* Chron. *Prideaux* Connect. (i) *L.* c. 130. (k) *Ibid.* c. 107. (l) *Ibid.* c. 106. (m) *Ibid.* c. 102. (n) *Ibid.* (o) *Ibid.* c. 96.

began about *A. M.* 2771, which is about the Time of *Abimelech* (*p*). *Sir Isaac Newton* begins the *Assyrian* Empire in the Days of *Pul*, who was cotemporary with *Menahem* (*q*), in the Year before our Saviour 790 (*r*), *i. e.* *A. M.* 3212; so that *Herodotus*, however cited in favour of our learned Author's Scheme, does, in reality, differ near 450 Years from it. But to come to the Particular for which our learned Author cites *Herodotus*: He says, that *Herodotus* tells us, that *Semiramis* was five Generations older than *Nitocris* the Mother of *Labynitus*, or *Nabonnedus*, the last King of *Babylon*; and therefore (he adds) she flourished four Generations, or about 134 Years before *Nebuchadnezzar*. I answer; If *Herodotus* intended to represent, that *Semiramis* lived but 134 Years before *Nebuchadnezzar*, when, according to his own Computations, the *Assyrian* Empire began as above, *A. M.* 2771, he was absurd indeed; for all Writers have unanimously agreed to place *Semiramis* near the Beginning of the Empire; but this would be to suppose her in the later Ages of it. *Sir Isaac Newton* himself, who begins the Empire with *Pul*, places *Semiramis* in the Reign of *Tiglath-Pileser*, whom he supposes to be *Pul's* Successor (*s*), and certainly *Herodotus* must likewise intend to place her near the Times where he begins the Empire; as all other Writers ever did; and indeed, the Works he ascribes to her seem to intimate that he did so too (*t*); so that I cannot but suspect a Misrepresentation of *Herodotus's* Meaning. *Herodotus* does indeed say, that *Semiramis* was πέντε γενεῶν before *Nitocris* (*u*); but the Word γενεῶν has a double Acceptation. It is sometimes used to signify a Generation or Descent, and I am

(*p*) Judges ix. Usher's Chron. (q) Chron. p. 268. (r) See the Short Chron. (s) Newton's Chronol. p. 278. (t) Herodot. l. i. c. 184. (u) Ibid.

sensible that *Herodotus* has more than once used it in this Sense; but it sometimes signifies what the *Latins* call *Ætas*, or *Ævum*; or we in *English*, an *Age*; and if *Herodotus* used it in this Sense here, then he meant that *Semiramis* was πέντε γενεῶσι, *quinque ætatibus*, [says the *Latin Translator*] before *Nitocris*; not five Generations, or Descents, but *five Ages* before her. The ancient Writers both before and after *Herodotus* computed a Generation or *Age* of those who lived in the early Times, to be an hundred Years. Thus they reckoned *Nestor* [of whom *Tully* says, *tertiam ætatem hominum vivebat* (w); *Horace*, that he was *ter ævo functus* (x)] because it was reported that he had lived three Generations or Ages, to have lived about 300 Years; *Ovid* well expressing the common Opinion, makes him say,

————— *vixi*

Annos bis centum, nunc tertia vivitur Ætas (y).

The two Ages or Generations which he had lived were computed to be 200 Years; and he was thought to be going on for the third Century. And now, if *Herodotus* in the Place before us used the Word γενεαῖ in this Sense, then by *Semiramis* being five Ages or Generations before *Nitocris*, he meant nothing like what our learned Author infers from him, but that she was about 500 Years before her: I might add, this seems most probably to be his Meaning; because if we take him in this Sense, he will, as all other Writers have ever done, place *Semiramis* near the Times where he begins the *Assyrian Empire*. I have formerly considered *Herodotus's* Opinion, about the Rise of this Empire, as to the Truth of it (z), and I may here from the most learned Dean *Pri-*

(w) Lib. de Senectute. (x) Lib. 2. Ode II. (y) *Metamorph.* lib. 12. (z) *Pref.* 10 Fol. I.

deaux add to it (a), that, “*Herodotus* having travelled through *Egypt*, *Syria*, and several other Countries, in order to the writing of his History, did as Travellers use to do, that is, put down all Relations upon Trust, as he met with them; and no doubt he was imposed on in many of them,” and particularly in the Instance before us; but *Ctesias* living in the Court of *Persia*, and searching the publick Registers, was able to give a better Account than *Herodotus* of the *Assyrian* Kings. But be *Herodotus*’s Account true or false, the whole of it, I am sure, does not favour our learned Author’s *Hypothesis*; nor, as I apprehend, does the Particular cited about *Semiramis*, if we take the Words of *Herodotus* according to his own Meaning.

3. Sir *Isaac Newton* cites *Nehemiah*, chap. x. ver. 32 (b). The Words are: *Now therefore, our God——Let not all the Trouble seem little before thee, that hath come upon us, on our Kings, on our Princes, and on our Priests, and on our Prophets, and on our Fathers, and on all thy People, since the Time of the Kings of Assyria unto this Day.* Our learned Author says, *since the Time of the Kings of Assyria*; that is, *since the Time of the Kingdom of Assyria*, or *since the Rise of that Empire*; and therefore the *Assyrian* Empire arose, when the *Kings of Assyria* began to afflict the *Jews*.” In answer to this Objection, I would observe, that the Expression, *since the Time of the Kings of Assyria*, or, to render it more strictly, according to the *Hebrew* Words, *from the Days of the Kings of Assyria*, is very general, and may signify a Time commencing from any Part of their Times, and therefore it is restraining the Expression purely to serve an *Hypothesis*, to suppose the Words to

(a) *Connect.* Vol. I. B. 2. p. 156.

(b) *Newton’s Chron.*

mean, not from their Times in general, but from the very Rise or Beginning of their Times. The Heathen Writers frequently used a like general Expression, *the Trojan Times*, πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, *before the Trojan Times*, is an Expression both of *Thucydides* and *Diodorus Siculus* (c); but neither of them meant by it, before the Rise of the *Trojan* People, but before the *Trojan* War, with which the *Trojans* and their Times ended. But as to the Expression before us, we shall more clearly see what was designed by it, if we consider, 1. That the Sacred Writers represent the *Jews* as suffering in and after these Times from the Kings of two Countries, from the Kings of *Assyria*, and from the Kings of *Babylon*. *Israel* was a scattered Sheep, the Lions had drove him away: First, the King of *Assyria* devoured him; and last, the King of *Babylon* brake his Bones (d). 2. The Kings of *Assyria*, who began the Troubles that were brought upon the *Israelites*, were the Kings who reigned at *Nineveh*, from *Pul*, before *Tiglath Pileser* (e), to *Nabopolassar*, who destroyed *Nineveh*, and made *Babylon* the sole *Metropolis* of the Empire (f): *Pul* first began to afflict them; his Successors, at diverse times and in different manners, distress'd them; *Nebuchadnezzar* completed their Miseries in the Captivity (g). But, 3. The Sacred Writers, in the Titles which they give to these Kings, did not design to hint either the Extent of their Empire, or the History of their Succession, but commonly call them Kings of the Country or City where they resided, whatever other Dominions they were Masters of, and

(c) *Thucyd.* l. 1. p. 3. *Diodor.* l. 1. p. 4. and the same Author uses πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν in the same Sense. *ibid.* (d) *Jerem.* l. ver. 17. (e) 1 *Chron.* v. ver. 26. 2 *Kings* xv. 19. *Usher Chronol.* (f) See *Prideaux Connect.* Vol. I. B. I. (g) *Id.* *ibid.*

without any Regard to the Particulars of their Actions or Families, of the Rise of one Family, or Fall of another: *Pul* seems to have been the Father of *Sardanapalus* (b): *Tiglath-Pileser* was *Arbaces*, who, in Confederacy with *Belesis*, overthrew the Empire of *Pul*, in the Days of his Son *Sardanapalus* (i); and *Tiglath-Pileser* was not King of such large Dominions as *Pul* and *Sardanapalus* commanded; but the Sacred Writers take no Notice of these Revolutions. *Pul* had his Residence at *Nineveh* in *Assyria*, and *Tiglath-Pileser* made that City his Royal Seat (k); and for this Reason they are both called in Scripture, Kings of *Assyria*; and upon the same Account, the Successors of *Tiglath-Pileser* have the same Title, until the Empire was removed to *Babylon*. *Salmanezar*, the Son of *Tiglath-Pileser*, is called King of *Assyria* (l); and so is *Sargon*, or *Sennacherib* (m): *Esharaddon*, tho' he was King of *Babylon*, as well as of *Assyria* (n), is called in Scripture King of *Assyria*, for in that Country was his Seat of Residence (o); but after *Nabopolasser* destroyed *Nineveh*, and removed the Empire to *Babylon*, the Kings of it are called in Scripture Kings of *Babylon*, and not Kings of *Assyria*, tho' *Assyria* was Part of their Dominions, as *Babylon* and the adjacent Country had been of many of the *Assyrian* Kings. There were great Turns and Revolutions in the Kingdoms of these Countries, from the Death of *Sardanapalus*, to the Establishment of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Empire; but the Sacred History does not pursue a Narration of these Matters; but as the Writers of it called the Kings of the ancient *Assyrian* Empire Kings of *Elam* when they resided

(b) See Usher's Chronol. (i) Prideaux Connect. ub. sup.

(k) Ibid. Vol. I. B. I. (l) 2 Kings xvii. 3. (m) Isaiah xx. 1.

(n) See Prideaux Connect. Vol. I. B. I. Not. in p. 42.

(o) Ezra iv. 2.

there (*p*), Kings of *Nineveh* (*q*) or of *Assyria*, when they lived in that City or Country (*r*); so they call the several Kings, which arose after the Fall of *Sardanapalus*'s Empire, Kings of the Countries where they held their Residence; and all that can fairly be deduced from the Words of *Nehemiah* is, that the Troubles of the *Jews* began, whilst there were Kings reigning in *Assyria*, that is, before the Empire of these Countries was removed to *Babylon*.

4. “*Sesac* and *Memnon* (says our learned Author) were great Conquerors, and reigned over *Chaldea*, *Assyria* and *Persia*, but in their Histories there is not a word of any Opposition made to them by an *Assyrian* Empire then standing: On the contrary, *Susiana*, *Media*, *Persia*, *Bactria*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, &c. were conquered by them, and continued subject to the Kings of *Egypt* till after the long Reign of *Ramesse* the Son of *Memnon*.” This Objection in its full strength is this: The *Egyptians* conquered and possessed the very Countries, which were in the Heart of the supposed *Assyrian* Empire, in the times when that Empire is imagined to have flourished, and therefore certainly there was in those Days no such Empire. I answer, 1. The *Egyptians* made no great Conquests until the Times of *Sesac* in the Reign of *Rehoboam* about *A. M.* 3033, about 200 years before *Sardanapalus*. This *Sesac* was their famous *Sesostris* (*s*). I am sensible, that there have been many very learned Writers who have thought otherwise. *Agathias* imagined *Sesostris* to be long before *Ninus* and *Semiramis* (*t*), and the *Scholiast* (*u*) upon *Apollonius* sets him 2900 years before the first *Olympiad*; but the current

(*p*) Gen. xiv. 1. (*q*) Jonah iii. 6. (*r*) 1 Chron. v. 26.
 (*s*) Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 358. (*t*) L. 2. p. 55. See *Pri-
 deaux* Not. Histor. in Chron. Marm. Ep. 9. (*u*) Id. *ibid*.

Opinion of the Learned has not gone into this fabulous Antiquity. *Aristotle* thought him long before the Times of *Minos* (w); *Strabo*, *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* all represent him to have lived before the *Trojan War*; and *Eusebius* and *Theophilus*, from an hint of *Manetho's* in *Josephus* (x), imagined him to be the Brother of *Armais* or *Danaus*, *quàm verè nescio*, says the most learned Dean *Prideaux* (y); and indeed there are no prevalent Reasons to admit of this Relation; however, the Sentiments of all these Writers may not differ from one another, but *Sesostris* may consistently with all of them be imagined to have lived about the Times that *Moses* led the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, and this I think has been the common Opinion about him. But if we look into the *Egyptian* Antiquities, and examine the Particulars of them as collected by *Diodorus*, we shall find great Reason not to think him thus early. *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, that there were 52 successive Kings after *Menes* or *Mizraim* before *Busiris* came to the Crown (z): *Busiris* had eight Successors, the last of which was *Busiris* the Second (a): twelve Generations or Descents after him reigned *Myris* (b), and seven after *Myris*, *Sesostris* (c); so that according to this Computation, *Sesostris* was about 80 Successions after *Menes* or *Mizraim*. *Diodorus* must indeed have made a Mistake in this Computation; for from the Death of *Menes*, *A. M.* 1943 (d), to *Sesac* about *A. M.* 3033, are but 1090 years, and 55 Successions may very well carry us down thus far, as may appear from Sir *John Marsham's* Tables of the Kings of *Egypt*: The ancient *Egyptian* Writers are known to have lengthned their Antiquities, by supposing all their

(w) Politic. l. 7. c. 10.

(x) Lib. 1. contr. Appion.

(y) U-

bi sup.

(z) Diodor. l. 1. p. 29.

(a) Id. ibid.

(b) Id.

P. 33.

(c) Id. p. 34.

(d) See Vol. I, B. 4. p. 211.

Kings to have reigned successively, when many of them were cotemporaries, and reigned over different parts of the Country, in the same Age; and undoubtedly *Diodorus Siculus* was imposed upon by some Accounts of this sort, and there were not really so many Successions, as he imagined, between *Mizraim* and *Sesostris*. But then there is a Particular suggested by him, which must fully convince us, that his Computation cannot be so reduced as to place *Sesostris* about the Times of *Moses*. He observes, that after the Times of *Menes*, 1400 years passed before the *Egyptians* performed any considerable Actions worth recording (e). The number 1400 is indeed thought to be a Mistake. *Rhodomannus* corrects it in the Margin, and writes 1040. We will take this number: From the Death of *Mizraim* 1040 years will carry us down very near to the Times of *Sesac*: for 50 years after it *Sesac* came against *Jerusalem*: And thus according to this Account they had no famous Warrior until about the Times of *Sesac*; and therefore *Sesostris* did not live earlier. I might confirm this Account from another very remarkable particular in *Diodorus Siculus*. He tells us of a most excellent King of *Egypt*, begat by the River *Nile* in the shape of a Bull (f): I may venture to reject the Fable of the River and the Bull, and suppose this Person to be the Son of *Phurron* or *Nilus*; his Father's Name being *Nilus* might occasion the *Mythologists* to say, that he was begot by the River: Now *Dicæarchus* informs us, that this *Nilus* reigned about 436 years before the first *Olympiad*, i. e. about *A. M.* 2792 (g), and about this time Sir *John Marsham* places him (h): According to *Diodorus*, *Sesostris* was 20 Successions after this *Nilus*, and Sir *John Marsham* makes

(e) *Diodor.* p. 29. (f) *Diodor.* p. 33. (g) *Vid.* Vol. I. B. 4. p. 210. (h) *Vid.* *ibid.*

his *Sesac* to be nineteen; so that in all probability they were one and the same Person. And thus a strict view of the *Egyptian* Antiquities will from several concurrent Hints oblige us to think *Sesosis* to be not earlier than the times of, and consequently to be, the *Sesac* mentioned in the Scripture. I might add to all this, that the sacred Writers, who frequently mention the *Egyptians* from *Abraham's* time down to the times of this *Sesac*, do give us great Reason to think that the *Egyptians* had no such famous Conqueror as *Sesosis* before *Sesac*, by giving as great a Proof as we can expect of a Negative, that they made no Conquests in *Asia* before his Days. In *Abraham's* time, in *Jacob's*, in *Joseph's* we have no Appearance of any thing but Peace between *Egypt* and its *Asiatick* Neighbours. *Egypt* was conquered by the *Assyrians* who came out of *Asia* a little before the Birth of *Moses*, when the new King arose who knew not *Joseph*. Whatever Power and Strength these new Kings might be grown to at the Exit of the *Israelites*, must be supposed to be greatly broken by the Overthrow of *Pharaoh* and his Host in the *Red-Sea*. The *Egyptians* had no part in the Wars of the *Canaanites* with *Joshua*, nor in those of the *Philistines*, *Midianites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites* and *Amalekites* against *Israel* in the times of the *Judges*, or of *Saul*, or of King *David*: *Solomon* reigned over all the Kings from the River, [i. e. from the *Euphrates*] unto the Land of the *Philistines*, and to the Border of *Egypt* (i); so that no *Egyptian* Conqueror came this way until after his Death. In the fifth year of *Rehoboam* *Shishak* King of *Egypt* came up against *Jerusalem* with twelve hundred Chariots and threescore thousand Horsemen, and he took the fenced Cities, which pertained to *Judah*, and came to *Jerusalem* (k), and the *Israelites*

(i) 2 Chron. ix. 26.

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

were obliged to become his Servants; and *Sesac* conquered not only them, but the neighbouring Nations; for the *Jews* in serving him felt only the Service of the Kingdoms of the Countries (i) round about them; that is, all the neighbouring Nations underwent the same. This therefore was the first *Egyptian* Conqueror who came into *Asia* and we must either think this *Sesac* and *Sesostri* to have been the same Person, or, which was perhaps the Opinion of *Josephus* (m), say, that *Sesostri* was no Conqueror; but that *Herodotus* and the other Historians thro' mistake ascribed (n) to him what they found recorded of *Sesac*. *Josephus* represents *Herodotus* to have made two mistakes about this *Egyptian* Conqueror, one in misnaming him, calling him *Sesostri* when his real Name was *Sesac*; the other, in thinking him a greater (o) Conqueror than he really was: And this Mistake many of the Heathen Historians have indeed made in the Accounts they give of him. For, Neither *Sesostri* nor *Sesac* did ever conquer many Nations, as the Historians represent, nor were they ever Masters of any of the Countries that were a part of the *Assyrian* Empire. *Diodorus Siculus* indeed supposes, that *Sesostri* conquered all *Asia*, not only all the Nations, which *Alexander* afterwards subdued, but even many Kingdoms that he never attempted; that he passed the *Ganges*, and conquered all *India*; that he subjugated the *Scythians*, and extended his Conquest into *Europe* (p); and *Strabo* agrees to *Diodorus*

(i) 2 Chron. xii. ver. 8. (m) Antiq. Jud. l. 8. c. 10.
 (n) Σέσακος, πῶς ἔπλανηθεὶς Ἡρόδοτος τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ Σεσώστρι προσάπτει. Id. ibid. (o) Μέμνηται ὅτι ταύτης τῆς στρατείας καὶ ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσῶς Ἡρόδοτος, πῶς μόνον τὸ ἑβραϊστὴν βασιλέως πλανηθεὶς ὄνομα, καὶ ὅτι ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἐπιπέσει ἔθνεσι, καὶ τῷ Παλαιστίνῳ Συρίαν ἐδωλώσατο. Id. ibid.
 (p) Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 35.

Account of him : What Authorities these great Writers found for their Opinion I cannot say, but I find the learned *Annotator* upon *Tacitus* did not believe any such Accounts to be well ground-

In his Note upon *Germanicus's* Relation of the *Egyptian* Conquests he says, *De hac tantâ Potentiâ Ægyptiorum nihil legi, nec facile credam* (q); and indeed there is nothing to be read, that can seem well supported, nothing that is consistent with the allowed History of other Nations, to represent the *Egyptians* to have ever obtained such extensive Conquests. *Herodotus* confines the Expedition of *Sesostris* to the Nations upon the *Asiatic* Coasts of the *Red-Sea*, and after his return from subduing them, to the Western Parts of the Continent of *Asia*: He represents him to have subdued *Palestine* and *Phœnicia*, and the Kingdoms up to *Europe*; thence to have passed over to the *Thracians*; and from them to the *Scythians*, and to have come to the River *Phasis*: Here he supposes him to have stopped his Progress, and to have returned back from hence to *Egypt* (r). *Herodotus* appears to have examined the Expedition of *Sesostris* with far more Exactness than *Strabo* or *Diodorus*: He enquired after the Monuments or Pillars which *Sesostris* set up in the Nations he subdued (s), but it no way appears from his Accounts that this mighty Conqueror attacked any one Nation, that was really a part of the *Assyrian* Empire; but rather the course of his Enterprizes led him quite away from the *Assyrian* Dominions. *Sesostris* did great Things, but they have been greatly magnified. The ancient Writers were very apt to record a Person to have travelled over the whole World, if he had been in a few different Nations. *Abraham* travelled from *Chal-*

(q) Lipsii Comment. ad Tacit. Annal. l. 2. n. 137. (r) Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 102, 103. (s) Id. ibid,

dea into *Mesopotamia*, into *Canaan*, *Philistia*, and *Egypt*; the prophane Writers speaking of him under the Name of *Chronus* say he travelled over the whole World (t): thus the *Egyptians* might record of *Sesostris*, that he conquered the whole World; and the Historians that took the hint of what they wrote from them, might, to embellish their History, give us what they thought the most considerable parts of the World, and thereby magnify the Conquests of *Sesostris* far above the Truth: But *Herodotus* seems in this Point to have been more careful: He examined Particulars and according to the utmost of what he could find, none of the Victories of this *Egyptian* Conqueror reached to any of the Nations subject to the *Assyrians*. But Sir *Isaac Newton* mentions *Memnon* as another *Egyptian* Conqueror, who possessed *Chaldea*, *Assyria*, *Media*, *Persia* and *Bactria* &c. so that it may be thought that some Successor of *Sesostris* (for before him the *Egyptians* had no Conquerors) subdued and reigned over these Countries. I shall therefore, 3. give a short Abstract of the *Egyptian* Affairs from *Sesac*, until *Nebuchadnezzar* took intirely away from them all their Acquisitions in *Asia*. At the Death of *Sesac* the *Egyptian* Power sunk at once, and they lost all the foreign Nations which *Sesac* had conquered. *Herodotus* informs us, that *Sesostris* was the only King of *Egypt* that reigned over the *Ethiopians* (u), and agreeably hereto we find that when *Asa* was King of *Judah*, about *A. M.* 3063 (w), about 30 years after *Sesostris* or *Sesac*'s Conquests, the *Ethiopians* (x) were not only free from their Subjection to the *Egyptians*, but were grown up

(t) See Euseb. Prep. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. (u) Herodot. l. 2. c. 110. (w) Usher's Chronol. (x) Hebrew Word is the Cushites, it should have been translated the Arabians. See Vol. 1. B. 3. p. 166.

into a state of great Power, for *Zerah* their King invaded *Judea* with an Host of a thousand thousand, and three hundred Chariots (y). Our great Author says, that *Ethiopia* served *Egypt* until the Death of *Sesostris* and no longer, that at the Death of *Sesostris* *Egypt* fell into Civil Wars, and was invaded by the *Libyans*, and defended by the *Ethiopsians* for some Time, but that in about ten years the *Ethiopsians* invaded the *Egyptians*, slew their King and seized his Kingdom (z). It is certain, that the *Egyptian* Empire was at this Time demolished: The *Ethiopsians* were free from it, and if we look into *Palestine* we shall not find Reason to imagine that the *Egyptians* had the service of any Nation there, from this Time for many years. *Asa* King of *Judah* and *Baasha* King of *Israel* had neither of them any dependance upon *Egypt*, when they warred against (a) one another, and *Syria* was in a flourishing and independent state, when *Asa* sought an Alliance with *Benhadad*: About *A. M.* 3116, about 83 years after *Sesac*, we find *Egypt* still in a low state, the *Philistines* were independent of them; for they joined with the *Arabians* and distressed *Jehoram* (b). About 117 years after *Sesac*, when the *Syrians* besieged *Samaria* (c), it may be thought that the *Egyptians* were growing powerful again; for the *Syrians* raised their Siege, upon a Rumour that the King of *Israel* had hired the Kings of the *Hittites* and of the *Egyptians* to come upon them (d). The *Egyptians* were perhaps by this Time getting out of their Difficulties; but they were not yet grown very formidable, for the *Syrians* were not terrified at the Apprehension of the *Egyptian* Power, but of the Kings of the *Hittites* and of

(y) 2 Chron. xiv.

(z) Newton's Chron. p. 236.

(a) 1 Kings xv.

(b) 2 Chron. xxi. 16.

(c) 2 Kings vi. 24.

(d) vii. 6.

the *Egyptians* joined together. From this Time the *Egyptians* began to rise again, and when *Sennacherib* sent *Rabshekah* against *Jerusalem* (e) about *A. M.* 3292, the King of *Israel* thought an Alliance with *Egypt* might have been sufficient to protect him against the *Assyrian* Invasions (f); but the King of *Assyria* made war upon the *Egyptians*, and rendered them a bruised Reed (g), not able to assist their Allies, and greatly brake and reduce their Power (h); so that whatever the Empire of *Egypt* was in those Days, there was an *Assyrian* Empire now standing able to check it. In the Days of *Josiah*, about *A. M.* 3394, the *Egyptian* Empire was revived again. *Necho* King of *Egypt* went and fought against *Carchemish* by *Euphrates* (i), and in his return to *Egypt* put down *Jehoahaz*, who was made King in *Jerusalem* upon *Josiah's* Death, and condemned the Land of the *Jews* to pay him a Tribute, and carried *Jehoahaz* Captive into *Egypt*, and made *Eliakim*, whom he named *Jehoiakim*, King over *Judah* and *Jerusalem* (j). But here we meet a final Period put to all the *Egyptian* Victories; for *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon* came up against *Jehoiakim*, and bound him in Fetters, and carried him to *Babylon*, and made *Zedekiah* his Brother King over *Judah* and *Jerusalem* (k), and the King of *Babylon* took from the River of *Egypt* unto the River *Euphrates* that pertained to the King of *Egypt*, and the King of *Egypt* came not again any more out of his own Land (l). Whatever the Empire of *Egypt* over any Parts of *Asia* had been, here ended, about *A. M.* 3399 (m), about 366 Years after its first Rise under *Sesac*: Its nearest Ap

(e) 2 Kings xviii. (f) Prideaux Connect. Vol. I.
 (g) 2 Kings xviii. 21. (h) Prideaux ubi sup. (i) 2 Kings
 xxiii. 29. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. (j) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3, 4.
 (k) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10. (l) 2 Kings xxiv. 7. (m) Usher's Ann.

approach upon the Dominions of *Assyria* appears to have been the taking of *Carchemish*, but even here it went not over the *Euphrates*; however upon this Approach, *Nebuchadnezzar* saw the necessity of reducing it, and in a few Years War stripped it intirely of all its Acquisitions. This is the History of the Empire of the *Egyptians*, and I submit it to the Reader, whether any Argument can be formed from it against the Being of the ancient Empire of the *Assyrians*.

5. Sir *Isaac Newton* contends, that there was no ancient *Assyrian* Empire, because the Kingdoms of *Israel*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Philistia*, *Edon*, *Damascus* and *Hamath* were not any of them subject to the *Assyrians* until the Days of *Bel* (e). I answer: The Prophane Historians have indeed represented this *Assyrian* Empire to be of a larger Extent, than it really was. They say that *Ninus* conquered *Asia*, which might more easily be admitted, if they would take care to describe *Asia* such as it was, when he conquered it. It does not appear that he conquered all this Quarter of the World; however, as he subdued almost of the Kingdoms, that were then in it, he might in the general be said to have conquered *Asia*. All the Writers that have contended for this Empire, agree that *Ninus* and *Semiramis* were the Founders of it (f), and they are farther unanimous that the Successors of *Semiramis* did not make any considerable Attempts to enlarge the Empire, beyond what she and *Ninus* had made it; *Semiramis* employed her Armies in the East-ward Countries (g), so that we have no Reason to think that this Empire extended Westward any,

(e) *Newton's Chronol.* p. 269. (f) *Diodor. Sic.* l. 2. *Justin*
 (g) *Id. ibid.* what *Justin* says of *Ninyas* may be applied to
 her Successors for many Generations, contenti a Parentibus elaborato
 Imperio belli studia deposuerunt. (h) *Id. ibid.*

or but little, farther than *Ninus* carried it: We read indeed that the King of *Elam* had the five Cities on the Borders of *Canaan* subject to him (i); but upon *Abraham's* defeating his Army, he lost them, and never recovered them again: But I would observe, that even whilst he had the Dominion of these Cities, in the full stretch of his Empire, it did not reach to the Kingdoms of *Israel*, or which then were the Kingdoms of *Canaan*; for he never came any farther, than to the five Cities; neither was he Master of *Philistia*, that was farther Westward; nor does he appear to have come near to *Sidon*. As to the other Kingdoms, mentioned by our learned Author, namely, the Kingdoms of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, *Damascus*, and *Hamath*, they were not in Being in these Times. *Moab* and *Ammon* were the Sons of *Lot*, and they were not born until after the Destruction of *Sodom* and *Gomorrab* (k), and the Countries which were planted by them and their Descendants could not be planted by them until many Years after this Time. The *Emims* dwelt in these Countries in these Days (l), and *Chedorlaomer* subdued them (m); but as he lost all the Countries upon *Abraham's* routing his Forces, I do not apprehend that he ever recovered them again: The *Emims* after this lived unmolested until in After-Times the Children of *Lot* conquered them, and got the Possession of the Country (n), and at that Time the *Assyrians* had nothing to do in these Parts. The same is to be said of *Edom*: The *Horites* were the ancient Inhabitants of this Land (o), and *Chedorlaomer* smote them in their Mount *Seir*, (p); but as he lost his Dominion over these Nations, so the *Horites*

(i) Gen. xiv.

(k) Gen. xix. 37, 38.

(l) Deut. ii.

(m) Gen. xiv. 5.

(n) Deut. ii. 9. Gen. xix. 37, 38.

(o) De

ii. 12.

(p) Gen. xiv. 6.

Horims grew strong again, until the Children of *Israhel* conquered them (q), and the *Assyrians* were the Masters of this Country until later Ages. As *Damascus*, the Heathen Writers thought that *Belus* first made a Plantation there (r); probably it was planted in his Times. The *Syrians* were grown up to two Nations in *David's* Time, and were conquered by him (s): In the decline of *Rezon's* Reign, *Rezon* made *Syria* an independent Kingdom again (t), and *Damascus* became its capital City (u); and in *Abab's* Time it was grown so powerful, that *Benhadad* the King of *Assyria* had thirty and two Kings in his Army (w); but all this Time *Syria* and all its Dependants were not subject to the Kings of *Assyria*: In the Times of *Abaz*, when *Rezin* was King, *Tiglath-pilejer* conquered him, took *Damascus*, captivated the Inhabitants of it, and put an end to the Kingdom of *Syria* (x), but before this, neither he nor his Predecessors appear to have had any Command in these Countries. God gave by Promise to the Seed of *Abraham* all the Land from the River of *Egypt* to the River *Euphrates* (y), and *Solomon* came into the full Possession of it (z); but neither he nor his Fathers had any Wars with the Kings of *Assyria*; so that we must conclude that the King of *Assyria's* Dominions reached no farther than to that River. When *Chedorlaomer* invaded *Canaan*, the World was thin of People, and the Nations planted in it were comparatively weak but few, and all the large Tract between the Nations which he came to Conquer, and the *Euphrates*, was not inhabited; for we find that his Auxiliaries that came with him, lived all in

(q) Deut. ii. 12. (r) Damascenus apud Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 8.

(s) 2 Samuel viii.

(t) 1 Kings xi. 23, 24, 25.

(u) Ibid. Isaiah vii. 8.

(w) 1 Kings xx.

(x) 2 Kings xvi.

(y) Gen. xv.

(z) 2 Chron. ix. 26.

and near the Land of *Shinaar*; so that there were no intermediate Nations; for if there had been any, he would have brought their united strength along with him: And this agrees with the Description of the Land between the River of *Egypt* and *Euphrates* in the Promise to *Abraham* (a); the Nations inhabiting in and near *Canaan* are enumerated, but besides them there were no other; and agreeably hereto, when *Jacob* travelled from *Canaan* to the Land of *Haran* (b), and afterwards when he returned with a large Family from *Laban* into *Canaan* (c), we do not read that he passed thro' many Nations, but rather over uninhabited Countries, so that the Kingdoms near *Canaan* which served *Chedorlaomer* were in his Times the next to the Kingdoms, on or near the *Euphrates*, and therefore when he lost the Service of these Nations, his Empire extended no farther than that River, and his Successors not enlarging their Empire, all the Country between *Palestina* and *Euphrates*, tho' after these Days many Nations were planted in it, was not a Part of the *Assyrian* Empire, until in After-Times the *Assyrian*, and after them the *Babylonian* Kings by new Conquests extended their Empire farther than ever their Predecessors had done. When the ancient *Assyrian* Empire was dissolved on the Death of *Sardanapalus*, the Dominions belonging to it were divided between the two Commanders, who subverted it, *Arbaces* the Governour of *Media*, and *Belesis* Governour of *Babylon*. *Belesis* had *Babylon* and *Chaldea*, and *Arbaces* had all the rest (d). *Arbaces* is in Scripture called *Tiglath-Pileser*, and the Nations he became Master of were *Assyria* and the Eastern Provinces, the Kingdoms of *Elam* and *Media*; so hither he sent his Captives when he conquered

(a) Gen. xv. 18 — 21. (b) Gen. xxviii. xxix. (c) Gen. xxxi.
 (d) Prideaux Connect. Vol. I. B. 1.

Syria (dd); and therefore these Countries thus divided were the whole of the ancient Empire of the *Assyrians*. And thus our learned Author's Argument does in no wise prove, that there was no ancient *Assyrian* Empire, it only intimates, what may be abundantly proved to be true, that the prophane Historians supposed many Countries to be a Part of it, which really were not so; they were not accurate in the particulars of their History: They reported the Armies of *Semiramis* to be vastly more numerous than they really were, but we must not thence infer, that she raised no Armies at all: They took their Dimensions of the *Assyrian* Empire, from what was afterwards the Extent of the *Babylonian* or *Persian*; but tho' they thus surprizingly magnified it, yet we cannot conclude that there was no such Empire, from their having misrepresented the Grandeur and Extent of it.

There are some Particulars suggested by our great and learned Author, which tho' they do not directly fall under the Argument which I have considered, may yet be here mentioned. Sir *Isaac Newton* remarks, 1. that "the Land of *Haron* mentioned *Gen. xi.* was not under the *Assyrian*" (e). I answer: When the *Chaldeans* expelled *Terah* and his Family their Land for not serving their Gods (f), they removed about 100 Miles up the Country, towards the North-west, and the Earth was not then so full of Inhabitants, but that they here found a Tract of Land distant from all other Plantations, and living here within themselves upon their Pasturage and Tillage, and having no business with distant Nations, no one interrupted their Quiet. The Territories of the *Chaldees* reached most probably but a little Way from *Ur*,

(dd) Id. *ibid.* 2 Kings xvii. 6.(e) *Newton's Chronol.* p. 269.(f) *Judith* v. 8.

for Kingdoms were but small in these Times: *Terah's* Family lived far from their Borders and Plantations, and that gave them the Peace they enjoyed. But, 2. "In the Time" of the Judges "of *Israel*, *Mesopotamia* was under its own "King" (g). I answer, so was *Sodom*, *Gomorrhah*, *Admah*, *Zeboim*, and *Zoar*, in the Days of *Abraham*, and yet all the Kings of these Cities had served *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam* twelve Years (h): But it may be said, *Chusban-rishbaim* the King of *Mesopotamia* warred against (i), and enslaved the *Israelites*, and therefore does not seem to have been himself subject to a foreign Power. But to this it may be replied: The Princes that were subject to the *Assyrian* Empire, were altogether Kings (k) in their own Countries, they made War and Peace with other Nations not under the Protection of the *Assyrians*, as they pleased, and were not controuled if they paid the annual Tribute or Service required from them. But, 3. "When *Jonah* prophesied, *Nineveh* contained "but about 120000 Persons." I answer; when *Jonah* prophesied, *Nineveh* contained more than 120000 Persons, that could not discern between their Right Hand and their Left (l): thus many were the Children not grown up to Years of Discretion; how far more numerous were all the Persons in it? A City so exceeding populous must surely be the Head of a very large Empire in these Days. But, "the King of *Nineveh* was not yet "called King of *Assyria*, but King of *Nineveh* "only." I answer; *Chedorlaomer* is called in Scripture only King of *Elam* (m), tho' Nations about 900 Miles distant from that City were subject to him; for so far we must compute from *Elam*

(g) Newton, p. 160. (h) Gen. x'v. ver. 4. (i) Judges iii. ver. 8. (k) Isaiah x. ver. 8. (l) Jonah iv. ver. 11. (m) Gen. xiv.

to *Canaan*. But, “the Fast kept to avert the Threatnings of the Prophet, was not published in several Nations, nor in all *Assyria*, but only in *Nineveh*” (n). I answer; the *Ninevites* and their King only fasted, because the Threatnings of *Jonah* were not against *Assyria*, nor against the Nations that served the King of *Nineveh*, but against the City of *Nineveh* only (o). But, 4. *Homer* does not mention, and therefore knew nothing of an *Assyrian* Empire (p).” If I were to consider at large how little the *Assyrian* Empire extended towards the Nations, which *Homer* was concerned with, it would be no Wonder that he did not mention this Empire in his Account of the *Trojan* War, or Travels of *Ulysses*; but since it can in no wise be concluded that *Homer* knew of no Kingdoms in the World, but what he mentioned in his Poems, I think I need not enlarge so much in Answer to this Objection.

There is one Objection more of our learned Author’s which ought more carefully to be examined; for,

6. He contends, that “the *Assyrians* were a (q) People no ways considerable, when *Amos* prophesied in the Reign of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Joash*, about ten or twenty Years before the Reign of *Pul*; for God then threatened to raise up a Nation against *Israel*. The Nation here intended was the *Assyrian*, but it is not once named in all the Book of *Amos*. In the Prophecies of *Isaiab*, *Jeremiah*, *Hosea*, *Micah*, *Nabum*, *Zephaniab*, *Zechariab*, after the Empire was grown up, it is openly named upon all Occasions: But as *Amos* names not the *Assyrians* in all his Prophecy; so it seems most probable, that the *Assyrians* made no great Figure in his

(n) Newton’s Chron. p. 270.
ton’s Chron. p. 270.

(o) *Jonah* iii.

(p) New-

(q) P. 271.

“ Days : They were to be raised up against *Israel*
 “ after he prophesied. The true Import of the
 “ *Hebrew* Word, which we translate *raise up*, ex-
 “ presses, that God would raise up the *Assyrians*
 “ from a Condition lower than the *Israelites*, to
 “ a state of Power superior to them ; but since
 “ the *Assyrians* were not in this superior State
 “ when *Amos* prophesied, it must be allowed,
 “ that the *Assyrian* Empire began and grew up
 “ after the Days of *Amos*.” This is the Argu-
 ment in its full Strength : My Answer to it is ;
 the Nation intended in the Prophecy of *Amos* was
 not the then *Assyrian*, I mean, not the *Assyrian*,
 which flourished and was powerful in the Days of
Amos. Sir *Isaac Newton* says, that *Amos* prophesi-
 ed ten Years before the Reign of *Pul*. *Pul* was
 the Father of *Sardanapalus* (r), and therefore the
Assyrian King in whose Reign *Amos* prophesied
 was probably *Sardanapalus*’s Grandfather ; but it
 was not any of the Descendants of these Kings,
 nor any of the Possessors of their Empire, which
 were to afflict the *Jews*. Their Empire was to be
 dissolved ; and we find it was so on the Death of
Sardanapalus, and a new Empire was to be rai-
 sed on the Ruins of it, which was to grow from
 small Beginnings to great Power. *Tiglath-Pi-*
leser, who had been *Sardanapalus*’s Deputy-Gov-
 ernor of *Media*, was raised first to be King of
 part of the Dominions which had belonged to
 the *Assyrian* Empire, and some time after this his
 Rise, he conquer’d *Syria*, took *Damascus*, and re-
 duced all that Kingdom under his Dominion, and
 so began to fulfil the Prophecy of *Amos*, and to
 afflict the *Jews* from the entering in of *Hamath* (s) ;
 for *Hamath* was a Country near to *Damascus*, and
 here he began his Invasions of their Land (t) ;

(r) Usher’s Chronol.
 deaux Connect. Vol. I. B. I.

(s) Amos vi. ver. 14.

(t) See Pri-

Some time after this he seized all that belonged to *Israel* beyond *Jordan*, and went forwards towards *Jerusalem*, and brought *Abaz* under Tribute. After the Death of *Tiglath-Pileser*, his Son *Salmanezzer* conquered *Samaria*, and after him *Sennacherib* took several of the fenced Cities of *Judah*, laid Siege to *Lachish*, threatned *Jerusalem*, and reduced *Hezekiah* to pay him Tribute, and marched thro' the Land against *Egypt*, and under him the Prophecy of *Amos* may be said to have been completed, and the Affliction of the *Israelites* carried on to the River of the Wilderness (u), i. e. to the River *Sibor* at the Entrance of *Egypt* on the Wilderness of *Etham*: Thus the *Israelites* were indeed greatly afflicted by the Kings of the *Assyrian* Empire; but not by the Kings of that *Assyrian* Empire which flourished in the Days of *Amos*, but of another Empire of *Assyria*, which was raised up after his Days, upon the Ruins and Dissolution of the former. The whole Strength of our great Author's Argument lies in this Fal- lacy: He supposes what is the Point to be proved; namely, that there was but one *Assyrian* Empire, and so concludes from *Amos's* having intimated that an *Assyrian* Empire should be raised after his Times, that there was no *Assyrian* Empire in and before his Times; whereas the Truth is, there were two *Assyrian* Empires, different from each other, not only in the Times of their Rise and Continuance, but in the Extent of their Dominions, and the Countries that were subject to them. The former began at *Ninus*, and ended at the Death of *Sardanapalus*; the latter began at *Tiglath-Pileser*, and ended about 135 Years after, at the Destruction of *Nineveh* by *Nabopolassar* (w): The former Empire commanded *Assyria*, *Babylonia*, *Persia*, *Media*, and the Eastern Nations toward

(u) *Amos* ub. sup.(w) *Prideaux* Connect. Vol. I. B. 1.

India; the latter Empire began at *Nineveh*, reduced *Assyria*, and extended it self into *Media* and *Persia*, then conquered *Samaria*, *Syria*, and *Palestine*, and afterwards subdued *Babylon* also, and the Kingdoms belonging to it (x).

Our learned Author has observed the Conquests obtained over diverse Nations by the Kings of *Assyria*. He remarks from *Sennacherib's* Boast to the *Jews* (y), that these Conquests were obtained by *Sennacherib* and his Fathers: He represents *Sennacherib's* Fathers to have been *Pul*, *Tiglath-Pileser* and *Shalmanezar*, and says, that these Kings were great Conquerors, and with a Current of Victories had newly overflowed all Nations round about *Assyria*, and thereby set up the Monarchy (z). I answer; *Pul* was not an Ancestor of *Sennacherib*; *Pul* was of another Family; King of a different Empire from that which the Fathers of *Sennacherib* erected: *Pul* was the Father of *Sardanapalus* (a): *Tiglath-Pileser* the Grandfather of *Sennacherib* ruined *Sardanapalus* the Son of *Pul*, got Possession of his Royal City, and part of his Dominions; and he and his Posterity erected, upon this Foundation, a far greater Empire than *Pul* had ever been in Possession of. *Pul* conquered none of the Countries mentioned by *Sennacherib* to have been subdued by him and his Fathers: *Pul* is, I think, mentioned but twice by the sacred Historians. We are told that God stirred up the Spirit of *Pul* King of *Assyria* (b) and we are informed what *Pul* did (c). He came against the Land of *Israel* when *Menahem* the Son of *Gadi* had gotten the Kingdom, and *Menahem* gave him a thousand Talents of Silver, so *Pul* turned back and stayed not in the Land (cc). Our

(x) Prideaux ub. sup. (y) 2 Kings xix. ver. 11. (z) Newton p. 273--277. (a) Usher's Chron. b 1 Chron. v. 26. (c) 2 Kings xv. ver. 19. (cc) Ver. 20.

great and learned Author says, that *Pul* was a great Warrior, and seems to have conquered *Hammath*, and *Carchemish*, and *Reseph*, and *Calneh*, and *Belasar*, and might found or enlarge the City of *Babylon*, and build the old Palace (d). I answer; *Pul* made the Expedition above mentioned, but he was bought off from prosecuting it, and we have no one Proof that he conquered any one Kingdom upon the Face of the Earth: He enjoyed the Dominions his Ancestors had left him, and transmitted them to his Son or Successor *Sardanapalus*; and therefore, 3. All the fresh Victories obtained by the Kings of *Assyria*, by which they appear after these Times to have conquered so many Lands, began at *Tiglath-Pileser*, and were obtained by him and his Successors, after the Dissolution of the ancient Empire of the *Assyrians*; and the Hints we have of them do indeed prove, that a great Monarchy was raised in these Days, by the Kings of *Assyria*; but they do not prove that there had been no *Assyrian* Empire before: The ancient *Assyrian* Empire was broken down about this Time, and its Dominions divided amongst those who had conspired against the Kings of it. *Tiglath-Pileser* gat *Nineveh*, and he and his Successors by Steps and Degrees, by a Current of new Victories, subdued Kingdom after Kingdom, and in Time raised a more extensive *Assyrian* Empire than the former had been.

From a general View of what both *Sir Isaac Newton* and *Sir John Marsham* have offered about the *Assyrian* Monarchy, it may be thought, that the sacred and prophane History differ irreconcilably about it; but certainly the sacred Writers did not design to enter so far into the History of the *Assyrian* Empire, its Rise or Dominions, as these great and most learned Authors

(d) *Newton*, p. 278.

are willing to represent. The Books of the *Old Testament* are chiefly confin'd to the *Jews* and their Affairs, and we have little mention in them of other Nations, any farther than the *Jews* happened to be concerned with them; but the little we have is, if duly considered, capable of being brought to a strict Agreement and clear Connection with the Accounts of the *Prophane Historians*, except in Points wherein these have apparently exceeded or deviated from the Truth. A Romantic Humour of magnifying ancient Facts, Buildings, Wars, Armies and Kingdoms, is what we must expect in their Accounts, and we must make due Allowance for it; and if we do so, we shall find in many Points a greater Coincidence of what they write, with what is hinted in Scripture, than one who has not examined would expect. The sacred History says, that *Nimrod* began a Kingdom at *Babel* (a), and the Time of his beginning it must be computed to be about *A. M.* 1757 (b) and to this agrees in a remarkable Manner the Account which *Callisthenes* formed of the *Astronomical Observations*, that had been made at *Babylon* before *Alexander* took that City; he supposed them to reach 1903 Years backward from *Alexander's* coming thither; so that they began at *A. M.* 1771 (c), about 14 Years after the Rise of *Nimrod's* Kingdom. I have already remarked, that the Writers who deny the *Babylonian Antiquities*, endeavour, as their *Hypothesis* requires they should, to set aside this Account of *Callisthenes*: Sir *Joh. Marsham* would prefer the Accounts of *Berosus* or *Epigenes* before it (d), but to them I have already answered (e). Our illustrious Author seems best pleased with what *Diodorus Siculus* relates (f)

(a) Gen. x. ver. 10. (b) See Vol. I. B. IV. p. 189. (c) *Ibid.* p. 191. (d) *Marsham. Can. Chron.* p. 474. (e) See *Pref.* Vol. I. p. 32. (f) *Lib. 2. p. 83.*

that “when *Alexander* the Great was in *Asia*, the *Chaldeans* reckoned 473000 Years, since they first began to observe the Stars (g)”. This I now might be the Boast of the *Chaldeans*; but I would observe from what *Callisthenes* reported, that a Stranger, when admitted accurately to examine their Accounts, could find no such Thing. The Ancients, before they computed the Year by the Sun’s Motion, had Years of various Lengths calculated from diverse Estimates, and amongst the rest the *Chaldeans* are remarkable for having had Years so short, that they imagined their ancient Kings to have lived or reigned above 6, 7, or 10 thousand of them (h); something of a like Nature might be the 473000 Years ascribed to their Astronomy, and *Callisthenes* upon a Reduction of them to *Solar* Years, might judge them to contain but 1903 real Years, and so conclude their Observations to reach no farther backward: This seems to be the most probable Account of those Observations; and I cannot but think, that our great Author’s Inclination to his *Hypothesis* was the only Reason, that induced him to produce the 473000 Years of the *Chaldeans*, and to seem to intimate that *Callisthenes*’s Report of 1903 reached only to a Part of them (i), the larger Number being most likely to make the *Assyrian* Antiquities appear extravagant. The prophane Historians generally carry up their Kingdom of *Assyria* to *Ninus* (k), and *Ninus* reigned when *Abraham* was born (l); and we are well assured from the Scriptures, that the *Assyrian* Antiquities are not hereby carried up too high; for in the Time of *Nimrod*, *Asbur* erected a Kingdom, and

(g) Newton’s Chron. p. 265. (h) See Pref. to Vol. I. p. 24.
 Euseb. in Chron. (i) Newton Chron. p. 44. (k) See Diodo.
 Sic. l. 2. Justin. l. 1. Euseb. Chron. (l) Περσικ. Euseb.

built several Cities in this Country (*m*). The prophane Historians represent *Ninus* to have been a very great Conqueror, and relate, that he subjected the *Asiatic* Nations to his Empire, and that sacred History confirms this Particular very remarkably; for it informs us, that the King of *Elam* in the Days of *Abraham* had Nations subject to his Service, about 8 or 900 Miles distant from the City of his Residence; for so far we may compute from *Elam* to the five Cities, which served *Chedorlaomer* twelve Years (*n*). We find from Scripture, that *Chedorlaomer* lost the Obedience of these Countries; and after *Abraham* defeating his Armies, until *Tiglath-Pileser*, an *Assyrian* King appear not to have had any Dominion over the Nations between the *Mediterranean* and the *Euphrates*; this indeed seems to confine the *Assyrian* Empire within narrower Bounds than can well agree with the Accounts which the Heathen Writers give of it; but then it is remarkable, that these enlarged Accounts come from Hands comparatively Modern: *Diodorus* informs us, that he took his from *Ctesias* (*o*): *Ctesias* might have the Number of his ancient *Assyrian* Kings and the Times or Lengths of their Reigns, from the *Persian* Chronicles (*p*); but as all Writers have agreed to ascribe no great Actions to any of them from after *Ninus* to *Sardanapalus*; so it appears most reasonable to imagine, that the *Persian* Registries made but a very short Mention of them for ancient Registries afforded but little History (*q*), and therefore I suspect that *Ctesias's* Estimate of the ancient *Assyrian* Grandeur was rather formed from what he knew to be true of the *Persian* Empire, than taken from any authentic Accounts of the ancient *Assyrian*. The prophane Historians

(*m*) Gen. x. ver. 11. (*n*) Gen. xiv. (*o*) Lib. 2. (*p*) *ibid.*
 (*q*) See Gen. v, x, xi, xxxvi, &c.

relate, that the *Assyrian* Empire was broken down at the Death of *Sardanapalus*; but the *Jews* having at this Time no Concern with the *Assyrians*, the sacred Writers do not mention this great Revolution; however, all the Accounts in Scripture of the Kings of *Assyria*, and of the Kings of *Babylon*, which are subsequent to the Times of *Sardanapalus*, will appear to be reconcileable to the Proposal of such a Subversion of this ancient Empire, to any one that reads the first Book of the most learned Dean *Prideaux's* Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament.

I have now gone thro' what I proposed to offer at this Time against Sir *Isaac Newton's* Chronology: I hope I shall not appear to have selected two or three Particulars out of many, such as I might easily reply to, omitting others more weighty and material; for I have considered the chief Points, which are the Foundation of this new Scheme, and which, if I have sufficiently answered, will leave me no very difficult Task to defend my adhering to the received Chronology. If the Argument formed from *Chiron's* Constellations were stripped of its *Astronomical* Dress, a common Reader might be able to judge, that it cannot serve the Purpose it is alledged for: If (as the most celebrated *Dr. Halley* represents) the ancient Astronomers had done nothing that could be reconcileable to either *Hipparchus* or *Ptolomy* in their Determination of the *celestial* Motions; If even *Plato* could give but a rude Account of the Motions; If before *Hipparchus* there could scarce be supposed to be such a Science as Astronomy, how can it be imagined that *Chiron*, who most probably lived 1100 Years before *Hipparchus*, and almost 2000 Years ago, should have really left a most difficult Point of Astronomy so exactly calculated and adjusted, as to be a Foundation for us now to overturn by it all the hitherto received Chronology?

logy? If *Chiron* and all the *Greeks* before and 600 Years after his Time put together, could not tell when the Year began, and when it ended without mistaking above five Days and almost quarter of a Day in every Year's Computation, can it be possible for *Chiron* to have settled the exact Time of Mid-summer and Mid-winter, equal Day and Night in *Spring* and *Autumn*, with such a *Mathematical* Exactness, as that at this Day we can depend upon a supposed Calculation of his, to reject all that has hitherto been thought the true Chronology? As to our illustrious Author's Argument from the Lengths of Reigns, I might have observed, that it is introduced upon a Supposition which can never be allowed, namely, that the ancient Chronologers did not give us the several Reigns of their Kings, as they took them from authentick Records, but that they made the Lengths of them by artificial Computations calculated according to what they thought the Reign of such a number of Kings, as they had to lay down, would at a *Medium* one with another amount to: This certainly never was Fact; but *Acusilaus*, a most ancient Historian mentioned by (r) our most illustrious Author, wrote his Genealogies out of Tables of Brasses; so it is by far more probable, that all the other *Genealogists*, who have given us the Lengths of the Lives or Reigns of their Kings or Heroes, took their Accounts either from Monuments, Stone-Pillars, or ancient Inscriptions, or from other Antiquaries of unsuspected Fidelity, who had faithfully examined such Originals: But as I had no Occasion to pursue this Fact, so I omitted the mentioning of it, thinking it would be sufficient to defend my self against our learned Author's *Scheme*, to shew, that the Lengths of the Kings Reigns, which he supposed

(r) Chronol. p. 46.

to much to exceed the Course of Nature, would not really appear to do so, if we consider what the Scriptures represent to be the Lengths of Men's Lives and of Generations in those Ages which these Reigns belong to. As to the ancient Empire of *Assyria*, I submit what I have offered about it to the Reader.

After so large Digressions upon these Subjects, I cannot find Room to enter upon the Particulars which are contained in the following Sheets. I wish none of them may want a large Apology; but that what I now offer the Public may meet with the same Favour as my former Volume, which if it does, I shall endeavour, as fast as the Opportunities I have will enable me, and my other Engagements permit, in two Volumes more to finish the remaining Parts of this Undertaking.

Shelton. Norf.

Dec. 10. 1729.





The SACRED and PROPHANE

HISTORY

Of the WORLD Connected.

BOOK VI.

WHEN *Abram* was upon (a) his Entrance into *Egypt*, he was full of Thoughts of the Evils that might befall him in a strange Land; and considering the Beauty of his Wife, he was afraid that the King, or some powerful Person of the Country, might fall in Love with her, and kill him in order to marry her: He therefore desired her to call him Brother. They had not been long in *Egypt*, before the Beauty of *Sarai* was much talked of, and she was had to Court, and the King of *Egypt* had Thoughts of marrying her; but in some Time

(a) Gen. xii. 11.

he found out that she was *Abram's* Wife: Hereupon he sent for him, and expostulated with him the ill Consequences that might have happened from the Method he had taken, and in a very generous manner he restored *Sarai*, and suffered *Abram* to leave his Country, and to carry with him all that belonged to him. *Abram's* Stay in *Egypt* was about Three Months: The Part of *Egypt* he travelled into, was the Land of *Tanis* or lower *Egypt*, for this bordered on *Arabia* and *Philistia*, from whence *Abram* journeyed, and his coming hither was about the 10th Year of the 5th King of this Country; for *Menes* or *Mizraim* being, as has been before said, King of all *Egypt* until *A. M.* 1943, and the Reigns of the three next Kings of lower *Egypt* taking up [according to Sir *John Marsham's* Tables of them] 133 Years, the 10th Year of their Successor will carry us to *A. M.* 2086, which was the Year in which *Abram* came to *Egypt* (a).

After *Abram* came out of *Egypt*, he returned into *Canaan*, and came to the Place where he formerly made his first Stop (*) between *Bethel* and *Hai*; and here he offered a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving for the happy Events of his Travels.

Lot and *Abram* had hitherto lived together; but by this Time their Substance was so much increased, that they found it inconvenient to be near to one another: Their Cattel (b) mingled, and their Herdsmen quarrelled, and the

(a) See Vol. I. B. 5. p. 275. (*) Gen. xiii. (b) Gen. xiii. 7.

Land was not able to bear them ; their Stocks, when together, required a larger Tract of Ground to feed and support them, than they could take up, without interfering with the Property of the Inhabitants of the Land in which they sojourned. They agreed therefore to separate : The Land of *Canaan* had spare Room sufficient for *Abram*, and the Plains of *Jordan* for *Lot*, and so upon *Lot's* chusing to remove towards *Jordan*, *Abram* agreed to continue where he was, and thus they parted. After *Lot* was gone from him, God commanded *Abram* to lift up his Eyes (c) and view the Country of *Canaan*, and promised that the whole of it should be given to his *Seed for ever*, and that his Descendants should exceedingly flourish and multiply in it : Soon after this *Abram* (d) removed his Tent, and dwelt in the Plain of *Mamre* in *Hebron*, and there he built an Altar to the Lord. His Setling at *Mamre* might be about *A. M.* 2091.

About this Time *Abram* became an Instrument of great Service to the King in whose Dominions he sojourned. The *Assyrian* Empire, as we have observed, had in these Times extended itself over the adjacent and remote Countries, and brought the little Nations in *Asia* under Tribute and Subjection. The Seat of this Empire was at this Time at *Elam* in *Persia*, and *Chedorlaomer* was King of it ; for to him the Kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrab*, and of the three other Nations mentioned by

(c) Gen. xiii. 14. (d) Ver. 18.

Moses (e) had been in Subjection: They had served him twelve Years, but in the thirteenth they rebelled (f). We meet no where in Prophane History the Name *Chedorlaomer*, nor any of *Moses's* Names of the Kings that were confederate with him; but I have formerly observed how this might be occasioned. *Ctesias*, from whom the Prophane Historians took the Names of these Kings, did not use their Original *Assyrian* Names in his History; but rather such as he found in the *Persian* Records, or as the *Greek* Language offered instead of them.

If we consider about what Time of *Abram's* Life this Affair happened; (and we must place (g) it about his 84th or 85th Year, *i. e.* A. M. 2093) it will be easy to see who was the supreme King of the *Assyrian* Empire at the Time here spoken of. *Ninyas* the Son of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* began his Reign A. M. 2059 (h), and he reigned 38 Years (i), so that the Year of this Transaction falls four Years before his Death. *Ninyas* therefore was the *Chedorlaomer* of *Moses*, Head of the *Assyrian* Empire, and *Amraphel* was his Deputy at *Babylon* in *Shinaar*, and *Arioch* and *Tidal* his Deputies over some other adjacent Countries. It is remarkable, that *Ninyas* first appointed under him such Deputies (k), and no Absurdity in *Moses* to call them Kings; for it is observable

(e) Gen. xiv. 4. (f) *ibid.* (g) *i. e.* about a Year or two before the Birth of *Ishmael*, who was born when *Abram* was 86. Gen. xvi. 16. (h) See Vol. I. B, 4. p. 187. (i) Euseb. in Chron. (k) Diodor. Sic. l. 2.

from what *Isaiab* hinted afterwards (*l*), that the *Assyrian* boasted his Deputy-Princes to be equal to Royal Governours, *Are not my Princes altogether Kings?* The great Care of Kings in these Ages was to build Cities; and thus we find almost every new King erecting a new Seat of his Empire; *Ninus* fixed at *Nineveh*, *Semiramis* at *Babylon*, and *Ninyas* at *Elam*; and from hence it happened in After-ages, that *Ctesias*, when he came to write the *Assyrian* Antiquities, found the Names of their ancient Kings amongst the Royal Records of *Persia*, which he would hardly have done, if some of their early Monarchs had not had their Residence in this Country. *Ninyas* therefore was the *Chedorlaomer* of *Moses*, and these Kings of *Canaan* had been subject to him for twelve Years: In the thirteenth Year they endeavoured to recover their Liberty; but within a Year after their attempting it, (which is a space of Time that must necessarily be supposed, before *Chedorlaomer* could hear at *Elam* of their Revolt, and summon his Deputies with an Army to attend him) in the fourteenth Year, the King of *Elam* with his Deputy-Princes, the Governor of *Shinaar*, and of *Ellasar*, and of the other Nations subject to him, brought an Army, and over-ran the Kingdoms in and round about the Land of *Canaan*. He subdued the *Rephaims*, who inhabited the Land afterwards called the Kingdom of *Bashan*, situated between *Gilead* and

(*l*) *Isaiab* x. 8.

Hermon, the *Uzzims* between *Arnon* and *Damascus*, the *Emmims* who inhabited what was afterwards called the Land of *Ammon*, the *Horites* from *Mount Seir* to *El-paran*, and then he subdued the *Amalekites* and the *Amorites*, and last of all came to Battle with the King of *Sodom*, and the King of *Gomorrab*, and the King of *Admah*, and the King of *Zeboim*, and the King of *Bela* or *Zoar* in the Valley of *Siddim*, and obtained a compleat and entire Conquest over them. *Lot*, who at this time dwelt in *Sodom*, suffered in this Action; for he and all his Family and Substance was taken by the Enemy, and in great danger of being carried away into Captivity, had not *Abram* very fortunately rescued him. The Force that *Abram* could raise was but small: Three hundred and eighteen *trained* Servants were his whole Retinue, and with these he pursued the Enemy unto *Dan*. We do not read that *Abram* attacked the whole *Assyrian* Army; without doubt that would have been an Attempt too great for the little Company which he commanded; but coming up with them in the Night (*m*), he artfully divided his Attendants into two Companies, with one of which most probably he attacked those that were appointed to guard the Captives and Spoil, and with the other made the Appearance of a Force ready to attempt the whole Body of the Enemy. The *Assyrians* surprized at finding a new Enemy, and pretty much harrassed with obtaining their

(*m*) Gen. xiv. 15.

numerous Victories, and fatigued in their late Battle, not knowing the Strength that now attacked them, retired and fled before them: *Abram* pursued (n) them unto *Hobab* on the Left Hand of *Damascus*, and being by that time Master of the Prisoners and Spoil, he did not think fit to press on any further, or to follow the Enemy until the Day-Light might discover the Weakness of his Forces, and so he returned back, having rescued his Brother *Lot*, and his Goods, and the Women (o) and the People, that were taken Captive. We hear no more of the *Assyrian* Army; most probably they returned Home, with Designs to be so reinforced as to come another Year sufficiently prepared to make a more compleat Conquest of the Kingdoms of *Canaan*; but *Ninyas* or *Chedor-laomer* dying soon after this, the new King might have other Designs upon his Hands, and so this might be laid aside and neglected. When *Abram* returned with the Captives and the Spoil, the King of *Sodom* and the King of *Salem* (p) went out to meet him with great Ceremony: *Melchizedec* King of *Salem* was the Priest of the most High God (q), and for that Reason *Abram* gave him the Tenth of the Spoil: The Remainder he returned to the King of *Sodom*, refusing to be himself a Gainer by receiving any Part of what this victorious Enterprize had gotten him.

God Almighty continued his Favour to *Abram*, and in diverse and fundry Manners,

(n) Gen. xiv. 15. (o) Ver. 16. (p) Ver. 17. (q) Ver. 18.

sometimes by the Appearance of Angels, at other Times by audible Voices, or by remarkable Dreams, declared to him in what Manner he designed to bless his Posterity, and to raise them in the World. *Abram* at this Time had no Son, but upon his desiring one, he received not only a Promise of a Son, but was informed, that his Posterity should be so numerous as to be compared to the very Stars of Heaven (*r*). *Abram* was so sincerely disposed to believe all the Intimations and Promises which God thought fit to give him, that it was counted to him for Righteousness (*s*), that he obtained by great Favour and Acceptance with God; that God was pleased to give him a still further Discovery of what should befall him and his Descendants: He was ordered to offer a solemn Sacrifice (*t*), and at the going down of the Sun a deep Sleep fell upon him, and was revealed to him in a Dream (*u*), that He himself should die in Peace in a good old Age, but that his Descendants should for four hundred Years be but Strangers in a Land not their own, and should suffer Hardships, even Bondage; but that after this the Nation that had oppressed them should be severely punished, and that they should be brought out of all their Difficulties in a very rich and flourishing Condition, and that in the fourth Generation they should return again into *Canaan*, and take Possession of it; that they could not have it sooner, because *the Iniquity of the Am*

(*r*) Gen. xv. 5. (*s*) Ver. 6. (*t*) Ver. 9. (*u*) Ver. 12.

Amorites was not yet full (*w*). God Almighty could foresee, that the *Amorites* would by that time have ran into such an excess of Sin, as to deserve the severe Expulsion from the Land of *Canaan*, which was afterwards appointed for them; but He would in no wise order their Punishment, until they should have filled up the measure of their Iniquities so as to deserve it. After *Abram* awoke from this Dream, a Fire kindled miraculously (*x*) and consumed his Sacrifice, and God covenanted with him to give to his Seed all the Land of *Canaan* from the River of *Egypt* to the *Euphrates* (*y*).

Ten Years after *Abram's* Return into *Canaan*, (*z*) in the 86th Year (*a*) of his Life, *A. M.* 2094, he had a Son by *Hagar* the *Egyptian*, *Sarai's* Maid. *Sarai* her self had no Children, and expecting never to have any, had given her Maid to *Abram* to be his Wife, (*b*) to prevent his dying Childless. *Abram* was exceedingly rejoiced at the Birth of his Son, and looked upon him as the Heir promised him by God, who was to be the Father of the numerous People that were to descend from him; but about thirteen Years after *Ismael's* Birth (for so was the Child named) God appeared unto *Abram* (*c*). The Person who appeared to him, called himself the Almighty God (*d*), and can be conceived to be no other

(*w*) Gen. xv. 16. (*x*) Ver 17. See Vol. I. p. 298. (*y*) Ver. 18.
 (*z*) Chap. xvi. ver. 3. (*a*) Ver. 16. (*b*) Ver. 3.
 (*c*) Gen. xvii. ver. 1. (*d*) Ibid.

Person than our Blessed Saviour (e): As he afterwards thought fit to *take upon him our Flesh*, and to dwell amongst the *Jews*, (f) in the manner related in the Gospels; so he appeared to their Fathers in the form of Angels in the first Ages of the World, to reveal his Will to them, as far as he then thought fit to have it imparted: In the first and most early Days, he took the Name of *God-Almighty*, by this Name he was known to *Abraham*, to *Isaac*, and to *Jacob* (g), afterwards he called himself by a Name more fully expressing his *Essence* and Deity, and was known to *Moses* by the Name *JEHOVAH* (h).

God Almighty at this Appearance unto *Abram* entered into Covenant with him, promised him a Son to be born of *Sarai*, repeated to him the Promise of *Canaan* before made to him, and gave him fresh Assurances of the Favours and Blessings designed him and his Posterity; but withal acquainted him, that the Descendants of the Son whom *Sarai* should bear, should be Heirs of the Blessings promised to him: That *Ismael* should indeed be a flourishing and happy Man, that twelve Princes should descend from him; but that the Covenant made at this time should be established with *Isaac*, whom *Sarai* should bear about a Year after the time of this Promise. *Abram's* name was now changed into *Abraham*.

(e) See Vol. I. B. 5. p. 292. (f) John i. 14. (g) Gen. xvii. 1. xxviii. 3. xxxv. 11. xlviii. 3. xlix. 25. Exodus vi. 3.
 (h) Exodus vi. 3. & iii. 14.

and *Sarai's* into *Sarah*, and Circumcision was enjoined him and his Family (*i*).

The same divine Appearance, for *Abraham* called him *the Judge of all the Earth* (*k*), accompanied with two Angels, was some little time after this seen again by him in the Plains of *Mamre*, as he sat in his Tent Door in the heat of the Day. They came into *Abraham's* Tent, and were entertained by him, and eat with him (*l*), and confirmed to him again the Promise that had been made him of a Son by *Sarah*; and after having spent some time with him, the two Angels (*m*) went towards *Sodom*; but the *Lord* continued with *Abraham*, and told him how he designed to destroy in a most terrible manner that unrighteous City. *Abraham* was here so highly favoured as to have leave to commune with God, and was permitted to intercede for the Men of *Sodom* (*n*). As soon as the Lord had left communing with *Abraham*, he went his way, and *Abraham* returned to his Place (*o*): The two Angels before-mentioned came to *Sodom* at Even, made a Visit to *Lot*, and staid in his House all Night; (*p*) they were offered a monstrous Violence by the wicked Inhabitants of *Sodom*, upon which they acquainted *Lot* upon what Account they were sent thither; and after they had ordered him, his Wife and Children and all his Family to leave the Place, about the time of the Sun-rising, or a little after, (*q*) *The*

(*i*) Gen. xvii. (*k*) Gen. xviii. 25. (*l*) Ver. 8. (*m*) Ver. 12.
 (*n*) Ver. 23, &c. (*o*) Ver. 33. (*p*) Chap. xix. (*q*) Ver. 23.

Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah
 and upon some other Cities in the Plain, *Fire*
and Brimstone from the Lord out of Heaven (r)
 and wholly destroyed all the Inhabitants
 them. *Lot's Wife* was unhappily lost in this
 Calamity; whether she only looked back
 which was contrary to the express Command
 of the Angel to them (s), or whether it may
 be inferred from our Saviour's mention of her
 (t), that she actually turn'd back, being un-
 willing to leave *Sodom*, and to go and live at
Zohar, God was pleased to make her a Me-
 nument of his Vengeance for her Disobedience
 she was turned into a Pillar of Salt (u). *Lot's*
Sons-in-Law, who had married his Daughters
 refused to go along with him out of *Sodom* (x)
 so that they and their Wives perished in the
 City: Two of his Daughters, who lived with
 him (y) and were unmarried (z) went to *Zoar*
 and were preserved: *Lot* lived at *Zoar* but a
 little while; for he was afraid that *Zoar* might
 some time or other be destroyed also (a), and
 therefore he retired with his two Daughters
 and lived in a Cave upon a Mountain, at a
 distance from all Converse with the World.
 His Daughters grew uneasy at this strange Re-
 tirement, and thinking that they should both
 die unmarried, from their Father's continuing
 resolved to go on in this course of Life, and
 so their Father's Name and Family become

(r) Gen. xix. 24. (s) Ver. 17. (t) Luke xvi. 32. (u) Gen.
 xix. 26. (x) Ver. 14. (y) Ver. 15. (z) Ver. 8.
 (a) Ver. 30.

extinct (b), they intrigued together, and imposing Wine upon their Father, they went to Bed to him (c), and were with Child by him, and had each of them a Son, *Moab* and *Ammon*. The two Children grew up, and in time came to have Families, and from these two Sons of *Lot* the *Moabites* and the *Ammonites* were descended.

About this time *Abraham* removed Southward, and sojourned between *Cadesh* and *Shur* at *Gerar*, a City of the *Philistins*: here he (d) pretended *Sarah* to be his Sister, as he had done formerly in *Egypt*; for he thought the *Philistins* to be a wicked People. *Abimelech* the King of *Philistia* intended to take *Sarah* to be his Wife; but it pleased God to inform him in a Dream, that she belonged to *Abraham*. *Abimelech* appears to have been a Man of eminent Virtue, and the Destruction of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* had made a deep Impression in him: He appealed to God for the Integrity of his Heart, and the Innocency of his Intentions: He restored *Sarah* to her Husband, and gave him Sheep, Oxen, Men-Servants and Women-Servants, and a thousand Pieces of Silver, and free Liberty to live where he would in his Kingdom, and he reprov'd *Sarah* for concealing her being married; observing to her, that if she had not disowned her Husband, she had been protected from any other Person's fixing his Eyes upon her to desire her: *He is to thee*, said he, (f) *a covering of the*

(b) Ver. 31, 32.

(c) Ver. 33, 34, 35.

(d) Gen. xx.

(f) Ver. 16.

Eyes to or of all that are with thee, and with all others; i. e. he shall cover or protect thee from any of those, that are of thy Family or Acquaintance, or that are not, from looking at thee to desire thee for their Wife.

A Year was now accomplished, and, *A. M.* 2108, a Son was born of *Sarah* (g), and was circumcised on the eighth Day, and named *Isaac*. When he grew old enough to be weaned, *Abraham* made a very extraordinary Feast: *Ismael* laughed at seeing such a Stir made about this (h) Infant: *Sarah* was provoked at it, that she would have both him and his Mother turned out of Doors. *Abraham* had the Tenderness of (i) a Father to his Child; He loved *Ismael*, and was loth to part with him, and therefore apply'd himself to God for Direction: God was pleased to assure him, that he would take Care of *Ismael*, and ordered him not to let his Affection for either *Hagar* or her Son prevent his doing what *Sarah* requested, intimating to him that *Ismael* should for his Sake be the Parent of a Nation of People; but that his Portion and Inheritance was not to be in that Land, which was to be given to the Descendants (k) of *Isaac*, and that therefore it was proper for him to be sent away, to receive the Blessings design'd him in another Place. *Abraham* hereupon called *Hagar*, and gave her Water and other necessary Provisions, and ordered her to go away into the World from him, and to take

(g) Gen. xxi.

(h) Ver. 9.

(i) Ver. 10.

(k) Ver. 12, 13.

her Son along with her: Hereupon she went away, and wandered in the Wilderness of *Beersheba* (l).

Some of the Commentators are in Pain about *Abraham's* Character (m), for his Severity to *Hagar* and *Ishmael* in the Case before us. And it may perhaps be thought, that the Direction which God is said to have given in this particular, may rather silence the Objection, than answer the Difficulties of it; but a little Consideration will be sufficient to clear it. It would indeed, as the Circumstances of the World now are, seem a very rigorous Proceeding to send a Woman into the wide World with a little Child in her Arms, with only a Bottle of Water, and such a Quantity of Bread as she could carry out of a Family, where she had been long maintained in Plenty, not to mention her having been a Wife to the Master of it; but it must be remarked, that tho' the Ambiguity of our *English* Translation, which seems to intimate, that *Hagar* when she went from *Abraham*, took the Child upon her Shoulder (x), and afterwards that she cast the Child under (y) one of the Shrubs, does indeed represent *Hagar's* Circumstances as very calamitous; yet it is evident, that they were far from being so full of Distress, as this Representation makes them. For, 1. *Ishmael* was not an Infant at the Time of their going from *Abraham*, but at least 15 or 16 Years old. *Ishmael* was born when *Abraham* was eighty six (z),

(l) Ver. 14.
xi. 14.

(m) Pool's Synopsis in loc.

(x) Gen.

(y) Ver. 15.

(z) Gen. xvi. 16.

Isaac when he was an hundred (a); so that *Ishmael* was fourteen at the birth of *Isaac*, and *Isaac* was perhaps two Years old when *Sarah* weaned him, and so *Ishmael* might be sixteen when *Abraham* sent away him and his Mother *Hagar* therefore had not a little Child to provide for, but a Youth capable of being a Comfort, and Assistant to her. 2. The Circumstances of the World were such at this Time that it was easy for any Person to find a sufficient and comfortable Livelyhood in it. Mankind were so few, that there was in every Country Ground to spare; so that any one that had Flocks and a Family, might be permitted to settle any where, and feed and maintain them, and in a little time to grow an encrease and become very wealthy: or the Creatures of the World were so numerous that a Person that had no Flocks or Herd might in the Wilderesses, and uncultivated Grounds, kill enough of all sorts for Maintenance, without injuring any one, or being molested for so doing: And thus *Ishmael* dwelt in the Wilderness, and became an Archer (b). Or they might let themselves for Hire to those who had great Stocks of Cattle to look after and find an easy and sufficient Maintenance in their Service; as good as *Hagar* and *Ishmael* had had even with *Abraham*. We see no Reason to think that *Hagar* met with many Difficulties in providing for her self, or her Son. She in a few Years saw him in so comfortable

(a) Gen. xxi. 5.

(b) Ver. 20.

a way of living, as to get him a Wife out of another Country to come and live with him: *She took him a Wife out of the Land of Egypt (c).* *g. Ishmael,* and consequently *Hagar* with him, fared no worse, than the younger Children used to fare in those Days, when they were dismissed in order to their settling in the World; for we find that in this manner the Children which *Abraham* had by *Keturah* were dealt by (d): *Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac; but unto the Sons of the Concubines, which Abraham had, Abraham gave Gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his Son, while he yet lived, Eastward, unto the East-Country: And much in this manner even Jacob, who was to be Heir of the Blessing, was sent away from his Father. Esau was the eldest Son, and as such was to inherit his Father's Substance; and accordingly when his Father died, he came from Seir to take what was gotten for him by his Father in the Land of Canaan (e); for We have no Reason to imagine that Jacob received any thing at Isaac's Death; his Brother left him only his own Substance to encrease with in the Land; and yet we find he had enough to maintain his Wives and a numerous Family, and all this the mere Product of his own Industry: When he first went from his Father, he was sent a long Journey to *Padan-aram*; we read of no Servants nor Equipage going with him, nor any Accommodations prepared him for his Journey; he was sent, as we now-*

(c) Ver. 21.

(d) Chap. xxv. ver. 6.

(e) Chap. xxxvi. ver. 6.

a-days might say, to seek his Fortune, only instructed to seek it amongst his Kins-folk and Relations (*f*); and he went to seek it upon so uncertain a Foundation, that we find him most earnestly praying to God to be *with him in the Way that he was to go*, and not to suffer him to want the Necessaries of Life to support him, but to *give him Bread to eat, and Raiment to put on* (*g*); and yet we see by letting himself for Hire to *Laban*, he both married his Daughters, and in a few Years became the Master of a very considerable Substance (*b*). 4. We mistake therefore, not duly considering the Circumstances of these Times, in imagining *Hagar* and *Ismael* to have been such Sufferers in *Abraham's* dismissing them. At first it might perhaps be disputed, whether *Ismael* the first-born, or *Isaac* the Son of his Wife, should be *Abraham's* Heir; but after this Point was determined, and God himself had declared that in *Isaac Abraham's* Seed was to be called (*i*), Provision was to be made, that *Ismael* should go and plant a Family of his own, or he must have been *Isaac's* Bond-man or Servant, if he had continued in *Abraham's* Family; so that here was only that Provision made for him which the then Circumstances of the World directed Fathers to make for their younger Children, and not any Hardship put upon either *Hagar* or her Son; and tho' their wandering in the Wilderness until they wanted Water

(*f*) Chap. xxviii.
 (*i*) Chap. xxi, ver. 12.

(*g*) Ver. 20.

(*b*) Gen. xxx. 4.

had almost destroyed them, yet that was an Accident only; and no Fault of *Abraham's*; and after it pleased God to extricate them out of this Difficulty, we have no Reason to imagine, that they met with any further Hardships; but being freed from Servitude, they easily, by taking wild Beasts and taming them, and by sowing Corn gat a Stock, and became in a few Years a very flourishing Family.

Abimelech saw the encreasing Prosperity of *Abraham*, and fearing that he would in Time grow too powerful a Subject, made him swear, that He would never injure him or his People. Some little Disputes had arisen between *Abimelech's* Servants and *Abraham's* about a Well, which *Abraham's* Servants had digged; but *Abimelech* and *Abraham*, after a little Expostulation, quickly came to a good Understanding, and both of them made a Covenant, and sware unto each other (k). *Abraham* continued still to flourish: his Son *Isaac* was now near a Man, when it pleased God to make a very remarkable Tryal of *Abraham's* Fidelity: He required him to offer his Son *Isaac* (l) for a Burnt-offering: This without doubt must at first be a great Shock to him: He had before been directed to send away *Ishmael*, and had been assured that the Blessings promised to his Posterity were not to take Place in any Part of that Branch of his Family; but that *Isaac* should be the Son of the Promise, and that his Descendants should be the Heirs of the Happiness and

(k) Gen. xxi. 22, &c.

(l) Gen. xxii.

Prosperity that God had promised to him, and now God was pleased to require him with his own Hands to destroy this *his Son, his only Son Isaac*. How could these things be? What would become of God's Promises, if this Child, to whom they were appropriated, were thus to perish? The Writer of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* gives a very elegant Account of the Method by which *Abraham* made himself easy in this Particular (m): *By Faith* (says he) *Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac. And he that had received the Promises, offered up his only begotten Son, of whom it was said that in Isaac shall thy Seed be called; accounting that God was able to raise him up even from the Dead, from whence also he received him in a Figure*. He considered, that God had given him this Son in a very extraordinary manner, his Wife, who bare him, being past the usual Time of having Children (n); and that thus giving him a Son, was in a manner raising him one from the Dead; for it was causing a Mother to have one, who was naturally speaking *dead* in this Respect, and not to be conceived capable of bearing; that God Almighty could as certainly raise him really from the Dead, as at first cause him to be born of an aged a Parent: By this way of thinking he convinced himself, that his Faith was not unreasonable, and then fully determined to act according to it, and so took his Son and went to the Place appointed, built the Altar, and

(m) Heb. xi. 27, 28, 29.

(n) Hebrews xi. 11.

laid his Son upon the Wood, and took the Knife, with a full Resolution to kill the Victim; but here his Hand was stopped by a distinct and audible Voice from Heaven: The Angel of the Lord called to him out of Heaven, and said, *Abraham, Abraham; and he said, Here am I. And he said, Lay not thine Hand upon the Lad, neither do thou any thing unto him: For now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy Son, thine only Son from me (o).* *Abraham* hereupon looked about, and seeing a Ram caught in a Thicket, he took it, and offered that instead of his Son (p): God was pleased in an extraordinary manner to approve of his doing so, and by another Voice from Heaven, confirmed to him the Promises, which had been before made him (q). *Abraham* being deeply affected with this surprizing Incident, called the Place *Jehovah-jireh* in remembrance of it; and there was a Place in the Mountain called by that Name many Ages after (r). *Abraham* soon after this went to live at *Beersheba*.

(o) Gen. xxii. 11. (p) Ver. 13. (q) Ver. 16, 17, 18.
 (r) Our English Translation of the 14th ver. is very obscure. As it is said to this Day, in the Mount of the Lord it shall be seen. If we take the Word יִצְחָק to be a future Tense, the whole Verse may be translated thus: *And Abraham called the Name of the Place Jehovah-jireh, because it will be said [or told hereafter that] this Day the Lord was seen in the Mountain.* The LXX favour this Translation. They render the Place, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἀβραάμ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς τόπῃ ἐκεῖνῃ Κύριος εἶδεν ἵνα εἴπωσιν σήμερον ἐν τῷ ὄρει κυρίου ὠφθαλμοῦ. — or the Hebrew Words may be englished Verbatim thus: *And Abraham called the Name of that Place Jehovah-jireh, which [i. e. Place] in the Mountain is called at this Day Jehovah-jireh.*

There are some Writers, who remark upon this intended Sacrifice of *Abraham's* in the following manner. They hint, that He was under no Surprize at receiving an Order to perform it (*f*), nor do they think that we have any reason to extol Him for this Particular, as if he had hereby shewn an uncommon Readiness and Devotion for God's Service: For they say, that if He had really sacrificed his Son, he would have done only a Thing very common in the Times which he lived in; For that it was Customary, as *Philo* represents (*t*), for private Persons, Kings and Nations to offer these Sacrifices. The barbarous Nations we are told (*u*) for a long time thought it an act of Religion, and a Thing acceptable to the Gods, to sacrifice their Children. And *Philo-Biblius* informs us, that in ancient Times it was customary for Kings of Cities, and Heads of Nations, upon imminent Dangers, to offer the Son, whom they most loved, a Sacrifice for the public Calamity, to appease the Anger of the Gods (*w*). And it is remarked from *Porphyry*, that the *Phœnicians*, when in Danger of War, Famine, or Pestilence, used to choose by public Suffrage, some one Person, whom they most loved, and sacrifice him to *Saturn*: And *Sanhoniathon's Phœnician History*, which *Philo-Biblius* translated into *Greek*, is, he says, full of these Sacrifices. Now

(*f*) *Lord Shaftsbury's Characterist.* Vol. 3. Misc. 2. *Sir John Marsham Can. Chron.* p. 76. (*t*) *Philo Judæus Lib. de Abraham.* (*u*) *Id. ibid.* (*w*) *See Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 4 c. 36.*

from this seeming Citation of diverse Writers, one would expect a variety of Instances of these Sacrifices before *Abraham's* Days; but after all the Forwardness of these Writers in their Assertions upon this Point, they produce but one particular Instance, and that one most probably a Misrepresentation of *Abraham's* intended Sacrifice, and not a true Account of any Sacrifice really performed by any Person that ever lived in the World: Or if this may be controverted, and it may be thought, that the Person they mention, did really offer the Sacrifice they give Account of; yet it must appear from the Historian from whom they have it, that he did not live earlier, nor so early as *Abraham*, and therefore his Sacrifice might be designed in Imitation of *Abraham's*, and not *Abraham's* in Conformity to any known Practice of the Nations he lived in.

The Instance they offer is this. They say, that *Chronus*, whom the *Phœnicians* call *Israel* (x), and who after his Death was deify'd, and became the Star called *Saturn*, when he reign'd in that Country, had an only Son by the Nymph *Anobret*, a Native of the Land, whom he called *Jeud*, (that Word signifying in the *Phœnician* Language *only-begotten*) and that when he was in extreme Peril of War, he adorned his Son in the royal Apparel, and built an Altar with his own Hands, and sacrificed him (y). *Philo-Biblius* from *Sanchoniaton* in another Place represents it thus; that

(x) Sir John Marsham writes it, Ιλ, and translates it thus. but Eusebius writes it Ισραηλ.

(y) Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 16.

Chronus upon the raging of a Famine and Pestilence offered his only Son for a Burnt-Offering to his Father *Ouranus* (z): Now upon this Fact we may observe,

I. That the *Chronus* here mentioned was not more ancient than the Times of *Abraham*; for if any one consults *Sanchoiathon's* Account given us by *Philo* (a) he will find, that after *Sanchoiathon* has brought down his Genealogy to *Misor*, i. e. to the *Mizraim* of *Moses* (b) to whom he makes *Sydec* Cotemporary, He then informs us, that *Sydec* was Father of the *Dioscuri*, *Cabiri* or *Corybantes*; and that κατὰ τῆς or in their Life-time (c) *Eliun* was born: *Ouranus* was Son of *Eliun*: *Ilus* or *Chronus* was Son of *Ouranus*: And thus, supposing this *Chronus* to be the Person who sacrificed his only Son, it will be evident, that the Grandfather of this Person was born in the Life-time of the Sons of *Mizraim* the Grandson of *Noah*, by his Son *Ham*; and parallel to this, *Nabor* the Grandfather of *Abraham* was born 342 Years before the Death of *Salah* the Son of *Arphaxad*, who was *Noah's* Grandson by his Son *Shem* (d). Or we may compute this Matter another way: *Mizraim* died A. M. 1943 (e), his Son *Tautus* lived 49 Years after

(z) Id. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. (a) In Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. (b) See Vol. I. B. 1. (c) This Expression κατὰ τῆς implies *Eliun* to be younger than the *Corybantes*. *Abraham* was born in the 43d Year of the Reign of *Ninus*, and so *Eusebius* says he was born κατὰ τῆς. Præf. ad Chronic. (d) This may easily be collected from *Moses's* Account of the Births and Deaths of the Post-diluvians. Gen. xi. (e) See Vol. I. B. 4.

Mizraim's Death, *i. e.* to *A. M.* 1992. *Taautus* was cotemporary with the *Dioscuri*; for they were said to be Sons of one cotemporary with *Taautus's* Father. *Abraham* was born *A. M.* 2008, *i. e.* only 16 Years after *Taautus's* Death, so that *Abraham's* Grandfather must have been long before the Deaths of these Men: And thus by both these Accounts *Ilus* or *Chronus* cannot be more ancient than *Abraham*, rather *Abraham* appears to have been more ancient than he. And this must be allowed to be more evidently true, if we consider that it was not *Ilus* or *Chronus* the Son of *Ouranus* who made this Sacrifice of his only Son, but rather *Chronus*, who was called *Israel*, and was the Son of *Chronus* called *Ilus*, and therefore still later by one Generation. *Philo-Biblius* in *Eusebius* does indeed hint, that *Chronus* offered his Son to his Father *Ouranus*, from whence it may be inferred, that the elder *Chronus* or Son of *Ouranus* was the Sacrificer; but we must not take the Word Father in this strict Sense; for both sacred and prophane Writers often mean by that Word, not the immediate Father, but the Head of any Family, tho' the Grandfather, or a still more remote Ancestor. Sir *John Marsham* asserts that no one but *Eusebius* called this Sacrificer *Israel*, that *Philo* wrote it *I l*, meaning *Ilus*, not *Israel*, and that *Eusebius* mistook in thinking *I l* to be a short way of writing *Israel*: But to this it may be answered, that *Ilus* could not be the Person that offered his only Son, because *Ilus* had more

Sons

Sons than one, for he had three Sons, *Chronus*, *Belus*, and *Apollo* (f). His Son *Chronus* had but one only begotten Son by *Anobret*, and this *Chronus* therefore was the Person who sacrificed his only Son, as he was likewise the Person who circumcised himself and Family (g). And thus *Eusebius*, in calling this *Chronus* *Israel*, only distinguishes him from his Father who was called *Ilus*; and if *Philo* did indeed write him *Il*, he could not mean *Ilus*, because by his own Account of *Ilus's* Children he was not the Person that offered his only Son. The Person therefore whom these Writers mention upon this Occasion, can in no wise serve their Purpose; for if they will credit their Historian, he must be later than the Days of *Abraham*, and what He did, and what can be said about him, will not prove these Sacrifices to have been customary in the Days of *Abraham*; but rather that the Heathen Nations, having a great Opinion of *Abraham* and his Religion, fell into this barbarous Practice of sacrificing their Children, upon a false Imagination, that he had sacrificed *Isaac*, and set them an Example. I need offer nothing further about *Sanchoniathon's* *Chronus*, what already said will indisputably prove him too modern to furnish Objections and Cavils against *Abraham's* Religion; however I cannot but think,

II. That this Account of *Sanchoniathon's* is really a Relation of *Abraham's* intended Sa

(f) Eusebius Præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10. p. 38. (g) Id. ibid. crific

sacrifice of *Ijaac*, with only some Additions and Mistakes, which the Heathen Writers frequently made in all their Relations. *Santhoniathon's* History is long ago lost, and the Fragments of it, which are preserved in other Writers, are not intire as he wrote them, but have many Mixtures of false History, Allegory, and Philosophy, such as the Son of *Thabio* and other Commentators upon his Work had a Fancy to add to him (*h*); and very probably, if we had *Santhoniathon* himself, we should not find him exact in Chronology or in the Facts which he related, so that we must not examine his Remains with too great a Strictness; but if we throw away what seems the Product of Allegory, Philosophy, and mistaken History in his Remains, we may collect from him the following Particulars about *Chronus*, whom the *Phœnicians* called *Israel*. 1. He was the Son of a Father, who had three Children (*i*), and so was *Abraham*. 2. *Chronus* had one only Son by his Wife (*k*), and so had *Abraham*. 3. He had another Son, by another Person (*l*), so had *Abraham*. 4. This *Chronus* circumcised himself and Family (*m*), so did *Abraham*. 5. *Chronus* sacrificed his only Son (*n*), so was *Abraham* reported to have done, by some of the Heathen Historians. 6. *Chronus's* Son who was sacrificed was named *Jebud* (*o*), and thus *Isaac* is called by *Moses* (*p*). 7. *Chronus*

(*h*) Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 1. c. 10. p. 39. (*i*) Ibid. p. 38.
 (*k*) P. 40. (*l*) P. 38. (*m*) Ibid. (*n*) Ibid. & Lib. 4: c. 16.
 (*o*) P. 40. (*p*) Gen. xxii. 2. God said to *Abraham*, Take now thy Son, *Jebud* ka, i. e. thine only Son.

was by the *Phœnicians* called *Israel* (q); here indeed is a small Mistake; *Israel* was the Name of *Abraham's* Grandson; but the Heathen Writers commit greater Errors in their Accounts of the *Jewish* Affairs. They had a general Notion, that *Israel* was the Name of some one famous Ancestor of the *Israelites*, but were not exact in fixing it upon the right Person. *Justin* (r), after *Trogus Pompeius*, comes nearer the Truth than *Sanchoniathon*, but he mistakes one Generation and gives the Name of *Israel* to the Son of *Abraham*. *Sir John Marsham* hints some little Objections (s) against taking *Chronus* here spoken of to be *Abraham*, but I cannot think that after what has been offered, they can want an Answer. The History of *Sanchoniathon's Chronus*, and *Moses's Abraham*, do evidently agree in so many Particulars, that there appears a far greater Probability of their being one and the same Person, than there does of the Truth of any Circumstances hinted by *Sanchoniathon*, which may seem to make them differ one from the other.

Sarah was now 127 Years old, and died in *Kirjath-arba* in *Hebron*. *Abraham* hereupon (t) bought a Field, which had a Cave in it, of the Sons of *Heth*, and therein deposited the Remains of his Wife. He began now to desire to see his Son *Isaac* married (u), and there-

(q) Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. p. 40. l. 4. c. 16.

(r) Justin. l. 36. c. 2. (s) Can. Chron. p. 77. (t) Gen.

xxiii. (u) Chap. xxiv.

fore sent the Head-Servant of his House into *Nadan-Aram*, or *Mesopotamia*, to choose a Wife for his Son from amongst his Relations there. The Servant went with a Train and Equipage, and carried Presents suitable to the Wealth and Circumstances of his Master (w), and obtained for *Isaac Rebekah* the Daughter of *Bethuel*, the Son of *Nabor*, *Abraham's* Brother. *Isaac* was 40 Years old when he married, and therefore married *A. M.* 2148.

After *Abraham* had thus married his Son to his Satisfaction, he took himself another Wife; her Name was *Keturah*; (x) he had several Children by her. *Zimran*, *Jockshan*, *Medan*, *Midian*, *Isback* and *Shuah*; he took care in his Life-time to send these Children into the World; he gave them Gifts, and sent them away, while he yet lived, from *Isaac* his Son, eastward unto the East Country (y): And this is the Substance of what *Moses* has given us, of the Life of *Abraham*.

It is very remarkable, that the Prophane Writers give us much the same Accounts of him. *Berosus* indeed does not call him by his Name, but describes a Person of his Character to be (z) ten Generations after the Flood, and so *Moses* makes *Abraham*, computing him to be the tenth from *Noah*. *Nicolaus Damascenus* calls him by Name, and says that he came out of the Country of the *Chaldees*, settled in

(w) Gen. xxiv. 10. (x) Gen. xxv. (y) Ver. 6.

(z) Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 16. Berosus's Words are, Μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμόν δεκάτη γενεᾷ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις τις ὡς δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ μέγας καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἐμπειρὸς.

Canaan, and upon Account of a Famine went into *Egypt* (a). *Eupolemus* (b) agrees that *Abraham* was born at *Uria* [or *Ur*] of the *Chaldees*, that he came to live in *Phœnicia* (c); that some time after his settling here, the *Armenians* [or rather the *Assyrians*] overcame the *Phœnicians* and took Captive *Abraham's* Nephew; that *Abraham* armed his Servants and rescued him; that he was entertained in the sacred City of *Argarize* by *Melchisedec* Priest of God, who was King there; that some time after, on Account of a Famine, he went into *Egypt* with his whole Family, and fixing there he called his Wife his Sister; that the King of *Egypt* married her, but that he was forced by a Plague to consult his Priests, and finding her to be *Abraham's* Wife, he restored her. *Artapanus* another of the Heathen Writers does but just mention him; he says the *Jews* were first called *Hermiuth*, afterwards *Hebrews* by *Abraham*, and that *Abraham* went into *Egypt* (d), and afterwards returned into *Syria* again but *Melo*, who wrote a Book against the *Jews* and therefore was not likely to admit any Part of their History, that could possibly be called in question, gives a very large Account of *Abraham* (e). He relates, that his Ancestors were driven from their native Country; that *Abraham* married two Wives, one of them of his own Country and Kindred, the other a

(a) Joseph. Antiquitat. l. 1. c. 8. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. sup. (b) Id. c. 17. (c) The Ancient Heathen Writers call *Syria*, *Canaan* and *Phœnicia*, by the same Name. (d) Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. 9. c. 18, (e) Id. ibid. c. 19.

Egyptian, who had been a Bond-woman; that of the *Egyptian* he had twelve Sons, who became twelve *Arabian* Kings (f); that of his Wife he had one Son only, whose Name in *Greek* is *Gelos* [which answers exactly to the *Hebrew* Word *Isaac*]: after other Things interspersed he adds, that *Abraham* was commanded by God to sacrifice *Isaac*; but just when he was going to kill him, he was stopped by an Angel, and offered a Ram instead of him. And as these Writers agree with *Moses* in their Accounts of the Transactions of *Abraham's* Life, so also it is remarkable that they give much the same Character of him; all of them allowing him to be eminent for his Virtue and Religion, and they add moreover, that he was a Person of the most extraordinary Learning and Wisdom: He was δίκαιος ἡ μέγας ἡ τὰ βέλεια ἔμπειρος, says *Berosus* (g). *Nicolaus Damascenus* says, that his Name was famous all over *Syria*, and that he encreased the Fame and Reputation which he had acquired, by conversing with the most learned [λογιωτάτοις] of the *Egyptian* Priests, confuting their Errors, and persuading them of the Truths of his own Religion, so that he was admired amongst them (h) as a Person of the greatest Wit and Genius, not only readily understanding anything himself, but very happy in an Ability of

(f) This is but a small Mistake; the Descendants of *Ishmael* were 12 Kings, Gen. xvii. 20. and settled near *Arabia*. (g) In loc. citat.

(h) Θαυμάσιος ὑπὸ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς συνομίαις συνέτατος ἡ δεινὸς ἄνθρωπος, ἔνοῆσαι μόνον ἀλλὰ ἡ πείσαι λέγων, περὶ ὧν ἂν ἐπιχειρήσεις διδάσκειν

convincing and persuading others of the Truth of what he attempted to teach them. *Eusebius* says, that in Eminence and Wisdom he excelled all others, and that by his extraordinary Piety, or strict Adherence to his Religion [*ἐπὶ τὴν δὲ σέβειαν ὀρμήσαντα*] he obtained the Favour of the Deity. [*διὰ σεβῆσαι τῷ Θεῷ* and his Words (i)]. Both *Melo* and *Artapanus* agree likewise in testifying *Abraham* to have been eminent for his Wisdom and Religion. There are several Particulars of no great Moment in which these Writers either differ from *Moses*, or relate Circumstances which he has omitted. *Nicolaus Damascenus* relates, that *Abraham* came with an Army out of the Country of the *Chaldees*, that he reign'd for some time a King at *Damascus*, that afterwards he removed into *Canaan*: The little Difference between this Account and *Moses's* may easily be adjusted. *Abraham* was indeed no King, but *Moses* observes, that his Family and Appearance and Prosperity in the World was such, that the Nations he conversed with treated him as if he spake of him as of a mighty Prince. And when his Family came first from *Ur*, and consisted both of those that settled at *Haran*, and those that removed with him into *Canaan*, he might well be reported, as the Circumstances of the World then were, to be the Leader of an Army; for very probably few Armies were at that time more numerous than his Fol-

(i) *Euseb. sup. citat. This was the Character, which Enoch obtained by his Faith. Heb. xi. 5.*

owers. As to his reigning King at *Damascus*, it is easy to see how he made this Mistake: The Land of *Haran*; where *Abraham* made his first Settlement, was a Part of *Syria*, of which *Damascus* was afterwards the head City; and hence it might happen, that the Heathen Writers finding that he made a Settlement in this Country, were not so exact about the Place of it as they might have been, but readily took the Capital City to have been inhabited by him. *Damascenus* relates further, that when *Abraham* went to *Egypt*, he went thither partly upon Account of the Famine in *Canaan*, and partly to confer with the *Egyptian* Priests about the Nature of the Gods, designing to go over to them, if their Notions were better than his own, or to bring them over to him, if his own Sentiments should be found to be the best grounded; and that he hereupon conversed with the most learned Men amongst them. *Moses* relates nothing of this matter; but what we meet with about *Sophis*, a King of (*k*) *Egypt*, who reigned a little after *Abraham's* time, and was very famous for religious Speculations, makes it exceeding probable, that *Abraham* might be very much celebrated in *Egypt* for his Religion; and that his Conversation there might occasion the Kings of *Egypt* to study with a more than ordinary Care these Subjects. One thing I would remark before I leave these Writers, namely; the Life of *Abraham* was

(k) See Vol. I. p. 319. Euseb. in loc. sup. citat.

such, that even the Prophane Writers found sufficient Reason to think him not only famous for his Piety, and Adherence to the true Religion, but very conspicuous also for his Learning and good Sense, far above and beyond his Cotemporaries: He was accounted not a Man of low and puerile Conceptions nor a bigotted Enthusiast; but one of Temper proper to converse with those that differed from him, and able to confute the most learned Opposers; he had a Reason for his Faith, and was able to give an Answer to all Objections, which the most learned could make to it (1): And not *Damascenus* only, but all the other Writers have mentioned lay a Foundation for this Character. They all suppose him a great Master of the Learning that then prevailed in the World, abundantly able to teach and instruct the wisest Men of the several Nations he conversed with. This is the Substance of what these Writers offer about *Abraham*, and in this they so agree with *Moses*, as to confirm the Truth of his History; and the more so because in small Matters they so differ from him, as to evidence, that they did not blindly copy after him, but search'd for themselves and at last could find no Reason in matters of Moment to vary from him. *Abraham* lived to be an hundred threescore and fifteen Years old, and died *A. M.* 2183.

If we look back, it will be easy to see, who were *Abraham's* Cotemporaries in all the sever-

(1) See *Damascenus's Account of him*, in *Euseb. loc. sup. citat.*

of his Life. He was born, according to *Eusebius* (m), in the 43d Year of *Ninus*'s Reign, and *Ninus* reigning 52 Years died when *Abraham* was nine Years old. The five next succeeding Heads of the *Assyrian* Empire were (n) *Semiramis*, who governed 42 Years; *Ninyas*, who reigned 38; *Arius*, who reigned 20; *Aralius*, who reigned 40; and *Xerxes*, who reigned 30 Years; and *Abraham* was Contemporary with all these; for the Years of all their Reigns put together amount to but 180, and *Abraham* lived 175; and therefore having spent but nine of them at the Death of *Ninus*, his Life will extend to the 16th Year of the Reign of *Xerxes*. And if we go into *Egypt*, and allow, as I have before computed, that *Menes* or *Mizraim* began to reign there A. M. 1772, and that he reigned there until A. M. 1943; it will follow that *Abraham* was born in the Reigns of *Atthotes*, *Cencenes* and *Mesobris*, Kings of *Egypt*, that Kingdom being at this time parted into several Sovereignities; and he lived long enough to see three or four Successions in each of their Kingdoms, as will appear to any one that consults Sir *John Marston*'s Tables of these Kings, making due Allowance for the Difference between my Account and his of the Reign of *Menes*. *Abraham* was born, according to *Castor* in *Eusebius*, in the 36th Year of *Europa* the second King of *Sicyon*; for according to that Writer (o), *Ægi-*

(m) In *Chronic.*
Chronic. p. 19.

(n) *Euseb.* in *Chronic.*

(o) *Euseb.* in

aleus the first King of *Sicyon* began his Reign in the 15th Year of *Belus* King of *Assyria* i. e. *A. M.* 1920. *Ægialeus* reigned 52 Years so that *Europs* succeeded him *A. M.* 1972, and the 36th Year of *Europs* will be *A. M.* 2008 which is the Year in which *Abraham* was born. *Europs* reign'd 45 Years, and *Abraham* lived to see five of his Successors, and died 10 Years before *Thurimachus* the seventh King of *Sicyon*. *Cres* is said to have been King of *Crete* about the 56th Year of *Abraham*, and about twenty nine Years before *Abraham's* Death. *Inachus* reign'd first King of *Argos* about *A. M.* 2154.

I am sensible, that some Writers do not think the Kings of *Greece*, which I have mentioned, to be thus early. As to the first King of *Crete*, there can be but little offered, for we have nothing of the *Cretan* History, that can be depended upon before *Minos*. *Eusebius* (*p*) indeed places *Cres* in the fourth or fifth Year of *Ninyas*; but afterwards he seems in some Doubt, whether there really was such a Person, and remarks (*q*), That some Writers affirmed *Cres* to be the first King of *Crete* others that one of the *Curetes* governed there about the time at which he imagined *Cres* to begin his Reign; so that he found more Reason to think that there was a King in *Crete* at this time, than to determine what particular Person governed it. We meet the Names of three other Kings of *Crete* in *Eusebius*; *Cydes*, *Apteras*, and *Lapes*; but we have little Proc

(*p*) *Chronic.* p. 91. Num. 55. (*q*) *P.* 94. ad num. 129.

of the Times of their Reigns. There is a large Account of the first Inhabitants of *Crete* in *Diodorus* (r): the History is indeed in many things fabulous, and too confused to be reduced into such Order as might enable us to draw any consistent Conclusions from it; but there seem to be Hints of Generations enough before *Minos* to induce us to think, that they might have a King as early as *Eusebius* supposes; but whether their first King was called *Cres*, or who he was, we cannot conjecture. *Inachus* is said to be the first King of *Argos*. He scarce indeed deserves the Name of King; for in his Days the *Argives* lived up and down the Country in Companies: *Phoroneus* the Son of *Inachus* gathered the People together, and formed them into a Community (s); very probably *Inachus* might be a very wise and judicious Man, who instructed his Countrymen in many useful Arts of living, and he might go frequently amongst them, and head their Companies in several Parts of the Country, teaching them to kill or take, and tame the wild Beasts for their Service, and instructing them in the best manner of gathering and preserving the Fruits of the Earth for their Occasions. In this manner he might take the first Steps towards forming them for Society, and having been a Leader and Director of many Companies of them, as he happened to fall in amongst them, he might be afterwards commemorated as their King, tho' strictly speaking it was his

(r) Lib. 5.

(s) Pausanias in Corinthiacis.

Son that compleated his Designs, and brought the People to unite in forming a regular Society, under the Direction of one to govern them for the public Good. Some Writers think that there was no such Person as *Inachus*: *Inachus* is the Name not of a King, but of a River, says Sir *John Marsham* (t); but here I think that Learned Gentleman mistaken. *Inachus* being the Name of a River, may be offered as an Argument, that there had been some very eminent Person so called before the naming the River from him; For thus the Ancients endeavoured to perpetuate the Memories of their Ancestors, they gave their Names to Countries, Cities, Mountains, and to Rivers: *Haran* being the Name of a Country (u), and *Nabor* the Name of a City (w), is no Proof that there were no Men thus called, but rather the contrary; and abundance of like Instances might be offered from the Prophane Historians: Other Writers allow, that there was such a Person as *Inachus*, but they do not think him near so ancient as we here suppose him. *Clemens Alexandrinus* places him about the Time of the Children of *Israel's* going out of *Egypt* (x); and this was the Opinion of *Africanus* and of *Josephus* or *Josippus*, and of *Justin* who wrote an History of the *Jews* (y); and it was espoused by *Clemens*, and by *Tatian* also, most probably out of a Zeal to raise the Antiquity of *Moses* as high as any thing the Heathens could pretend to offer. *Porphyry*

(t) Canon. Chronic. p. 15. (u) Gen. xi. 31. (w) xxiv. 1.
 (x) Strom. l. 1. (y) See Proem. ad Euseb. Chron.

took Advantage of this Mistake, and was willing to improve it: He not only allowed *Moses* to be as ancient as *Inachus*, but placed him even before *Semiramis*: And this *Eusebius* hints him to have endeavoured out of Zeal against the Sacred Writers (z). And thus no Endeavours have been wanting to puzzle and perplex the Accounts of the Sacred History: At first the Heathen Writers endeavoured to pretend to Antiquities beyond what the Sacred Writers could be thought to aim at; but when the Falsity of this Pretence was abundantly detected, then *Porphyry* thought he could compass the End aim'd at by another Way; he endeavoured to shew, that the Heathen History did not reach near so far back as had been imagined; but that the Times which *Moses* treated of, were really so much prior to the first Rise of the most ancient Kingdoms, that all possible Accounts of them can at best be but Fiction and Fancy: And this put *Eusebius* upon a strict and careful Review of the ancient History (a); and in order hereto, he first collected the Particulars of the ancient Histories of all Nations, that had made any Figure in the World, and then he endeavoured to range them with one another. And if any one will take the Pains to look over the Materials which *Eusebius* collected (b), he will see that the first Year of *Inachus's* Reign must be placed about

(z) See Proœm. ad Euseb. Chron. (a) Ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ πολλῶν τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον τιμῶμεν & ἢ τὸ ἀκρίβες ἀνιχνεύσαι διὰ ἀποδείξεως προθέμενος. Euseb. Proœm. (b) Chron. λογ. πρωτ. P. I.

the Time where I have above fixed it. The Writers, who had treated of the *Argive* Accounts before *Castor*, could not find (c) what to synchronize the first Year of *Inachus* with, and therefore could at best but guess where to fix it; but *Castor* has informed us, that *Inachus* began to reign about the Time of *Thurimachus* the seventh King of *Sicyon* (d), I suppose about his sixth Year, as *Eusebius* computes (e); and this will place him in the Year above-mentioned; for *Ægialeus* the first King of *Sicyon* began his Reign *A. M.* 1920; and from the first Year of *Ægialeus*, to the first Year of *Thurimachus* are 228 Years (f); carry this Account forward to the 6th Year of *Thurimachus*'s Reign, and you will place the first Year of *Inachus*, *A. M.* 2154, as above; and this seems to be a very just and reasonable Position of it. All Writers agree in making *Danaus* the tenth King of *Argos* (g), and *Pausanias* (h) has given a very clear Account of the several Kings from *Inachus* to *Danaus*, so as to leave no room to doubt but that there really were so many; and the time of *Danaus* coming into (i) *Greece*, being near the time that *Moses* visited the *Israclites*, *A. M.* 2494, *Inachus* must evidently be long before *Moses*, and most probably not earlier than the latter end of *Abraham*'s

(c) Ὁ χρόνος αὐτῆς βασιλείας ἀτύμων φέρεται παρὰ Ἑλλησι διὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα. Chron. p. 23. (d) Chron. p. 24. (e) Ad Num. Euseb. 161. (f) This will appear by putting together the Years of the Reigns of the Kings of *Sicyon*, from *Ægialeus* to *Thurimachus*. (g) Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. p. 131. Euf. b. in Chronic. Pausanias in Corinthiacis. (h) Pausan. ibid. (i) See Vol. I. B. 5. and hereafter B. 8.

Life. *Moses* was the sixth in Descent from *Abraham*, being the third from *Levi* (k), and *Moses* was cotemporary with *Danaus*; and it is no improbable Supposition to imagine ten Successions of Kings in any Country within the Compass of the Generations between *Abraham* and *Moses*. In like manner the Accounts we have of the Kings of *Sicyon* have no appearing Inconsistency or Improbability, to give any seeming colour of Prejudice against them. *Ægialeus* the first King of *Sicyon*, according to *Castor*, began to reign *A. M.* 1920, that is 234 Years before *Inachus* at *Argos*; and according to the same Writer, the *Sicyonians* had had six Kings in that space of Time, and the seventh had reigned a few Years; so that these first Kings of *Sicyon* must have reigned 38 Years a-piece one with another; but this is no extravagant Length of Time for their Reigns, considering the Length of Men's Lives in these Ages. *Moses* gives an Account of eight successive Kings of *Edom*, who reign'd one with another much longer (l). Sir *John Marsham* (m) endeavours to set aside these ancient Kings of *Sicyon*, but his Arguments are very insufficient: His Inference, that there could be no Kings of *Sicyon* before *Phoroneus* reigned at *Argos*, because *Acusilaus*, *Plato*, or *Synceblus*, have occasionally spoke at large of the Antiquity of *Phoroneus*, calling him *the first Man*, or in the Words of the Poet cited

(k) 1 Chron. vi. 1---3. (l) Gen. xxxvi. 31---39. and see hereafter B. 7. (m) Can. Chron. p. 16.

by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, 'the Father of Mortal Men (n), can require no Refutation: For these Writers meant not to assert that there were no Men before *Phoroneus*, but only that he was of great Antiquity. Sir *John Marsham* from the following Verse of *Homer* (o)

Καὶ Σικύων, ὅθ' ἄρ' Ἀδραστὸς πρῶτ' ἐμβασίλευεν

would insinuate, that *Adrastus* was the first King of *Sicyon*. *Scaliger* had obviated this Interpretation of *Homer's* Expression, but our learned Author rejects what *Scaliger* offers upon it; but certainly no one can infer what he would have inferred from it. Had *Homer* used *πρῶτος* instead of *πρῶτ'*, there would have seem'd more colour for his Interpretation; but *πρῶτ'*, which is the same as *τὰ πρῶτα*, can signify no more than *formerly*, *heretofore* or *in the first or ancient Days*. *Adrastus* was according to *Pausanias* (p), (for *Castor* has misplaced him) the eighteenth King of *Sicyon*; and *Homer* meant not to assert that he was the first King that ever reign'd there, but only that *Sicyon* was a Country of which *Adrastus* had anciently been King; and thus our *English* Poet expresses *Homer's* Meaning, calling *Sicyon*

—————*Adrastus' ancient Reign* (q)

Our learned Writer makes Objections against some particular Kings in the *Sicyonian* Roll:

(n) Ἀκυσίλαος φωνεῖα πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον γενέσθαι λέγει ὅθεν ὁ τ' Ἰσχυρίδης ποιητὴς εἶναι αὐτὸν ἔφη Πατέρος ἀνθρώπων. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. Lib. 1. (o) Il. 2. v. 572.

(p) In *Corinthiacis*.

(q) *Pope's Homer*.

But it is observable, that *Castor* and *Pausanias* differ in some particular Names, and if we suppose that both of them gave true Accounts in the general, but that each of them might make some small Mistakes, misnaming or misplacing a King or two, his Objections will all vanish; for they do not happen to lye against the particular Names which *Castor* and *Pausanias* agree in. I was willing to mention the Objections of this learned Writer, because he himself seems to lay some Strefs upon them, tho' certainly it must appear unnecessary to confute Objections of this Nature. And it is surprizingly strange to see, what mere shadows of Argumentation even great and learned Men will embrace, if they seem to favour any Notions they are fond of. *Castor's* Account of the *Sicyonian* Kings will appear, when I shall hereafter further examine it, to be put together with good Judgment and Exactness: it has some Faults, but is not therefore all Error and Mistake. When we shall come down to the *Trojan* War, and have seen how far he and *Pausanias* agree, and where they differ, and shall consider from them both, and from other Writers, what Kings of *Sicyon* we have Reason to admit of, before that Country became subject to *Agamemnon*; we shall find abundant Reason to extend their History thus far backwards, and to believe that *Ægialeus* reigned as early as *Castor* supposes.

The Ages in which these Ancients lived were full of Action. If we look into the several Parts of the World, we find in all of them

them Men of Genius and Contrivance, forming Companies, and laying Schemes to erect Societies, and to get into the best Way and Method of teaching a Multitude to live together in a Community, so as to reap the Benefits of social Life. *Nimrod* formed a Kingdom at *Babel*, and soon after him *Asbur* formed one in *Assyria*, *Mizraim* in *Egypt*, and there were Kingdoms in *Canaan*, *Philistia*, and in diverse other Places. *Abraham* was under the Direction of an extraordinary Providence, which led him not to be King of any Country; but we find that he had got together under his Direction a numerous Family; so that he could at any time form a Force of three or four hundred Men, to defend himself, or offend his Enemies. *Ægialeus* raised a Kingdom at *Sicyon*, *Inachus* at *Argos*, and diverse other Persons in other different Parts of the World; but the most ancient Polity was that, which was established by *Noah*, in the Countries near to which he lived, and which his Children planted about the Time, or before the Men that travelled to *Shinaar* left him.

Noah, as has been said (a), came out of the Ark in the Parts near to *India*; and the Profane Historians inform us, that a Person, whom they call *Bacchus*, was the Founder of the Polity of these Nations (b). He came they say into *India*, before there were any Cities built in that Country, or any Armies or Bodies of Men sufficient to oppose him (c); a Circum-

(a) Vol. I. Book 2. p. 123. Edit. Rhodoman.

(b) Diodor. Sic. Lib. 2.

(c) Id. ibid.

ance which duly considered will prove to us, that whoever this Person was, he came into *India* before the Days of *Ninus*: For when *Ninus*, and after him *Semiramis*, made Attempts upon these Countries, they found them so well disciplined and settled, as to be abundantly able to defend themselves, and to repel all Attacks that could be made upon them (*d*). I am sensible, that some Writers have imagined the Time of *Bacchus's* coming to *India* to be much later than *Ninus*; but then it must be observed, that they cannot mean by their *Bacchus*, the Person here spoken of, who came into *India* before there were any Cities built, or Kingdoms established in it; because from the Time of *Ninus* downwards, all Writers agree, that the *Indians* were in a well-ordered State and Condition, and did not want to be taught the Arts, which this *Bacchus* is said to have spread amongst them; nor were they liable to be over-run by an Army, in the Way and Manner, in which he is said to have subdued all before him. And further; if we look over all the famous Kings and Heroes celebrated by the Heathen Historians, we can find no one between the Times of *Ninus* and *Sesostris*, who can with any shew of Reason be imagined to have travelled into these Eastern Nations, and performed any very remarkable Actions in them. *Ninus*, and after him *Semiramis*, attempted to penetrate these Countries, but they met with great Repulses and Obstructions; and

(*d*) See Vol. I. Book 4. Diodor. Sic. Lib. 2. Justin. Lib. 1.

we do not read, that the *Assyrian* or *Persian* Empires were ever extended farther East than *Bactria*; so that none of the Kings of this Empire can be the *Bacchus* so famous in these Eastern Kingdoms. If we look into *Egypt*, they had no famous Warriors before *Sesostris* (e). *Mizraim* and his Sons peopled *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Philistia*, and the bordering Countries, and they might probably be known in *Canaan* and *Phœnicia*; but we have no Reason to imagine, that any of them made any Expedition into *India*. The *Assyrian* Empire lay a Barrier between *Egypt* and *India*, and we have no Hints either that the *Assyrians* conquered *India*, or that the *Egyptians* before *Sesostris* made any Conquests in *Asia*, or passed through *Assyria* into the more Eastern Nations.

It may perhaps be here said, that *Sesostris* was *Bacchus*, who conquer'd the East, and founded the *Indian* Polity: But to this I answer; 1. *India* was not in so low and unsettled a State in the Time of *Sesostris*, as it is described to have been in, when this *Bacchus* came into it; for, as I before remarked, these Nations were powerful in the Days of *Ninus*, and so they continued until *Alexander the Great*; and it is remarkable, that even he met a more considerable Opposition from *Porus* a King of this Country, than any that had been made to his victorious Arms by the whole *Persian* Empire. 2. All the Writers, that have offered any thing about *Bacchus* and *Sesostris*, are ex-

(e) Diodor. Lib. 1.

press in supposing them to be different Persons. *Diodorus Siculus* (f) refutes at large a Mistake of the *Greeks*, who imagined the famous *Bacchus* to be the Son of *Jupiter* and *Semele*; and intimates how and upon what Foundation *Orpheus* and the Poets that followed him, led them into this Error. And though there were Persons in After-Ages called *Bacchus*, *Hercules*, and by other celebrated Names, he justly observes, that the Heroes first called so, lived in the first Ages of the World (g). As to *Sesostris*, the same Writer, after he has brought down the History of *Egypt* from *Menes* to *Myris* (h), then he supposes *Sesostris* to be seven Generations later than *Myris*, which makes him by far too modern to be conceived to be the *Bacchus*, who lived according to his Opinion in the first Ages of the World. But, 3. *Sesostris* cannot be the *Indian Bacchus*, because *Sesostris* never came into *India* at all. *Diodorus* (i) indeed says, that *Sesostris* passed over the *Ganges*, and conquered all *India* as far as to the Ocean; but he must have been mistaken in this Particular. *Herodotus* has given a very particular Account of *Sesostris's* Expeditions (k), and it does not appear from him, that he went further East than *Bactria*; there he turned aside to the *Scythians*, and extending his Conquests over their Dominions, he returned into *Asia* at the River *Phasis*, a River which runs into

(f) Lib. 1. p. 20. Edit. Rhodoman.
 ἐπιχρῆς γένεσιν Ἀνδρώπων. Id. ibid.
 p. 35. (h) Lib. 2. c. 102.

(g) Κατὰ τὴν ἕξ
 (h) Id. p. 34. (i) Id.

the *Euxin* Sea. And this Account agrees perfectly well with the Reason, which the Priest of *Vulcan* gave for not admitting the Statue of *Darius* to take Place of the Statue of *Sesostris* (l); because, he said, *Sesostris* had been Master of more Nations than *Darius*, having subdued not only all the Kingdoms subject to *Darius*, but the *Scythians* besides. *India* was no Part of the *Persian* Empire, and therefore had *Sesostris* conquered *India*; here would have been another considerable Addition to his Glory, and the Priest of *Vulcan* would have mentioned this as well as *Scythia*, as an Instance of his exceeding the Power and Dominion of *Darius*; but the Truth was, neither *Darius* nor *Sesostris* had ever subjugated *India*: For, as *Justin* remarks, *Semiramis* and *Alexander the Great* were the only two Persons that entered this Country (m). The Accounts of the Victories of *Sesostris* given by *Manetho*, both in the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius* (n), and in *Josephus* (o), agree very well with *Herodotus*, and confine his Expeditions to *Europe* and *Asia*, and make no mention of his entering *India*; and to this agree all the Accounts we have of the several Pillars erected by him in Memory of his Conquests; they were found in every Country where he had been (p), but we have no Account of any such Monuments of him in *India*. *Ctesias* perhaps might imagine he had been in this Country,

(l) Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 110. (m) Justin. Lib. 1. c. 2. India Bellum intulit; quò præter illam & Alexandrum nemo intravit.
 (n) Chronic. p. 15. (o) Contra Apion, l. 1. (p) Herodot. ubi sup.

and from him *Diodorus* might have it; but tho' *Ctesias's Assyrian History* has by the best Writers been thought worthy of Credit, yet his Accounts of *India* were not so well wrote, but were full of Fiction and Mistakes (g). It appears from what all other Writers have offered about *Sesostris* (r), that he never was in *India*, and therefore he cannot be the Person that first settled the Polity of these Kingdoms.

It may perhaps be thought more difficult to say who this *Indian Bacchus* was, than to prove that *Sesostris* was not the Person. The Ancient Writers have made almost an endless Confusion, by the Variety of Names which they sometimes give to one Person, and by sometimes calling various Persons by one and the same Name. *Diodorus Siculus* was sensible of the many Difficulties occasioned hereby, when he was to treat of the *Egyptian Gods* (s). There have been several Persons called by the Name of *Bacchus*, at least one in *India*, one in *Egypt*, and one in *Greece*; but we must not confound them one with the other, especially when we have remarkable Hints by which we may sufficiently distinguish them. For, 1. The *Indian Bacchus* was the first and most ancient of all that bore that Name (t). 2. He was the first that pressed the Grape and made Wine (u). 3. He lived in these Parts

(g) Hen. Steph. de Ctesia Disquisit. (r) I have followed the common Accounts that are given of Sesostris, tho' I shall have occasion hereafter to remark how far they go beyond what is true: Sesostris was not so great a Conqueror as he is represented. (s) Lib. 1. p. 211.

(t) Id. Lib. 3. p. 197. Edit. Rhodomont.

(u) Id. Lib. 4.

before there were any Cities in *India* (w). They say he was twice born, and that he was nourished in the Thigh of *Jupiter*. These are the Particulars which the Heathen Writers give us of the *Indian Bacchus*, and from all these Hints it must unquestionably appear that that he was *Noah*, and no other. *Noah* being the first Man in the post-diluvian World, lived early enough to be the most ancient *Bacchus*; and *Noah*, according to *Moses* (x), was the first that made Wine. *Noah* lived in these Parts as soon as he came out of the Ark, earlier than there were any Cities built in *India*; and as to the last Circumstance of *Bacchus* being twice born, and brought forth out of the Thigh of *Jupiter*, *Diodorus* gives us an unexpected Light into the true Meaning of this Tradition; he says (y) "That *Bacchus* was said to be twice born, because in *Deucalion's* Flood he was thought to have perished with the rest of the World, but God brought him again as by a second Nativity into the Sight of Men, and they say *mythologically*, that he came out of the Thigh of *Jupiter*." This seems very probable to have been the ancient *Indian* Tradition, in order to perpetuate the Memory of *Noah's* Preservation; and *Diodorus*, or the

(w) Id. Lib. 2.

(x) Gen. ix. 20.

(y) Δις δ' αὐτῆ τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ Διὸς παραδεδοῦσθαι, διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν Δευκαλίωνα κατακλυσμῷ φθαρῆναι καὶ τῆς τῆς καρπῆς, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπιπέσειαν πάλιν ἀναφύεσθαι, ὡπερὶ δῶτέραν ἐπιφάνειαν ταύτης ὑπάρχει τῆς Θεῆς παρ' ἀνθρώποις, καθ' ἣν ἐκ τῆς Διὸς μετὰ γένεσθαι πάλιν τὸν Θεὸν τῶτον μυθολογοῦσι. Diodor. l. 3. p. 196

Writers he took it from, have corrupted it but very little: *Deucalion's* Flood is a Western Expression; the *Greeks* indeed called the ancient Flood, of which they had some imperfect Traditions, sometimes *Ogyges's* Flood, and sometimes *Deucalion's*; but I cannot think, that the Name of *Deucalion* was ever in the ancient *Indian* Antiquities; and the Tradition it self not being understood by the *Greeks*, is applied to *Bacchus's* Vine, instead of to himself: For it was not the Vine more than any other Tree, but the Vine-Planter, who was so wonderfully preserved, as is hinted by this *Mythological* Tradition. I dare say I need offer no more upon this Particular; any one, that impartially weighs what I have already put together, will admit that *Noah* was the *Indian Bacchus*; and that the Heathen Writers had at first short Hints or Memoirs, that after the Deluge he came out of the Ark in the Place I have formerly hinted near to *India*; that he lived and died in these Countries, and that his Name was famous amongst his Posterity, for the many useful Arts he taught them, and Instructions he gave them, for their providing and using the Conveniencies of Life; tho' we now have in the Remains of these Writers little more than this and a few other fabulous Relations about him. As to the Particular which *Diodorus* mentions, that *Bacchus* went out of the West into *India* with an Army, this is a Fiction of some Western Writer: No Western King or Army ever conquered *India*, before *Alexander the Great*; *Semiramis* only made some unsuccessful

cessful Attempts towards it. And it is remarkable, that *Diodorus* himself was not assured of the Truth of this Fact; for he expressly informs us, that tho' the *Egyptians* contended that this *Bacchus* was a Native of their Country, yet the *Indians*, who ought to be allowed to know their own History best, denied it, and asserted as positively, that *Bacchus* was originally of their Country (z); and that having invented and contrived the Culture of the Vine, he communicated the Knowledge of the Use of Wine to the Inhabitants of the other Parts of the World.

Noah lived 350 Years after the Flood (a), and died about the time that *Abraham* was born. He began to be an Husbandman and planted a Vineyard (b) soon after the Flood. He was the first that obtained Men leave to eat the living Creatures (c); and by teaching this, and putting his Children upon the Study and Practice of Planting and Agriculture, he laid the first Foundations for raising a plentiful Maintenance for great Numbers of People in the several Parts of the World. It is very probable that Men, whilst they were but few, lived a ranging and unsettled Life, moving up and down, killing such of the wild Beasts of the Field, or Fowls of the Air, as they had a mind to for Food, or as came in their Way; and gathering such Fruits of the Earth, as the wild Trees or uncultivated Fields spontaneously

(z) *Diodorus* Lib. 4. p. 210.
(c) *Gen.* ix. See V. l. i. B. 2.

(a) *Gen.* ix. 29.

(b) *V. l. i.*

offered them (*d*). But when Mankind came to multiply, this course of Life must grow very inconvenient; and therefore *Noah*, as his Children increased, taught them how to live a settled Life, and by tilling the Ground increase the Quantity of Provision, which the Earth was capable of producing, and hereby to be able to live comfortably, and without breaking in upon one another's Plenty. At what particular Time *Noah* put his Children upon forming civil Societies, we cannot certainly say, but I should imagine, that it might be about the Time that the Persons who travelled to *Shinaar* (*e*) left him; and that they left him, because they were not willing to come into the Measures, and submit to the Appointments which he made for those who remained with him. These Men perhaps thought, that the Necessity of tilling the Ground was occasioned only by their living too many too near to one another; and that if they separated and travelled, the Earth was still capable of affording them sufficient Nourishment, without the Labour of Tilt and Culture, and this Notion very probably brought them to *Shinaar*.

Diodorus Siculus has given us such an Account of the ancient *Indian* Polity, as may lead us to conjecture what Steps *Noah* directed his

(*d*) See Ovid *Metam.* Fab. 3.

Contentique Cibis nullo cogente creatis,
 Arbuteos foetus, montanaque fraga legebant.
 Cornaque & in duris hærentia mora Rubetis;
 Et quæ deciderant patuiâ Jovis arbore glandes.

(*e*) See B. II,

Children to take, in order to form Nations and Kingdoms (*f*); and the *Chinese* Kingdom seems to stand upon these Foundations even to this Day, being, as they themselves report, little different now from what it was when framed by their Legislators as they compute, above 4000 Years ago. The ancient Writers called all the most Eastern Nations by the Name of *India*: They reputed *India* to be the largest of all the Nations in the World (*g*), nay as large as all *Asia* besides (*h*); so that they took under that Name a much larger Tract, than what is now called *India*, most probably all *India*, and what we now call *China*; for they extended it Eastward to the Eastern Sea (*i*), not meaning hereby what Modern Geographers call the *Eastern Indian* Ocean, but rather the great *Indian* Ocean, which washes upon the *Philippine* Isles. The Ancients had no exact Knowledge of these Parts of the World, but imagined the Land to run in some Parts further East than it is now supposed to do, and in others not so far; but still as they all agreed to bound the Earth every where with Waters, according to *Ovid*,

————— *Circumfluis Humor*

Ultima possedit, solidumq; coercuit orbem.

so their *Mare Eoum*, or Eastern Sea, was that which terminated the extreme Eastern Countries, however imperfect a Notion they had of

(*f*) Lib. 2. (*g*) Strabo lib. 2. (*h*) Strabo lib. 15.
 (*i*) Id. lib. 2. ubi sup.

their true Situation; and all the Countries from *Bactria* up to this Eastern Ocean were their *India*. And tho' the ancient Antiquities of the Countries we now call *India* are quite lost or defaced, yet it is remarkable, that if we go further East into *China*, to which so many Incurfions of the more Western Kingdoms and Conquerors have not so frequently reached, or so much affected, we find great Remains of what *Diodorus* calls the ancient *Indian* Polity, and which seems very likely to have been derived from the Appointments of *Noah* to his Children: But let us enquire what is most probable these Appointments were. And

The *Indians* are divided into seven different Orders or Sorts of Men: Their first Legislator considered what Employments were necessary to be undertaken and cultivated for the public Welfare, and he appointed several Sets or Orders of Men, that each Art or Employment might be duly taken Care of, by those whose proper Business it was to employ themselves in it. And, 1. Some were appointed to be Philosophers and to study Astronomy. In the ancient Times, Men had no way of knowing when to sow or till their Grounds, but by observing the Rising and Setting of particular Stars; for they had no Kalendar for many Ages, nor had they divided the Year into a set of Months, but the Lights of Heaven were, as *Moses* speaks, *for Signs* to them, *and for (k) Seasons, and for Days, and for Years.* They

(k) Gen. i.

by degrees found by Experience, that when such or such Stars appeared, then the Seasons for the several Parts of Tillage were come, and therefore found it very necessary to make the best Observations they could of the Heavens, in order to cultivate the Earth, so as that they might expect the Fruits of it in due Season. That this was indeed the Way, which the Ancients took to find out the proper Seasons for the several Parts of the Husbandman's Employments, is evident both from *Hesiod* and *Virgil*. The Seasons of the Year were pretty well settled before *Hesiod's* Time, much better before *Virgil's*, as may appear from *Hesiod's* mentioning the several Seasons of Spring, Summer, and Winter, and the names of some particular Months; but both these Poets have given several *Specimens* of the ancient Directions for Sowing and Tillage, which Men at first were not directed to perform in this or that Month, or Season of the Year; for these were not so early observed or settled, but upon the rising or setting of particular Stars. Thus *Hesiod* advises to reap and plough by the rising and setting of the *Pleiades* (*l*), to cut Wood by the Dog-Star (*m*), and to prune Vines by the rising of *Arcturus*. And thus *Virgil* lays it down for a general Rule, that it was as necessary for the Countryman to observe the Stars, as for the Sailor (*n*), and gives various Directions for Husbandry and Tillage in the ancient Way,

(*l*) *Hesiod* "Ἐργων καὶ Ἡμερῶν", Lib. 2.

(*m*) *Id.* *ibid.*

(*n*) *Virgil*. *Georgic*. Lib. 1.

forming Rules for the Times of performing the several Parts of Husbandry from the Lights of Heaven. Men could have but little Notion of the Seasons of the Year, whilst they did not know what the true Length of the Year was; or at least, they must after a few Years Revolutions be led into great Mistakes about them. About a thousand Years passed after the Flood, before the most accurate Observers of the Stars in any Nation, came to be able to guess at the true Length of the Year, without mistaking above five Days (*o*) in the Length of it; and in some Nations they mistook more, and found out their Mistake later. And it is easy to see, what fatal Mismanagements such an Ignorance as this would in six or eight Years Time introduce into our Agriculture, if we really thought Summer and Winter to come about five or six Days sooner every Year than their real Revolutions. And I cannot but think, that the first Attempters to till the Ground must make their Attempts with great Uncertainties, and perhaps occasion many of the Famines, which we read were so frequent in the ancient Times, by their being not well apprized of the true Course of the Seasons, and therefore tilling and sowing in unseasonable Times, and in an improper Manner. They in a little Time observed, that the Stars appeared to them to be in different Positions at different Times, and by trying Experiments, they came to guess under what Star, as I might

(*o*) Pref. to Vol. I.

speak it, this or that Grain was to be sown and reaped; and so by degrees fixed good Rules for their *Geoponics*, before they attained a just and adequate Notion of the Revolution of the Year: But then it is obvious to be remarked, that any one that could give Instructions in this Matter, must be highly esteemed, being most importantly useful in every Kingdom. And since no one could be able to give these Instructions, unless he spent much Time in carefully making all sorts of Observations; the best that could be made at first being but very imperfect; it seems highly reasonable that every King should set a-part and encourage a Number of diligent Students, to cultivate these Studies with all possible Industry; and agreeably hereto, they paid great Honours to these Astronomers in *Egypt*, and at *Babylon*, and in every other Country where Tillage was attempted with any Prudence or Success. *Noah* must be well apprized of the Usefulness of this Study, having lived 600 Years before the Flood, and he was without doubt well acquainted with all the Arts of Life, that had been invented in the first World, and this of observing the Stars had been one of them; so that he could not only apprise his Children of the Necessity of, but also put them into some Method of prosecuting these Studies.

Another set of Men were to make it their whole Business to till the Ground; and a third Sort to keep and order the Cattle, to chase and kill such of the Beasts as would be noxious to Mankind, or destroy the Tillage, and incom-
mode

mode the Husbandman ; and to take, and tame, and pasture such as might be proper for Food or Service. A fourth set of Men were appointed to be Artificers, to employ themselves in making all sorts of Weapons for War, and Instruments for the Tillage, and to supply the whole Community in general with all Utensils and Furniture. A fifth Set were appointed for the Art of War, to exercise themselves in Arms, to be always ready to suppress intestine Tumults and Disorders, or to repel Foreign Invasions and Attacks, whenever ordered for either Service ; and this their standing Force was very numerous, for it was almost equal to the Number of the Tillers of the Ground. A sixth Sort were the *Ephori*, or Overseers of the Kingdom, a set of Persons employed to go over every Part of the King's Dominions, examining the Affairs and Management of the Subjects, in order to report what might be amiss, that proper Measures might be taken to correct and amend it. And lastly, they had a set of the wisest Persons to assist the King as his Council, and to be employed, either as Magistrates or Officers to command his Armies, or in governing and distributing Justice amongst his People. The ancient *Indians* were, as *Diodorus* tells us, divided into these seven different Orders or Sorts of Men ; and the *Chinese* Polity, according to the best Accounts we have of it, varies but little in Substance from these Institutions ; and according to *Le Compte*, it was much the same when first settled as it is now, and therefore very probably

Noah

Noah formed such a Plan as this for the first Kingdoms. The *Chinese* say, that *Fohi* the first King reigned over them 115 Years; and that supposing *Noah* to be this *Fohi* (p), *Noah* began to reign in *China* 115 Years before his Death, i. e. *A. M.* 1891, for *Noah* was born *A. M.* 1056 (q), and he lived 950 Years (r) so that according to this Account, we may well allow the Truth of what they say, that their Government was first settled about 4000 Years ago. If we begin the Christian *Æra* with Archbishop *Usher*, *A. M.* 4004, this present Year 1727, will be *A. M.* 5731; and the Interval between this Year and that in which *Noah* first reigned in *China* is 3840 Years: But we are not to suppose that *Noah* began the first Kingdom which he erected in *China*. He came out of the Ark 350 Years before his Death (s), he settled in *China* but 115, and it is most probable to imagine, that he did it in these Countries, as *Mizraim* in *Egypt*. He directed his Children in forming Societies, first in one Place, and then in another; and he might begin in Countries not so far East as *China*, about the time that Part of his Descendants removed westward towards *Shinar*, about *A. M.* 1736 (t). And if we date the Rise of the Kingdoms founded by *Noah* about this Time, it will in Truth be very near 4000 Years ago; so that there seems to be in the main but very little Mistake in the *Chinese*

(p) See Vol. I. B. 2. (q) Vol. I. (r) Gen. ix. 29.
 (s) *Ib.* ver. 28. (t) See Vol. I. B. 2.

Accounts; they only report things done by *Noah* before he was, strictly speaking, their King, but hardly before he had performed those very Things in Places adjacent and bordering upon them. There are some Remarks that should be added, before I dismiss this Account of the Plan, upon which it seems so probable, that *Noah* erected the first Kingdoms. And,

1. The King in these Nations had the sole Property of all the Lands in the Kingdom. All the Land, says *Diodorus* (u), was the King's, and the Husbandmen paid Rent for their Lands to the King, τῆς χώρας μισθὸς τελεῖσι τῷ βασιλεῖ; and he adds further, that no private Person could be the Owner of any Land; and even still the Lands in *China* (w) are held by Socage, and the Persons that have the Use of them pay Duties and Contributions for them; and these began very early, or rather were at first appointed; for, 2. According to *Diodorus*, over and above the Rent, the ancient *Indians* paid a fourth Part of the Product of their Grounds to the King, and with the Income arising hence, the King maintained the Soldiers, the Magistrates, the Officers, the Students of Astronomy, and the Artificers that were employed for the Public (x): The Ground-rent, as I might call it, of the Lands, seems to have been the King's Patrimony, the additional or Tax-Income was appointed for the public Ser-

(u) Lib. 2. p. 125.
Sic. ubi sup.

(w) Le Compte.

(x) Diodor.

vice. 3. They had a Law against Slavery (y). No Person amongst them could absolutely lose his Freedom, and become a Bondsman. Many of the Heathen Writers thought, that this was an original Institution in the first Laws of Mankind. *Lucian* says, that there was such an Appointment in the Days of *Saturn* (z), i. e. in the first Ages; and *Athenæus* observes that the *Babylonians*, *Persians*, as well as the *Greeks*, and diverse other Nations, celebrated annually a sort of *Saturnalia*, or Feasts instituted most probably in Commemoration of the original State of Freedom, which Men lived in before Servitude was introduced (a); and as *Moses* received several of *Noah's* Institutions, so there are Appointments in the Law to preserve the Freedom of the *Israelites* (b). 4. We do not find any national Priests appointed in the original Institutions of these Nations. This I think a very remarkable Particular; because we have early mention of the Priests, in the Accounts we have of many other Nations. In *Egypt* they were an Order of the first Rank, and had a considerable Share of the Lands in the Time of *Joseph*; according to *Diodorus*, they had the third Part of the whole Land of *Egypt* settled upon them (c). *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* has given us the Institutions of *Romulus*, and of *Numa*, for the establishing the

(y) Diodor. p. 124. Νενομοθέτηται παρ' αὐτοῖς δὲ νόμοι μὴ εἶναι τὸ παράπαν εἶναι. (z) Lucian. in Saturnal. (a) Athenæus Deipnos. l. 14. p. 639. (b) Leviticus xxv. &c. loc. cit. (c) Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 66.

Roman Priesthood ; And in the Times of *Plato* (d) and *Aristotle* (e), tho' the political Writers were not unanimous how they were to be created, yet they were agreed, that an established Priesthood was necessary in every State or Kingdom : But the ancient *Indians*, according to *Diodorus*, had originally no such Order. *Diodorus* does indeed say, that the Philosophers were sent for by private Persons of their Acquaintance to their Sacrifices and Funerals, being esteemed as Persons much in the Favour of the Gods, and of great Skill in the Ceremonies to be performed on such Occasions (f) ; but it is to be observed, that they were sent for, not as Priests to sacrifice, but as learned and good Men, able to instruct the common unlearned People how to pay their Worship to the Deity in the best Manner ; and therefore *Diodorus* justly distinguishes, and calls the Part they performed on these Occasions, not *λειτουργία*, which would have been the proper Term had they been Priests for the People, but *ὑπεργία*, because they only assisted them on these Occasions (g). It will be asked how came these Nations to have no national Priests appointed, as there were in some other Kingdoms ? I answer ; God originally appointed who should be the Priest to every Family, or to any Number

(d) Lib. 2. Rom. Antiq. (e) De Repub. l. 7. c. 8.

(f) Lib. 2. p. 125. His Words are, Οἱ φιλόσοφοι — παρλαμβάνονσαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων εἰς τε τὰς ἐν τῷ βίῳ δυσίας καὶ εἰς τὰς τῶν τετελεύτηκῶν ὀπιμελείας, ὡς Θεοῖς γενεονότες προσφιλέσατοι, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἄσθε μάλιστα ἐμπείρους ἔχοντες.

(g) Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 125.

of Families when assembled together, namely the first born or eldest (*b*); and as *no Man* could justly take this Honour to himself, but *that* was called of or appointed by God to it (*i*); and as God gave no further directions in this Matter until he appointed the Priesthood of *Aaron* for the Children of *Israel*; so *Noah* had no Authority to make Constitutions in this Matter, but was himself the Priest to all his Children, and each of his Sons to their respective Families in the same manner, as before civil Societies were erected; and this I think must have been the true Reason for their having no established Priests originally in these Nations: And from this Circumstance, as well as from those before-mentioned, I should imagine, 5. That Civil Government was in these Kingdoms built upon the Foundation of *Paternal* Authority. *Noah* was the Father, the Priest, and became the King of all his People; an easy Transition; for who could possibly have Authority to set up against him? nor is it likely that his Children who continued with him should not readily obey his Orders, and sort themselves into the political Life according to his Appointments. At his Death the Priesthood descended to the eldest Son, and the Rule and Authority of Civil Governour came along with it; for how should it well be otherwise? Something extraordinary must happen before any particular Person would attempt to set himself above one, to whom his Religious

(*b*) See Vol. I. B. 5. p. 295.

(*i*) Hebrews v. 4.

had in some measure subjected him; and therefore the eldest Son at the Father's Death being the only Person that could of right be Priest to his Brethren and their Children, *Unto him only must be their Desire*; and he must be the only Person that could without Difficulties and Oppositions *rule over them*. This Method of erecting Governments is so easy and natural, that some very learned Writers have not been able to conceive that Civil Government could possibly be raised upon any other Foundation; but there will appear the most convincing Evidences against their Opinion, when we come to examine the Kingdoms erected by the Men who lived at, and dispersed from, the Land of *Shinaar*. It is natural to think, that *Noah* formed his Children that lived under him in this Method. And if *Noah* had indeed divided the World to his three Sons, as some Writers have without any Reason imagined, giving *Africk* to *Ham*, *Europe* to *Japhet*, and placing *Shem* in *Asia*, no doubt but he would have instructed them to have kept to this Method all the World over. But how can we imagine that *Noah* ever thought of making any other Division of the World, than only to direct his Children to remove and separate from one another, when they found living together grew inconvenient? He shew'd them a Method by which many Families might join, and make their Numbers of Use and Service to the whole Community; but such as would not come into his Directions took their Way, and travelled to a Place far distant, and afterward came to

Settlements upon different Maxims, and at different Times, as accidental Circumstances directed and contributed to it. But, 6. The supposing *Noah* to have founded the Eastern Kingdoms of *India* and *China* upon the Model I have mentioned, gives a full and clear Account, how these Nations came to be so potent, and able to resist all Attacks that could be made upon them, as *Ninus* and *Semiramis* experienced, when they attempted to invade and over-run them (*k*). If *Noah* appointed a Soldiery in each of these Kingdoms almost as numerous as their Husbandmen, and they began to form and exercise themselves so early as about *A. M.* 1736; since it appears that *Ninus* did not invade *Bactria* and *India* until almost 300 Years after this Time, these Nations must, before he invaded them, have become very considerable for their Military Strength, far superior to any Armies that could come from *Shinaar*. 7. The supposing these Kingdoms to differ at present in their Constitution but very little, from what they were at their first Settlement, is very consistent with the Accounts we have of their present Letters and Language. In both these they seem to have made very little or no Improvement (*l*), but have adhered very strictly to their first Rudiments; and why may they not very justly be supposed to have been equally tenacious of their original Settlement and Constitution. But let us now

(*k*) See Vol. I. B. 4. (*l*) See Vol. I. B. 2. p. 122. B. 4.
P. 242, 243.

come to the Nations and Governours, which arose from and in the Land of *Shinaar*.

Nimrod was the first of them. *Polybius* has conjectured, that the first Kings in the World obtained their Dominion by their being superior to all others in Strength and Courage (*m*); and this very evidently appears to have been the Foundation of *Nimrod's* Authority. *He was a mighty Hunter*, and from hence *he began to be a mighty one in the Earth* (*n*). When the Confusion of Tongues had determined the Builders of *Babel* to separate, they must have known it to be necessary for them not to break into too little Companies, for if they had, the wild Beasts would have been too hard for them. *Plato* imagines, that Mankind in the first Ages lived up and down, one here and another there, until the Fear of the wild Beasts compelled them to unite in Bodies for their Preservation (*o*). This does not seem to have been true in Fact; for Mankind always from the Beginning lived in some sort of Companies, and the Beasts, which in time became wild and ravenous, do not appear at first to have been so; or at least not knowing the Strength of Man, they were not so ready to assault him: but *the Fear of Man, and the dread of Man was upon them* (*p*). And Mankind, in the Ages before

(*m*) *Polybius* Lib. 6. p. 361.

(*n*) *Gen.* x. 8, 9.

(*o*) Οὕτω ἢ παρεσκδασμένοι οἱ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀνθρώποι, ὡκυν
 ἐκαστὸν δῶ, πόλεις δὲ ἐκ ἧσαν ἀπόλλυτο ἐν ὑπὸ τῶν
 θηρίων, διὰ τὸ πανταχῆ αὐτῶν ἀδυνέσει εἶναι. ἡ δὲ μιερ-
 γκὴ τέχνη αὐτοῖς πρὸς μὲν τροφῶν ἰκανὴ βοήθης ἦν, πρὸς
 δὲ τὸν τῶν θηρίων πόλεμον ἐνδεής. *Plato*, in *Protag.* p. 224.

(*p*) *Gen.* ix. 2.

the Flood, tamed them, or reduced them to a great degree, as is evident both from *Noah* being able to get of all sorts of living Creatures into his Ark, and from his Ark's being capable of containing some of every Kind and Species of them. But after the Flood, near an hundred Years had pass'd, before any human Inhabitant had come to dwell in these Countries, and the Beasts that might have roved hither, had had time to multiply to great Numbers, and to contract a wild and savage Nature, and prodigious Fierceness; so that it could not be safe for single Individuals or very small Companies of Men, to hazard themselves amongst them. But *Nimrod* shew'd his Followers how they might attempt to conquer and reduce them; and being a Man of superior Strength as well as Courage, it was as natural for the rest of the Company to follow him as their Captain or Leader, as it is, to use *Polybius's* Comparison (q), for the Herds of Cattle to follow the stoutest and strongest in the Herd. And when *Nimrod* was thus become their Captain, he quickly became their Judge in all Debates which might arise, and their Ruler and Director in all the Affairs and Offices of Civil Life (r). *Nimrod* in a little time turned his Thoughts from hunting to building

(q) Lib. 6. §. 3. p. 631. (r) "Όταν ὁ περσεὺς καὶ τὰ μέγιστα δυνάμιν ἔχων ἀεὶ συνεπιχύη τοῖς περσειημένοις κατὰ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν διαλέξεις, καὶ δόξη τοῖς ὑποτακτέοις διανομητικὸς εἶναι τὰ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστοις ἐκ ἑτιμίας βίαν διδόντες, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ ἀδοκῆντες ὑποτάσσονται, συναώζουσι τὴν Ἀρχὴν αὐτῆ. Polyb. Histor. l. 6. p. 633.

Cities, and endeavoured to instruct those, who had put themselves under him, in the best and most commodious Ways of living (s); but whoever considers what Age he could be of, when he (t) began to be a Ruler, and the Hint which *Moses* gives of his Hunting, must think it most reasonable to found his Dominion upon his Strength and Valour, which certainly gave the first Rise to it. In the early Ages Largeness of Stature, and prodigious Strength were the most engaging Qualifications to raise Men to be Kings and Commanders. We read in *Aristotle* (u) that the *Ethiopians* anciently chose Persons of the largest Stature to be their Kings; and tho' *Saul* was made King of *Israel* by the special Appointment of God, yet it appears to have been a Circumstance not inconsiderable in the Eyes of his People, That he was a choice young Man and a goodly: and there was not among the Children of *Israel* a goodlier Person than he: from his Shoulders and upward, he was higher than any of the People (w). *Polybius* remarks, that whenever Experience convinced them, that other Qualifications besides Strength, and a warlike Disposition were necessary for the People's Happiness, then they chose Persons of the greatest Prudence and Wisdom for their Governours (x); and this seems to have been Fact in the Land of *Shinaar*, when *Nimrod* died, and *Belus* was made King after his Decease (y).

(s) See Vol. I. B. 4. (t) Ibid. p. 190. (u) *Aristot. de*
Repub. l. 4. c. 4. (w) *1 Sam. ix. 2.* (x) *Polyb. lib. 6. c. 5.*
 (y) See Book 4. p. 195.

All the Kingdoms that were raised by the Men of *Shinaar*, were not built upon this Foundation. *Nimrod* began as a Captain, and his Subjects were at first only Soldiers under him; but it is probable that some other Societies began in the order of Masters and Servants. Some wise and understanding Men, who knew how to contrive Methods to till and cultivate the Ground, to manage Cattle, and to prune and plant Fruit-Trees, and preserve and use the Fruits, took into their Families and promised to provide for such as would become their Servants, and be subject to their Directions. Servitude is very justly defined by the *Civilians* to be a State of Subjection *contra naturam* (*z*), very different from and contrary to the natural Rights of Mankind; and they endeavour to qualify the Assertion of *Aristotle* (*a*), who thought that some Persons were by Nature designed for Servitude. The established Politics of all Nations, that *Aristotle* was acquainted with, could hardly fail of byassing him into this Opinion. We have now a truer Sense of Things than to think, that God has made some Persons to be the Slaves and mere Property of others. God has indeed given to different Men, different Abilities both of Mind and of Body. Some are best able by their Powers of Mind to invent and contrive, and others more fit to execute with Strength those Designs, which the Directions of other People

(*a*) Justinian. Institut. Lib. 1. Tit. 3.
c. 5.

(*a*) Politic. Lib. 1.

mark out and contrive for them. In this Way all Mankind are made to be serviceable to one another, and that without absolute Dominion in some, or Slavery in others, as is fully experienced in Christian Kingdoms. *Busbequius* (a) a very ingenious Writer queries much, whether the abolishing Servitude has been advantageous to the Public; but I cannot think what he has said for his Opinion is at all conclusive. The Grandeur of particular Persons may be greater, where they are surrounded with Multitudes of Slaves; but a Community, which consists of none but Citizens, is in a better Capacity to procure and improve the Advantages, which arise from Government and Society; such a Body is, as I might say, politically alive in all its Parts and Members, and every Individual has a real Interest of its own depending in the publick Good: As to all the Inconveniencies arising from, or Miscarriages of the low and vulgar People, not their Liberty, but an Abuse of it is the Cause of them, and they may be as easily taught to be good Citizens in their Stations, as good Servants. And this Sense of Things prevailed in the Parts where *Noah* settled (b); but his Children, who left him and travelled to *Shinaar*, quickly fell into other Politics. At the Time of the Confusion of Tongues, they had practised or

(a) Epist. 3. (b) *Diodorus Siculus* says of the ancient Indians, that they every one took care, ἐλεύθερον ὑπάρχοντα πρὸ ἰσότητος τιμῶν ἐν πᾶσι τὰς γὰρ μαθόντας μὴθ' ὑπερέχειν μὴθ' ὑποπίπτειν ἄλλοις, κρείττισον ἔξεν βίον πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς αἰετήσεις.

cultivated but few of the Arts of providing for the Necessaries of Life; they had travelled from *Ararat* to *Shinaar*, and engaged in a wild Project to but little Purpose, of building a Tower, but not laid any wise Schemes for a settled Life; but when they came to determine to till the Earth, it naturally offered, that those who knew how to manage and direct in ordering the Ground, should take under their Care those who were not so skilful, and provide for them, employing them to work under their Directions. Husbandry, in the early Days, before the Seasons were known, was, as I have said, very imperfect, and there were but few that can be supposed to have had much Skill in it; so that those who had, must everywhere have as many Hands at their Disposal, as they knew how to employ, and quickly come to be attended with a great Number of Servants. It is very evident, that the Heads of *Abraham's* Family acquired Servants in this manner very early; for *Abraham* himself, tho' perhaps the greatest Part of his Father's House remained at *Haran* (c), and some Part were gone with *Lot* (d), before he had lived half his Life, was Master of three hundred eighteen Servants, nay they were [*Chanikei*] (e) trained Servants, or brought up to be Warriors; probably he had many others besides these, and all these were born in his House (f), and he had others bought with his Mo-

(c) Gen. xi. 31.
(f) Ibid.

(d) Chap. xiii.

(e) Chap. xiv. 14.

ney (g): And thus it appears plainly that Servitude arose very early amongst these Men. The Confusion of Tongues broke all their Measures of living together, and they had lived a wandring Life, without cultivating any useful Arts to provide themselves a Livelyhood; and when they came to settle, the unskilful Multitude found it their best way to take the Course which *Posidonius* the *Stoic* mentions, to become voluntarily Servants to others, obliging themselves to be at their Command, bargaining to receive the Necessaries of Life for it, *ἔδειλον δ' ἀνδρὶ μισθῷ παρ' αὐτοῖς καταμένειν ἐπισιτίοις*, says *Eubulus* (h); They knew not how to provide themselves Food and Raiment, and were therefore desirous to submit to Masters, who could provide these Things for them. It was no easy thing for Men of little Genius and low Parts to live independent in those early Days, and therefore Multitudes of People thought it safer to live under the Care and Provision of those who knew how to manage, than to set up for themselves; they thought like *Chalinus* in *Plautus*, who would not part with the Person promised him in Marriage, tho' he might have had his Liberty for her; but replied to his Master, *Liber si sim, meo Periculo vivam, nunc vivo tuo* (i): He was well contented with his Condition; a Security of having Necessaries was in his Opinion a full Recompence for all the Inconveniences of a

(g) Chap. xvii. 27. (h) Grotius de Jure Belli & Pacis. Lib. 2. c. 5. (i) Plautus Casina Act. 2. Scen. 4.

fervile State. Many Families were raised in this manner perhaps amongst *Nimrod's* Subjects; and some of them, when they thought themselves in a Condition for it, removed from under him, and planted Kingdoms in Countries at a Distance from him. Thus *Asshur* went out of his Land into *Assyria*, and with his Followers built Cities there (*k*); and many other leading Men, that had never lived subject to him, formed Companies in this manner, and planted them in Places which they chose to settle in. *Abraham* had a very numerous Company before he had a paternal Right to govern any one Person; for he was not the eldest Son of his Father (*l*), nor was he the Father of one Child, when he led his Men to fight with the King of *Elam* and his Confederates (*m*). And thus *Esau*, who had but five Sons by his three Wives, besides some Daughters (*n*), tho' he did not marry, nor attempt to settle in the World until he was forty Years old, had before he was an hundred, when he went to meet *Jacob* in his Return from *Laban*, a Family so numerous, as to afford him four hundred Men to attend him upon any Expedition (*o*), and with these and the Increase of them, his Children made themselves Dukes, and in Time Kings of *Edom* (*p*): And thus it is certain, that Kingdoms were raised from Men of Prudence and Sagacity, taking and providing for a Number of Servants: Sometimes a very

(*k*) Gen. x. 11.

(*l*) Vol. I. B. 5. p. 273.

(*m*) Gen. xii

(*n*) Gen. xxxvi.

(*o*) Gen. xxxiii. 1.

(*p*) Gen. xxxvi.

potest

potent Kingdom from several of these Families agreeing to settle in it, under the Direction of him who had the Superior Family at the Time of their Settlement, or was best able to manage for the publick Welfare; at other times one Family became a Kingdom, nay and sometimes one Family branched and divided it self into several little Nations; for thus there were twelve Princes descended from *Ismael* (q). In all these Cases, the first Masters of the Families began with a few Servants, encreased them by degrees; and in time, their Servants grew too numerous to be contained in one and the same Family with their Masters; and when they did so, their Masters appointed them a way of living, that should not intirely free them from Subjection, but yet give them some Liberty and Property of their own. *Eumæus* in *Homer*, the Keeper of *Ulysses's* Cattle, had a little House, a Wife and Family, and Perquisites, so as to have wherewith to entertain a Stranger in a manner suitable to the Condition of a Servant (r), whose Business was to manage his Master's Cattle, and to supply his Table from the Produce of them. *Tacitus* (s) informs us, that the Servants of the ancient *Germans* lived in this manner; they were not employed in domestic Attendance, but had their several Houses and Families, and the Owner of the Substance committed to their Care required from them a Quantity of Corn, a Number of

(q) Gen. xvii. 20. xxv. 16.
moribus Germanorum.

(r) Odyss. l. 14.

(s) Lib. de

Cattle,

Cattle, or such Cloathing or Commodities as he had Occasion for. At first a Family could wander like that of *Abraham*; but by degrees it must multiply to too great a Bulk to be moveable or manageable, and then the Master or Head of it suffered little Families to grow up within him, planting them here and there within the Extent of his Possessions, and reaping from their Labours a large and plentiful Provision for his own Domesticks. In time when the Number of these Families encreased, He would want Inspectors or Overseers of his Servants in their several Employments, and by degrees the Grandeur and Wealth of the Master encreased, and the Privileges of the Servants grew with it. Heads of Families became Kings and their Houses, together with the near Habitations of their Domesticks, became Cities; and their Servants, in their several Occupations and Employments, became wealthy and considerable Subjects; and the Inspectors or Overseers of them became Ministers of State, and Managers of the publick Affairs of Kingdoms. If we consider the ancient Tenures of Land in many Nations, we shall find abundant Reason to imagine, that the Property of Subjects in diverse Kingdoms began from this Original. Kings, or Planters of Countries, employed their Servants to till the Ground, and in time both the Masters and the Servants grew rich and encreased; the Masters gave away their Lands to their Servants, reserving only to themselves Portions of the Product, or some Services of those that had the Occupation; and thus

Servants

Servants became Tenants, and Tenants in time became Owners, and Owners held their Lands under various Tenures, daily emerging into more and more Liberty, and in length of Time getting quit of all the Burthen, and even almost of the very marks of Servitude, which Estates were at first encumber'd with. There may, I think, be many Reasons offered, for thinking that the Kingdom of *Assyria* first founded by *Asbur*, the Kingdom of the *Medes*, and particularly that of *Persia*, as well as other Kingdoms, remarkably subject by their most ancient Constitutions to *Despotic* Authority, were at first raised upon these Foundations. And perhaps the Kingdom of the *Philistins* governed by *Abimelech* in *Abraham's* Time was of the same Sort; for that King seems to have had the Property of all the Land of *Philistia*, when he gave *Abraham* leave to live where he would (*t*), and *Abimelech's* subjects seem every where to be called his Servants (*u*); and *Abimelech's* Fear and Concern about *Abraham*, was not upon account of his People, but of himself, and of his Son, and of his Son's Son (*w*). In the Days of *Isaac*, when He went into the Land of the *Philistins* to sojourn, about an hundred Years after the time that *Abraham* lived there, the *Philistins* seem from Servants to have become Subjects, in the way I have before mentioned, and accordingly *Moses's* Style of them is altered. The Persons who in *Abraham's* Time were called *Abimelech's* Servants (*x*),

(*t*) Gen. xx. 15.(*u*) Ver. 8. & xxi. 25.(*w*) Ver. 23.(*x*) Gen. xx. 8. & xxi. 25.

were

were in *Isaac's* Time called *Abimelech's* People (*y*), or the Men of *Gerar* (*z*), or the *Philistines* (*a*), or the Herdsmen of *Gerar* (*b*). In *Abraham's* Time the Kingdom of *Philistia* was in its Infancy; in *Isaac's* Days, the King and his Servants with him were in a better Condition (*c*).

Most of the Kingdoms in and near *Canaan* seem to have been originally so constituted, that the People in them had great Liberties and Power. One would almost think the Children of *Heth* had no King, when *Abraham* petitioned them for a Burying-Place (*d*); for he did not make his Address to a particular Person, but *he stood up and bowed himself to the People of the Land, even to the Children of Heth* (*e*). And when *Ephron* and he bargained, their Agreement was ratified by a popular Council (*f*). If *Heth* was King of this Country, his People had a great Share in the Administration: Thus it was at *Shechem*, where *Hamor* was King; the Prince determined nothing wherein the Public was concerned, without *communings with the Men of his City about it* (*g*). The Kingdom of *Egypt* was not at first founded upon *Despotic* Authority: The King had his Estates or Patrimony, the Priests had their Lands, and the common People had their Pa-

(*y*) Chap. xxvi. Ver. 11.

(*z*) Ver. 7.

(*a*) Ver. 14.

(*b*) Ver. 20.

(*c*) I need not observe that *Abimelech* seems to be a proper Name for the Kings of *Philistia*, as *Pharaoh* was for the Kings of *Egypt*. And *Phicol* was so likewise for one employed in the Post, which the Persons so named enjoy'd.

(*d*) Gen. xxiii.

(*e*) Ver. 7.

(*f*) Ver. 10. 13.

(*g*) Chap. xxxiv. 20, 24.

trimony

timony independent of them both. Thus we read of the Land of *Rameses* (b); that was the King's Land, so called from a King of that Name (i): The Priests had their Lands, which they did not sell to *Joseph* (k); and that the People had Lands independent of the Crown, is evident from the Purchases which *Joseph* made (l), and we may conclude from these Purchases, that *Pharaoh* had no Power to raise Taxes upon his Subjects to encrease his own Revenue, until he had bought the Original Right, which each private Person had in his Possessions, for this *Joseph* did for him; and after this was done, then *Joseph* raised the Crown a very ample Revenue, by regranting all the Lands, reserving a fifth Part of the Product to be paid to the King (m); and it is observable, that the People of *Egypt* well understood the Distinction between Subjects and Servants, for when they came to sell their Land, they offered to sell themselves too; and desired *Joseph*, *buy us and our Land, and we and our Land will be Servants unto Pharaoh* (n). *Diodorus Siculus* has given a full and true Account of the ancient *Egyptian* Constitution (o): He says the Land was divided into three Parts. 1. One Part was the Priests, with which they provided all Sacrifices, and maintained all the Ministers of Religion. 2. A second Part was the King's, to support his Court and Family;

(b) Gen. xlvii. 11. (i) *Rameses* was the eighteenth King of Lower Egypt, according to Sir J. Marsham from Syncellus.

(k) Gen. xlvii. 22, 26. (l) Ver. 19, 20. (m) Ver. 24.

(n) Ver. 19. (o) *Diodor. Sic. lib. 1. p. 66.*

and supply Expences for Wars if they should happen; and he remarks, that the King having so ample an Estate, raised no Taxes upon his Subjects. 3. The Remainder of the Land was divided amongst the Subjects: *Diodorus* calls them the Soldiers, not making a Distinction, because Soldiers and Subjects in most Nations were the same, it being the ancient Practice for all that held Lands in a Kingdom to go to War when Occasion required; and he says, there were three other Orders of Men in the Kingdom, Husbandmen, Shepherds, and Artificers; but these were not strictly speaking Citizens of the Kingdom, but Servants or Tenants, or Workmen to those who were the Owners of the Lands and Cattle. When *Mizraim* led his Followers into *Egypt*, it is most probable that many considerable Persons joined their Families and went with him, and these Families being independent, until they agreed upon a Coalition for their common Advantage, it is natural to think, that they agreed upon a Plan which might gratify every Family, and the Descendants of each of them, with a suitable Property, which they might improve at their own. *Herodotus* gives an Account of the *Egyptian* Polity (p). He says, that the *Egyptians* were divided into seven Orders of Men; but he takes in the Tillers of the Ground or Husbandmen, the Artificers, and the Shepherds, who were at first only Servants employed by the Masters of the Families they belonged

(p) Lib. 2. c. 164.

to, and not free Subjects of the Kingdom; and he adds an Order of Seamen, which must be of later Date. *Herodotus's* Account might perhaps be true of their Constitution in Times much later, than those I am treating of. There is one Thing very remarkable in the first Politicks of Kingdoms, namely, that the *Legislators* paid a surprizing Deference to the *Paternal* Authority, or Jurisdiction which Fathers were thought to have over their Children, and were extremely cautious how they made any State-Laws that might affect it. When *Romulus* had framed the *Roman* Constitution, he did not attempt to limit the Powers, which Parents were thought to have over their Children; so that, as *Dionysius of Halicarnassius* observes, a Father had full Power, either to imprison, or enslave, or to sell, or to inflict the severest corporal Punishments upon, or to kill his Son, even tho' the Son at that very Time was in the highest Employments of the State, and bore his Office with the greatest public Applause (*q*); and when *Numa* attempted to limit this extravagant Power, he carried his Limitation no further, than to appoint, that a Son, if married with his Father's Consent, should in some measure be freed from so unlimited a Subjection.

The first Legislators cannot be imagined to have attempted any other Improvements of their Country, than what would naturally arise from Agriculture, Pasturage, and Planting:

(*q*) *Dionys. Halicar. lib. 2. c. 26, 27.*

Traffick began in After-Ages: And hence it soon appeared, that in fertile and open Countries, they had Abundance of People more than they could employ: For few Hands would quickly learn to produce a Maintenance for more than were necessary for the Tillage of the Ground, or the Care of the Cattle; but in mountainous and woody Countries, where fruitful and open Plains were rarely met with, Men multiplied faster than they could be maintained: And hence it came to pass, that these Countries commonly sent forth frequent Colonies and Plantations, when their Inhabitants were so numerous, that their *Land could not bear them, i. e.* could not produce a sufficient Maintenance for them: But in the more fruitful Nations, where greater Multitudes could be supported, the Kings had at their Command great Bodies of Men, and employed them either in raising prodigious Buildings, or formed them into powerful Armies; and thus in *Egypt* they built Pyramids, at *Babylon* they incompassed the City with Walls of an incredible Height and Thickness; and they conquered and brought into Subjection all the Nations round about them.

The first Kings laid no sort of Tax upon their Subjects, for the Maintenance of either their Soldiers or Servants; but all the Tribute they took was from Strangers, and their own People were free; but they had in every Country larger Portions of Land than their Subjects, and whenever they conquered Foreign Kingdoms, they encreased their Revenue by laying

an annual Tribute or Tax upon them. *Ninus* was the first King that took this Course (r), he over-ran all his Neighbours with his Armies, and obliged them to buy their Peace by paying yearly such Tribute as he thought fit to exact from them. The conquered Nations, however free the Subjects of them were at Home, with regard to their own King, were yet justly said to be under the Yoke of a Foreign Servitude, and were look'd upon by the King that had conquered them as larger Farms to yield him such an annual Product, as he thought fit to set upon them; and the King and all the People of them, tho' they were commonly permitted to live according to their own Laws, were yet reputed the Conqueror's Servants. Thus the Kings of *Canaan*, when they became tributary, were said to *serve Chedorlaomer* (s); and thus *Xerxes*, when *Pythius* the *Lydian*, presuming upon his being in great Favour with the King, ventured to petition to have one of his Sons excused following the Army, remonstrated to him, *that he was his Servant* (t). The *Persians* are frequently called by *Cyrus* in *Xenophon* "Ανδρες Πέρσαι, or *Men of Persia*, or Φίλοι, *the King's Friends*; and *Xerxes* keeps up in his Answer to *Pythius* the same Distinction, he mentions that his Children, his Relations, his Domestics, and then his natural Subjects, whom he calls his φίλοι, went with him to the War: And dare you, says he, who

(r) Justin. lib. 1. c. 1.
lib. 7. c. 99.

(s) Gen. xiv. 4.

(t) Herodot.

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(r) *Justin.* lib. 1. c. 1.
lib. 7. c. 99.

(s) *Gen.* xiv. 4.

(t) *Herodot.*

are my Servant, ἐμὸς δούλος, talk of your Son? *Lydia* was a conquered Kingdom, and so *Pythius* and all the *Lydians* were the King's Property, to do with them as he thought fit. And they sometimes used those they had conquered accordingly, removing them out of one Nation into another as they pleased. But I should think the Extravagances of ambitious Conquerors not so much to be wondered at, as the Politics of *Aristotle*, who has laid down such Principles, as, if true, would justify all the Wars and Bloodshed that an ambitious Prince can be guilty of. He mentions War as one of the natural Ways of getting an Estate, for he says, "It is a Sort of Hunting, which is to be made Use of against the wild Beasts, and against those Men, who born by Nature to Servitude, will not submit to it; so that War upon these is naturally just (u)."

Diodorus Siculus remarks (w), that it was not the ancient Custom for Sons to succeed their Fathers and inherit their Crowns. This Observation was Fact in many Kingdoms; but then it could be only where Kingdoms were not raised upon Paternal or Despotic Authority: Where Paternal Authority took Place, the Kingdom would of course descend as that did, and the eldest Son become at his Father's Death the Ruler over his Father's Children. And where Kingdoms arose from Masters and their Servants, the right Heir of the Substance would be the right Heir to the Crown.

(u) *Aristot. Politic. l. 1. c. 8.*

(w) *Hist. lib. 1. p. 28.*

And this we find was the *Persian* Constitution. The Subjects having originally been Servants, did not apprehend themselves to have any Right or Pretence ever to become Kings; but the Crown was always to be given to one of Royal Blood (x). But in Kingdoms, which were founded by a Number of Families uniting together by Agreement to form a Civil Society, the Subjects upon every Vacancy chose a King as they thought fit, and the personal Qualifications of the Person to be elected, and not his Birth, procured his Election: Many Instances of this might be produced from the ancient Kingdoms of *Greece*, and very convincing ones from the first *Roman* Kings, of whom *Plutarch* observes, that none of them was succeeded in his Kingdom by his Son (y); and *Florus* has remarked of each of them severally, what their Qualifications were which recommended them to the Choice of the People (z). That *Egypt* was anciently an elective Kingdom is evident from *Plutarch* (a), who remarks, that their Kings were taken either from amongst their Soldiers or their Priests, as they had Occasion for a Prince, of great Wisdom or Valour. But whatever were the original Constitutions of Kingdoms, it is certain, that Power has always in all Nations been more or less fluctuating between

(x) *Briffonius de Regno Persarum*, l. 1. (y) *Plutarch. lib. de Animi Tranquillitate*, p. 467. (z) *L. Flor. Hist. Lib. I. c. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. See also Dionys. Halicarnass. lib. I.*

(a) Οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς ἀπεδείκνυντο μὲν ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων ἢ ἐκ τῶν μαχιμῶν, τὰ μὲν δὲ ἀνδρείαν, τὰ δὲ διὰ σοφίαν γένος ἀξίωμα καὶ τιμὴν ἔχοντες.

the Prince and the People, and many States have from Arbitrary Kingdoms become in Time Republics, and from Republics become in Length of Time arbitrary Kingdoms again, from various Accidents and Revolutions, as *Polybius* has observed at large (b).

It has been an ancient Opinion, that Kings had their Right to their Crowns by a special Appointment from Heaven: *Homer* is every where full of it: The Sceptres of his Kings were commonly given either to them or some of their Ancestors by *Jupiter*; thus *Agamemnon's* Sceptre was made by *Vulcan*, and by *Vulcan* given to *Jupiter*, by *Jupiter* to *Mercury*, by *Mercury* to *Pelops*, by *Pelops* to *Atreus*, by *Atreus* to *Thyestes*, by *Thyestes* to *Agamemnon* (c): And this Account came to be so firmly believed, that the Men of *Chæroneæ* paid Divine Worship to a Spear, which they said was this Celestial Sceptre of *Agamemnon* (d): *Homer* places the Authority of all his Kings upon this Foundation, and he gives us his Opinion at large in the Case of *Telemachus* (e). He in-

(b) Historiar. Lib. 6.

(c) Il. 2 ver. 101.

(d) Pa-

sanias in Bœoticis, p. 795.

(e) Odyss. 1. ver. 388.

Τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνύμενος ἀντίον ἠΐδα·

Καὶ κεν σέτ' ἐθέλοιμι Δίος γε δίδόνισθ' ἀρέσθαι.

Ἄλλ' ἦτοι βασιλῆες Ἀχαιῶν εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλοι

Πολλοὶ ἐν ἀμφιάλῳ Ἰθάκῃ, νέοι ἠδὲ παλαιοί,

Τῶν κέν τις τόδ' ἔχῃσιν, ἐπεὶ θάναε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·

Ἄυτάρ ἐγὼν οἴκοιο ἀναξ ἔσομ' ἡμετέρου,

Καὶ δμῶων ἕς μοι λήισατο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.

Τὸν δ' αὖ Ἐυρύμαχος Πολύβη παῖς ἀντίον ἠΐδα·

Τηλέμαχ', ἦτοι ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γένασι κεῖται,

Ὅστις ἐν ἀμφιάλῳ Ἰθάκῃ βασιλεύσει Ἀχαιῶν,

roduces:

roduces *Antinous* one of the Suitors as alarm'd at the Threatnings of *Telemachus*, and therefore tho' he acknowledged his Paternal Right to the Crown of *Ithaca* when *Ulysses* should be dead; yet he wished that there might not be a Vacancy for him, for many Years. *Telemachus* in his Reply is made to speak as if he depended but little upon an *Hereditary* Right, and says, That he should willingly accept the Crown, if *Jupiter* should give him it; but that there were Kings of *Greece*, and many Persons of *Ithaca*, both Young and Old, who perhaps might have it at the Death of *Ulysses*; but that He would be Master of his Father's House, Servants, and Substance: *Eurymachus* replies, and confirms what *Telemachus* had said, asserting, that *Telemachus* should certainly possess his Father's House, Servants, and Substance; but that, as to who should be King of *Ithaca*, it must be left to the Gods. *Romulus* endeavoured to build his Authority upon the same Foundation, and therefore when the People were disposed to have him for their King, he refused to take the Honour, until the Gods should give some Sign to confirm it to him: And so upon an appointed Day, after due Sacrifices and Prayers offered to the Gods, he was consecrated King by an auspicious Thunder (f). At what Time the Heathen Nations embraced these Sentiments I cannot certainly say, but I imagine not before God had appointed the *Israelites* a King: For the

(f) Dionys. Halicarn. l. 1.

ancient Writers speak of the Kings that reigned before that Time in no such Strain, as may be seen from *Pausanias's* Accounts of the first Kings of *Greece*, as well as from other Writers; but when God had by special Appointment given the *Israelites* a King, the Kings of other Nations were fond of claiming to themselves such a Designation from Heaven, lest they should seem to fall short in Honour and Glory of the *Jewish* Governours; and *Homer*, who according to *Herodotus* introduced a new *Theology* (g), introduced also this Account of the Original of the Authority of their Kings into *Greece*. *Virgil* embraced this Scheme of *Homer's*, and in Compliment to *Augustus*, the *Roman* Republic being overthrown, laid the Foundation of *Æneas's* Right to govern the *Trojans*, who fled with him from the Ruins of their City, upon a Divine Designation of him to be their King, revealed to him by the Apparition of *Hector* (h), and confirmed by *Pantheus* the Priest of *Apollo*, who brought and delivered to him the *Sacra* and Sacred Images (i), which *Hector* had declared him the Guardian and Protector of.

It has been the Opinion of some Modern Writers, that these Ancients were very weak Politicians in Matters of Religion, and were an easy Prey to Priestcraft. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* is very copious upon this Topic (k), and his Followers do commonly think his Argu-

(g) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 53.
(i) Ibid. ver. 321, &c.

(h) Virgil. *Æn.* 2. ver. 293.
(k) *Characteristics*, Vol. 3. Miscellaneous
mentations

mentations of this Sort conclusive: Let us therefore examine how well they are grounded.

We have as full and large an Account of the first Settlement of the *Roman* Priesthood as of any, so that I shall examine this first, and then add what may be offered about the established Priesthood of other Nations. And first of all, *Romulus* appointed, that the King should be the Head, and Controuler of all the *Sacra* and Sacrifices (*l*), and under himself he appointed proper Persons for the due Performance of the Offices of Religion, having first made a general Law, that none but the Nobility should be employed either in Offices of the State, or of Religion (*m*); and the particular Qualifications of the Priests were (*n*), 1. They were to be of the best Families. 2. They were to be Men of the most eminent Virtue. 3. They were to be Persons who had an Estate sufficient to live on. And 4. Without any bodily Blemish or Imperfection. 5. They were to be above fifty Years of Age: These were the Qualifications requisite for their being admitted into the Religious Order. Let us now see what they were to get by it; and, 1. They were put to no Expence in the Performance of their Ministrations; for as the King had in his Hands Lands set apart on Purpose for

(*l*) Βασιλεῖ μὲν ἐν ξείρητο τάδε τὰ γέροντα ἡρώων ἢ θυσιῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν, καὶ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὄσια. Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. l. 2. §. 13.

(*m*) Διέταξε τὸν μὲν εὐπατείδας ἱερεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸν ἄλλον δικάζειν, καὶ μεθ' αὐτῶν τὰ κοινὰ περὶ τῆν. Id. ibid. c. 9.

(*n*) Id. ibid. c. 21.

the providing the public Sacrifices, building and repairing Temples, Altars, and bearing all the Expences of Religion, so a set Sum was paid to the Priests of each Division, to bear the Expences of their Sacrifices. 2. They themselves were exempted from the Fatigue of going to War, and from bearing City Offices. 3. Besides these slender Privileges, I do not find they received any Profits from their Office; for it is evident they had no Stipend nor Salaries; for Ministers of State, and Ministers of Religion also, had no Advantages of this sort in the early Times (*o*), as is abundantly evident from one of the Reasons given for choosing the Nobility only to these Employments, namely, because the *Plebeians* or common People could not afford to give away their Time in attending upon them: As to the Number of them, which Lord *Shaftsbury* thinks was without End or Measure, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* tells us, that no City ever had so many originally as *Rome*, and he observes that *Romulus* appointed sixty (*p*); telling us withal elsewhere, that his People were when he first settled the Common-wealth, two thousand three hundred Men, besides Women and Children; and when he died, they were above forty thousand (*q*). There were indeed, over and besides these, three Augurs or *ἰεγομόνοι*, appointed by *Romulus*, and there were afterwards three *Flamens*, who, I think

(*o*) Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. l. 2. c. 9.
c. 21.

(*q*) Id. c. 16.

(*p*) Id. lib. 2.

were first instituted by *Numa*; as were the *Vestal Virgins* who were in Number four (*r*), and the *Salii* who were in Number twelve (*s*): He instituted also the College of the *Feciales*, who were in Number twenty (*t*); but these were chiefly employed in Civil Affairs; for they were the *Arbitrators* of all Controversies relating to War or Peace, and Heralds and Embassadors to Foreign States (*u*): Lastly, *Numa* appointed the *Pontifices Maximi*, being four in Number, of which himself was the first (*w*), and these Persons were the supreme Judges of all Matters Civil or Religious; but all these Officers were chosen out of the noblest and wealthiest Families, and they brought Wealth into, and added Lustre to the Offices they bore, instead of coming into them for the sake of Lucre and Advantage. If we were to look further into the *Roman State*, we should find some Additions made to the Number of the Ministers of Religion, as the City grew in Wealth and Power; for when the *Plebeians* grew wealthy, and were able to bear them, they would not be excluded from Religious Offices, and so there were in Time twelve *Flamines* elected from the Commons, and there were twelve *Salii* added to *Numa's* twelve by *Tullus Hostilius*. *Tarquinius Superbus* appointed two Officers to be the Keepers of the *Sibylline Oracles*, and their Number was afterwards

(*r*) Dionys. Halicarn. l. 2.
Plutarch. in Numâ.
ibid. Plat. in Numâ.

(*s*) Id. ibid.

(*u*) Dionys. Halicarn. l. 2.

(*t*) Id. ibid.

(*w*) Id.

increased

increased to ten, and by *Sylla* to fifteen, and in later Ages they had particular *Flamens* for particular Deities; but take an Estimate of the *Roman* Religion, when their Priests were most numerous, at any Time from the building of the City to *Julius Cæsar*, and it will appear that ancient *Rome* was not overburthened with either the Number or Expence of the Religious Orders. But let us in the next Place look to *Greece*.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus frequently remarks of *Romulus's* Religious Institutions, that they were formed according to the *Greek* Plans, so that we may guess in general, that the *Greeks* were not more burthened in these Matters, than he burthened the *Romans*; especially if we consider what he remarks upon *Numa's* Institutions, that no Foreign City whatever, whether *Grecian* or of any other Country, had so many Religious Institutions as the *Romans* (x), a Remark he had before made, even when *Romulus* settled the first Orders (y). The Writers of the *Greek* Antiquities are pretty much at a Loss to enumerate the several Orders of their Priests (z), and they name but few, and these rather the Assistants than the Priests that offered the Sacrifices. And I imagine, the true Reason that we have no larger Account of them, is because there were in the most ancient Times no particular Persons set apart for these Offices in the *Grecian* States; but the Kings and Rulers

(x) *Dionys. Halicarn. lib. 2. §. 63.*

(y) *Id. ibid. §. 21.*

(z) See *Potter's Antiquities, Book 2. c. 3.*

performed the public Offices of Religion for their People, and every Master of a Family sacrificed in private for himself, his Children and Servants. If we look over *Homer's* Poems, we shall find this Observation verified by many Instances. After *Agamemnon* was constituted the Head of the *Grecian* Army, we find him every where at the public Sacrifices performing the Priest's Office (a), and the other *Grecian* Kings and Heroes had their Parts under him in the Ministration; and thus *Peleus* the Father of *Achilles* performed the Office of Priest in his own Kingdom, when *Nestor* and *Ulysses* went to see him, and *Patroclus*, *Achilles* and *Meneæus* ministred (b); and *Achilles* offered the Sacrifices, and performed the Funeral Rites for *Patroclus* (c); and thus again in the *Odyssey*, when *Nestor* made a Sacrifice to *Minerva*, *Stratius* and the Noble *Echephron* led the Bull to the Altar, *Aretus* brought the Water, and Canisters of Corn, *Perseus* brought the Vessel to receive the Blood; but *Nestor* himself made the Libations and began the Ceremony with Prayers; the magnanimous *Thrasymedes* Son of *Nestor* knock'd down the Oxe; then the Wife of *Nestor*, his Daughters, and his Sons Wives offered their Prayers; then *Pisistratus* ὄρχαμῶν, perhaps the Captain of his Host, an Officer in such a Post as *Phicol* under *Abimelech* (d), stabbed the Beast: Then they all joined in cutting it in Pieces and disposing it upon the Altar, and after all was ready

(a) *Iliad.* γ. *Iliad.* η. & in al. loc.(b) *Il.* λ.(c) *Il.* Ϛ.(d) *Gen.* xxvi. 26.

Καὶ εἰ δ' ἄντι χιζης ὁ γέγων, ἐπὶ δ' αἰθοπα οἴων
 Λαίβε.

Nestor himself was the Priest and offered the Sacrifice (e). Many Instances of this sort might be brought from both *Iliad* and *Odyssy*. If we examine the Accounts which the best Historians give us, they all tend to confirm this Point: *Lycurgus* was remarkably frugal in the Sacrifices he appointed (f), and the *Lacedæmonians* had no public Priests in his Days, nor for some Time after, but their Kings: *Plutarch* tells us, that when they went to Battle the King performed the Sacrifice (g); and *Xenophon* says, that the King performed the public Sacrifices before the City (h), and that in the Army his chief Business was, to have the supreme Command of the Forces, and to be their Priest in the Offices of Religion (i): and this was the Practice when *Agessilaus* was chosen King of *Sparta*; for after he was made King he offered the usual Sacrifices for the City (k). And in his Expedition against the *Persians*, he would have sacrificed at *Aulis* a Town of *Bœotia*, as *Agamemnon* did upon undertaking the *Trojan War*, but the *Thebans* not being well affected to him or to the *Lacedæmonians* would not permit him (l). In a Word, we have no Reason to think, from any Thing we can find in the *Greek History*, that the ancient

(e) *Odyss.* γ. ver. 430, &c. (f) *Plutarch.* in *Lycurgo*, p. 53.
 (g) *Ibid.* p. 53. (h) *Xenoph.* Lib. de *Repub. Lacedæm.*
 (i) *Id.* *ibid.* (k) *Xenoph.* *Hellenic.* Lib. 3. (l) *Id.* *ibid.*

Greeks, until some Ages after *Homer*, had any other public Ministers of Religion, than those who were the Kings and Governours of the State. Fathers of Families (even tho' they were in reality but Servants) were Priests to those who lived under their Direction, and offered all sorts of Sacrifices for them, and performed all the Ministrations of Religion at their Domestic Altars, and thus the Practice of Religious Offices was performed in the several Parts of every Kingdom amongst the several Families that inhabited it: The public or national Religion appeared at the Head of their Armies, or at the Court only, where the King was personally present, and performed the Offices of it for himself and all his People. There are some Persons mentioned by *Homer*, and called *ιερείες* or Priests, and they offered the Sacrifices even when Kings and the greatest Commanders attended at the Altars: Thus *Chryses* the Priest of *Apollo* burnt the Sacrifice, which *Ulysses* and his Companions went to offer at *Chrysa*, when they restored *Briseis* to her Father (*m*); but this is so far from contradicting what I have offered, that it intirely coincides with and confirms it: *Chrysa* was a little Isle in the *Egean* Sea, of which *Chryses* was Priest and Governor, and when *Ulysses* was come into his Dominions, it was *Chryses's* Place to offer the Sacrifice, and not *Ulysses's*. There were in the ancient Times many little Islands, and small Tracts of Land, where Civil Government was not set up in Form, but

(*m*) *Homer*. II. 1.

the Inhabitants lived together in Peace and Quiet, by and under the Direction of some very eminent Person, who ruled them by wise Admonitions, and by teaching them Religion; and the Governours of these Countries affected rather the Name of Priests than Kings; thus *Jethro* is called by *Moses* not the King but the Priest of *Midian*; and thus *Chryses* is called the Priest of *Apollo* at *Chrysa*, and not the King of *Chrysa*; tho' both He and *Jethro* were the Governours of the Countries they lived in. If at any Time they and their People came to form a Political Society, upon more express Terms and Conditions, then we find these Sort of Persons called both Priests and Kings, and in this manner *Melchizedec* was King of *Salem*, and Priest of the Most High God (*n*), and *Anius* was King of *Delos*, and Priest of *Apollo* (*o*). These small States could have but little Power to support themselves against the Incroachments of their Neighbours. Their Religion was their greatest Strength, and it was their happiest Circumstance, that their Kings or Governours were conspicuous for their Religion, and thought Sacred by their Neighbours, being reputed in an eminent Sense to be high in the Favour of the God, whom they particularly worshipped; so as to render it dangerous for any to violate their Rights, or to injure the People under their Protection, as the *Grecians* are said to have experienced.

(*n*) Gen. xiv. 18. (*o*) Virgil. *Æn.* 3. ver. 80.

when they refused to restore *Briseis* to her Father.

It is thought by some very judicious Writers, that the Word *ἱερεὺς* is sometimes used for a Person, who was not strictly speaking a Priest, but a Diviner from the Entrails of Victims; thus *Achilles* in *Homer* (*p*), when the Pestilence raged in the *Grecian* Camp, advised

——— τινὰ μάντιν ἐρείοιμυ ἢ ἱερεῖα

ἢ καὶ ὄνειροπόλον ———

to send for either a *μάντις* or Prophet, or an *ἱερεὺς*, or an *ὄνειροπόλος* a Diviner by Dreams, to inform them how to appease *Apollo*; but I imagine the *ἱερεὺς* here mentioned, was some one of these *Insular* Priests or Kings, of whom all their Neighbours had an high Opinion for their great Skill in matters of Religion, upon which Account they used to be frequently sent to, or sent for, as the Occasions of their Neighbour-States required the Assistance of their Advice and Direction. Such a King and Priest was *Rhamnes* in *Virgil* (*q*),

*Rex idem, & Regi Turno gratissimus
Augur.*

Amongst the true Worshipers of God, some Persons were very signally distinguished from others by extraordinary Revelations of God's Will made to them. *Abraham* was received by *Abimelech* as a Prophet (*r*); and God was

(*p*) *Homer.* II. 1.

(*q*) *Æn.* 9. ver. 327.

(*r*) *Gen.* xv. 7.

pleased to make his Will known to these Persons by Visions or by Dreams (f), and sometimes by audible Voices and divine Appearances: And when any Persons were known to be thus highly favoured of God, Kings and great Men paid a Regard to them, and were willing to consult them upon Difficulties and emergent Occasions, and were glad to have them, not to sacrifice for them, which there was no Occasion they should do, but to pray for them for their Prayers were thought more than ordinarily available with God (t); and this Order of Men, namely the Prophets, are frequently mentioned in Scripture: And as God was pleased to distinguish his true Servants by the Gifts of Prophecie; so in all the Heathen Nations diverse Persons imitated these Powers and made it their Business in various Manner by Art and Study to qualify themselves to know the Will of their Gods, and to discover it to Men; and Persons thought to be thus qualified, were in every Kingdom retained by Kings and Rulers, or if they had them not at Hand, they sent for them upon Occasion to direct in emergent Affairs, and difficult Circumstances. *Balaam* the Son of *Beor* had the Character of a Prophet in the Nations round about the Place where he lived, and therefore *Balak* in his Distress about the *Israelites* sent for him to *Peñhor*, which is by the River of the Land of the Children of his People (u); and when *Balaam* was come to *Balak*, *Balak* wa

(f) Numb. xii. 6.

(t) Gen. xx. 7.

(u) Numb. xxii. ordinarily

ordinarily the Sacrificer, and *Balaam's* Employment was, to report to him any Revelations it should please God to make him about the *Israelites* (w): And thus when the Chiefs of *Greece* offered their Sacrifices, *Calchas* attended, and explained an *Omen*, which put them in great Surprize (x). In Length of Time, the Number of the Heathen Prophets encreased greatly, there were many of them in *Egypt* in the Days of *Moses*, and of several Orders (y), and there were four Orders of them at *Babylon* in the Time of *Daniel*, namely, the *Chartummim* or *Magicians*, the *Asbapim* or *Astrologers*, the *Chasdim* or *Chaldeans*, and the *Mechasepim* or *Sorcerers* (z); but they were not numerous in *Greece* until after the Times, which I am to treat of; for when *Agésilus* was made King of *Sparta*, about *A. M.* 3600, which is above 300 Years after the Building of *Rome*, and near as much later than the Time where I am to end this Undertaking, when *Agésilus* was to offer the Sacrifices for the City, he had only one *μάντις* or Prophet attending to inform him of what might be revealed to him at the Time of his Sacrifices, as *Agamemnon* in *Homer* is described to have had at the *Trojan War*. There were another Sort of Officers attending upon the Sacrifices, called the *κήρυκες*, or in *Latin* *Præcones*, and their Business was to call together the People, when Assemblies were appointed, and they were frequently sent Am-

(w) Numb. xxiii. 30.

(x) Il. 2.

(y) Exod. vii. 11.

(z) Dan. ii. 2.

bassadors, or rather as Heralds from State to State, and they assisted at Sacrifices in dividing the Victims, and disposing the several Parts of the Offering in due Form upon the Altar (a), before the Priests kindled the Fire to burn it; but I cannot find any Reason to think that the *Greeks* had, at the Time that *Rome* was built, so many Persons set apart to attend upon the Religious Offices, as even *Romulus* appointed at the first Building of his City.

If we go into *Asia*: As Men were planted there, and Cities built, and Governments established earlier than in *Greece*; so we find, as I just now hinted, that the *Wise Men* of *Babylon* were numerous in the Days of *Daniel*: When they began there, I cannot say, but I am apt to think their first Rise was from *Belus* the *Egyptian*, the Son of *Neptune* and *Libya*, who travelled from *Egypt*, and carried with him a Number of *Egyptian* Priests, and obtained Leave to sit down at *Babylon*, where the King, who then ruled there, gave them great Encouragement upon account of their Skill in *Astronomy*. Of this *Belus* I shall speak more hereafter. His coming to *Babylon* was about the Time of *Moses* (b); but I would observe that the Kings of these Nations had not parted with their Priesthood in the Days of *Cyrus*, for *Xenophon* is very express in his Accounts of that Prince's performing the public Sacrifices, in many Places (c).

(a) Homer. Il. in loc. var. de Cyropæd. l. 2. l. 3. l. 9. &c.

(b) See Book VIII.

(c) Lib

Egypt was the Parent of almost all the Superstitions that overflowed the World, and it is particularly remarked, that the Priests in the most ancient Times were more numerous here, and far more magnificently provided for, than in other Nations. They had Lands settled upon them in the Time of *Joseph* (d), and according to *Diodorus Siculus*, a third Part of the whole Land of *Egypt* was theirs (e): And Lord *Shaftsbury's* Triumphs here run very high against the Church-Lands, and the *Landed Clergy*, as he is pleased to call the *Egyptian* Priests of these Times: This Right Honourable Writer asserts, “ That the Magistrate, according to the *Egyptian* Regulation, had resigned his Title or Share of Right in Sacred Things, and could not govern as he pleased, nor check the growing Number of these Professors (f). And that in this Mother Land of Superstition the Sons of *these* Artists were by Law obliged always to follow the same Calling with their Fathers. Thus the Son of a Priest was always a Priest by Birth, as was the whole Lineage after him without Interruption.” There are a great many other Particulars enlarged upon by this Author, which I choose to pass over. If I give an Account of the *Egyptian* Priesthood from what the ancient Writers hint about it, that alone will shew, how widely some Writers err in their Accounts of ancient Facts, out of Hu-

(d) Gen. xlvii. (e) Diodor. Sic. l. i. (f) Miscellaneous Reflect. Characteristics, Vol. III.

mourand Inclination to reflect upon the *Church* and *Clergy*. Religion was in the early Times lookt upon by all the Nations in the World as a positive Institution of God, and it was as firmly believed, that none could be the Ministers of it, but those Persons whom God himself had appointed to perform the Offices of it. *Aristotle* indeed, who threw off Tradition, and founded his Opinions upon what he thought to be the Dictates of right Reason, seems to give every State or Community a Power of appointing their Ministers of Religion, hinting at the same time, that the Citizens of an advanced Age, who were past engaging in laborious Employments for the Service of the Public, were the proper Persons to be appointed to the Sacred Offices (g); but *Plato*, who had a greater Regard to the ancient Customs and Traditions, makes a Divine Designation absolutely necessary for the rightly authorizing any Person to perform the Offices of Religion: He advises the Founders of Cities, if they could find any Priests, who had received their Office from their Fathers, in a long Succession backward, to make use of them; but that if such could not be had, but that some must be created, that they would leave the Choice to the Gods, appointing proper Candidates, and choosing out of them by Lot, such as the Deity should cause the Lot to fall to; and that they should send to the Oracle at *Delphos* to be directed what Rites, Ceremonies and Laws of

(g) Aristot. de Repub. Lib. 7. cap. 9.

Religion they should establish (*b*): This was the ancient universal Sense of all Nations; and we may observe that both *Romulus* and *Numa* took care at least to seem to act according to these Maxims. *Romulus* built his City by Consultation with the *Etruscan Haruspices* (*i*), and upon his appointing new Orders of Priests, he made a Law to devolve the confirming them to the *Vates* or *Augurs*, who were to declare to the People the Will of the Gods about them (*k*): And *Numa* was thought to do nothing but by Inspiration, pretending the Directions of the Goddess *Egeria* for all his Institutions (*l*). The most ancient Priesthood was that which Fathers or Heads of Families exercised in and for their own Families and Kindred: And the Divine Institution of this was what all Nations were so fully convinced of, that the public and established Religions did not supersede it, but left it as they found it; so that tho' private Persons, who were not publickly called to that Office, might not offer Sacrifices on the public Altars, yet each Head of a Family was Priest for his own Family at his private *Focus*, or domestic Altar; and these Private or Family-Priests, I imagine, were the Persons whom *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* speaks of, as having τὰς συγγενικὰς ἱερωσύνας, or a Priesthood over those of the same Lineage

(*b*) Platon. de Legibus, l. 6. p. 360. (i) Plutarch. in Vitâ Romuli.
 (*k*) Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. Lib. 2. c. 12.
 (*l*) Id. ib. c. 60. Plutarch. in Vit. Numæ. Florus, l. 1. c. 3.

with themselves (*m*); and what Reverence and Regard was paid them, may be guessed by the Observation of *Athenæus*, who remarks, that of all Sacrifices those were esteemed the most Sacred, which a Man offered for his own Domestics (*n*); and indeed they might well be so accounted, the Persons that offered them being perhaps the only Persons in the Heathen Nations, who had a just Right to offer any Sacrifices.

As this Sense of Things appears not to have been extinguished even in the Times of *Romulus*, nay even Ages after him; so it is most probable, that Men kept very strict to it in the first Times: And we must not suppose, that at the first erecting Kingdoms and Civil Societies, the several Bodies of Men appointed whom they would to be their Priests: It is more likely, that they thought, as *Plato* the great Master of the ancient Customs and Traditions of all Nations did, that the Priesthood which had descended from Father to Son, was still to be retained (*o*); and accordingly, where Kingdoms were originally planted by but one single Family, the King or Head of that one Family might be the sole public Minister of Religion to all his People; but where Kingdoms were originally peopled by many Fami-

(*m*) Dionys. Antiq. Rom. L. 2. c. 21. (*n*) Ὀσιωτάτη
 γὰρ ἢ θυσιάα θεοῖς καὶ προσφιλεστέρα ἢ διὰ τῶν οἰκείων Athenæus
 Deipnosoph. l. 1. c. 8. (*o*) Ἱερῶν δὲ ἱερέας οἷς μὴ εἶσι
 πάτεραι ἱεροσυνάα μὴ κινεῖν. Plat. de Legibus, lib. 6. p. 860.

ies independant of each other, they might agree to institute, that the Persons who in private Life had been Priests of the several Families of which the Body politic was constituted, should become jointly the national Priests to all the Land: And thus the *Egyptian* Priests might be originally the Heads of the several Families that constituted the Kingdom. That this Conjecture does not err much, if any thing, from the Truth, will appear to any one that considers duely the ancient *Egyptian* Polity: For,

1. They thought their Priests almost equal in Dignity to their Kings; and the Priests had a great Share in the Administration of Affairs; for they continually attended to advise, direct and assist in the weighty Affairs of the Kingdom (*p*).
2. They thought it an irregularity to have any one made their King, who was not one of their Priests; but if it did so happen, as in Length of Time it sometimes did, the Person who was to (*q*) be King was obliged to be first received into the Order of Priests, and then was capable of the Crown.
3. Whenever a Priest died, his Son was made Priest in his Room (*r*). I am sensible, that the very Particulars I have produced, are frequently made use of to hint the great Ascendant, which Priestcraft and Religion gained over King and People in the Land of *Egypt*; but

(*p*) καθόλου γὰρ οὗτοι τῶν μεγίστων ἔτι περὶ κληδόνων συνδιατείβουσι πρὸ βασιλέων, τῶν μὲν σωεργῶν, τῶν δὲ εἰσιγνητῶν καὶ διδάσκαλοι γινόμενοι. Diodor. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 66.

(*q*) Plato in Politico, p. 550. Plutarch. Lib. de Iside & Osiride, p. 254. (*r*) Herodot. lib. 2. c. 37.

no one truly versed in Antiquity can use them to this Purpose: It was not the Priesthood that by Religious Craft raised the Possessors of it in ancient Times to the highest Stations and Dignity; but rather, none but Persons of the highest Stations and Dignity were thought capable of being Priests, and so of consequence the Men of this Order could not but shine with double Lustre: They were as great as the Civil State could make them, before they entered upon Religious Ministrations, for it was reckoned a monstrous Thing to make Priests of the meanest of the People (*f*); and accordingly *Romulus* appointed the Noblest and the Wealthiest of the *Senators* for these Offices (*t*); and *Josephus* was sensible, that this was the universal Practice of all the Heathen Nations, and therefore remarks how equitably the *Jewish* Priesthood was at first founded, that great Wealth and Possessions were not the Requisites to qualify the Persons who were put into it, for their Admission into the Sacred Order (*u*), which he must know to be required in all Heathen Nations, or his Argument had been of little Force. Divine Appointment placed the Priesthood at first in the Head of every Family, and Men did not for many Ages take upon them to make Alterations in this Matter. When *Mizraim* and his Followers sat down in *Egypt*, *Mizraim* was the Priest and Governour of his own Family; and the

(*f*) 1 Kings .xiii. 33. (*t*) Dionys. Halicarnass. l. 2.
 (*u*) Josephus contra Apion. l. 2. p. 1379.

Leading Men that followed him were, by the same Right, each Head of a Family, Priest and Governour of those that belonged to him; and what Coalition could be more easy, or what Civil Government, or Religious *Hierarchy* better grounded, unless they had had a special Direction for their Polity from Heaven, as the *Israelites* afterwards had, than for *Mizraim* and his Followers to agree, that one of them should have the Preidence or Superiority, and that they should all unite to promote Religion, Order and Government amongst their Children and their Descendants? And this was the first Polity in *Egypt*; which if duely considered will give a clear Account of what I observed of the Honour paid to the *Egyptian* Priests. 1. Their Priests were thought almost equal in Dignity to their Kings, and were joined with them in the public Counsels and Administrations: And surely it cannot be thought a great Usurpation for them to claim this Honour: They were, every one, Heads of Families as the King himself was, and subordinate to him only for the Purposes of Civil Life. 2. The Kings were commonly chosen out of the Priests, or if any other Person became King, he was obliged to be admitted into the Priest's Order before he received the Crown; an Appointment not improper, if we consider that, according to this Constitution of the *Egyptian* Government, all but the Priests were by Nature subject to some or other of the Priests, and they only were the Persons who could have a *paternal* Right to govern, and every other

Order

Order of Men in *Egypt* owed to them a filial Duty and Obedience. 3. Whenever a Priest died, his Son was appointed Priest in his Room; *Herodotus* says, ἐπεὶ ἂν τις ἀποθάνῃ τέττο οὕτως ἀνῆκατίζαται (w); not as *Lord Shaftsbury* represents it, that all the Children of the Priests were obliged by Law to follow the Calling of their Fathers; but the [ὁ Πῆρ, not Παιῖδες] not the Sons, but the eldest Son was appointed Priest in his Room; so that they only endeavoured to preserve that Order, which God himself originally appointed, and the Priesthood could not hereby become more numerous, than the original Families that first planted the Land. It is remarkable, that the Service of the Altar would naturally have descended much in this manner amongst the *Israelites*, if God had not thought fit by a new Institution to have the whole Tribe of *Levi* set apart for the Ministry instead of the First-born of their several Families. The *Egyptian* Priesthood thus considered, will not appear so extravagant as some Writers have imagined; nor will the Division of the Land, supposing that even a third Part of it was the Priests, be liable to so much Censure and Odium, as these Authors delight to throw upon it; for the Persons who as Priests seem to have had too much were in Truth the whole Body of the Nobility of the Land, and the *Egyptian* Polity was really this and no other: The King had a third Part of the Land for his Share as King, to en-

(w) Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 37.

able him to defray his public Expences without Tax or Burthen to his Subjects: The Nobility or Heads of the several Families had a third Part, and they were to furnish all the Expences for Religion, and to perform all the Offices of it, without any Charge to the People: The common Subjects had the remaining third Part not encumbered, with either any Tax to the King, or Expence upon Account of Religion: And I imagine that the Commons or *Plebeians* have in few Kingdoms had a larger Property in Land, than this is.

The *Asiatic* Priesthoods are in general said to have had a very exorbitant Power over the State. I wish the Authors of this Opinion were particular in pointing out the Times and Places when and where. I cannot apprehend, that the Religious Orders had so overbearing a Power or Influence or Interest at *Babylon* in the Time of *Nebuchadnezzar*, when he threatened to cut them all in Pieces, and to make their Houses a Dung-hill (*x*), and gave Orders to destroy them all, for their not answering him in a Point, in which it was impossible they should answer him (*y*); for as *Daniel* observed, *the Secret was not revealed to Him for any Wisdom, that he had more than any Living* (*z*); and he remarked, that the wise Men of *Babylon* could not possibly discover it (*a*). A fair and just Representation of the ancient Heathen Religions, would shew that it was not Priestcraft

(*x*) Dan. ii. 5. (*y*) Ver. 10, 11, 27, 28, 30. (*z*) Ver. 30.
 (*a*) Ver. 27.

that

that ruled the Heathen World ; but that Kings and great Men having had originally in their Hands the Offices of Religion, turned the whole into State-Policy, and made it a mere Art to govern their Kingdoms by, and to carry forward their Designs: These were *Plutarch's* Thoughts upon this Subject, when he imagined all the Arts of Divination from Dreams, Prodiges, Omens, &c. to be of Service [not to the Religious Orders, but] to States-men, in order to their (*b*) managing the Populace, as the public Affairs should require: And to this Use Kings and Rulers did in these Times put all their Power and Presidency in the Offices of Religion, until they had vitiated and corrupted every Part and Branch of it. It is indeed true that God in the first Ages made so many Revelations of his Will to particular Persons, and might, one would think, have check'd the Career of Idolatry and Superstition ; but we do not find, that the Rulers of Nations were often willing to allow an Order of Prophets in their Kingdoms to be employed purely to find out and publish to them the Will of Heaven any further than their Political Views might be served by it: When *Balak* the Son of *Zippor* sent for *Balaam*, the Employment he had for him was to curse the *Israelites*, in order to

(*b*) Ὀνόματα καὶ γένηματα, καὶ τοιοῦτον ἄλλον ὄρει—
 ὁ πολιτικοῖς ἢ ἀνδράσι, καὶ πρὸς αὐθάδη καὶ ἀκόλαστον
 χλον ἠναγκασμένοις ζῆν ἢ ἀχρηστον ἴσως ὄρει, ὡς περὶ ἐπι-
 λινθὸν τὴν δεσποδαιμονίας πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἀντιστάσαι ἢ
 τασῆσαι τοὺς πολλούς. *Plutarch. lib. de Genio Socratis, p. 56.*

out Life and Courage into his People, whose spirits were sunk by the Conquests which *Israel* had obtained over the *Amorites* (c); and we see in him an early Instance what an Estimate the Heathen Kings had formed of Prophets and their Inspiration: When *Balak* thought that *Balaam* might have been won to serve his Purpose, then he complimented him, with pretending to believe, that *He, whom he blessed, was blessed, and he whom he cursed, was cursed* (d); but when *Balaam* did not answer his Expectation, he paid no Regard to him, but dismissed him in Anger; *Therefore now flee thou to thy Place: I thought to promote thee to great Honour, but lo, the Lord hath kept thee back from Honour* (e). Thus their Priests or Prophets were promoted to very great Honours, if they could serve political Views and Designs; but if they really would not go beyond the Commandment of the Lord, to do either good or bad of their own Mind; but what the Lord said, that they would speak (f); then they were neglected, and *Anti-prophets, Magicians, Chaldeans*, or other *Artificers* were opposed to them, to take off all Impressions they might make upon the People, contrary to the public Views and Interest: Thus the *Magicians* of *Egypt* were employed against *Moses*, when *Pharaoh* was not willing to part with so great a Number of Slaves as the *Israelites*. And by these means, Religion and the Offices of it were much per-

(c) Numb. xxii. 3, 4, 5. (d) Ver. 6. (e) Chap. xxiv. ver. 10, 11. (f) Ver. 13.

verted,

verted, before the Time that God thought fit to make a Change in the Priesthood, and to have a particular Order of Men set apart for the Service of the Altar (g). In the later Ages, the Heathen Nations copied after this Pattern, and Temples were built, and Orders of Priests appointed for the Service in them in every Country; and the annual Revenues settled, together with the numerous Presents of Votaries, raised immense Wealth to the Religious Orders; but I do not apprehend, that the Affairs of Kingdoms were made subject to their Arbitrament and Disposal, or that Kings and States-men in the later Times of the Heathen Superstitions paid more Deference or Regard to them, than what they thought was requisite for the Public Good.

It has indeed been thought in all Ages, to be both the Duty and Interest of Magistrates to establish the Worship of a Deity among their People. And it is certainly their Duty to do it as Men, who are bound to promote the Glory of God; and there is more Soundness of Words than Force of Argument in the Presence of some Writers, That the Magistrate, *as Magistrate*, has nothing to do in this matter; for if it be undeniably certain, that every Man is obliged to promote the Glory of God, it will follow, that the Magistrate is not exempted; but moves in a Station of greater Influence, and has therefore Ability to perform this, which is a Duty universally incumbent.

(g) Exodus xxviii. Numbers iii.

upon all Men, in a more effectual manner. If these Writers would gain their Point, they must prove, that the being a Magistrate cancels that Duty, which the Magistrate, *as a Man*, owes to God, and which is part of his reasonable Service of the Deity; and which he is indispensably obliged to perform in the best manner he can, only taking a due Care, that his Zeal for his Duty does not lead him into unjust or wicked Measures about it: But it is the Interest of the Magistrate to establish Religion; for it is the surest way to obtain the Protection of God's Providence (*b*), without which no wise and prudent Writer ever reputed the public Affairs of Kingdoms to be in a safe and flourishing Condition: And it is the only, or by far the best way to cultivate those moral Principles of Duty amongst a People, without which no Community can be either happy or

(*b*) 1 Sam. ii. 30. Ταῦτά τε δὴ τῶ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαμῶν, καὶ πρὸς τέτοις ἂ μὲλλον λέγειν, ὅτι τῶ καλῶς οἰκείῳ τὰς πόλεις αἰτίας ὑπολαβῶν, ἃς θρυλλῶσι μὲ ἀπαίτες οἱ πολιτικοὶ, κατασκιάζουσι δ' ὀλίγοι πρώτῳ μὲ ὡρῶν τῶ θεῶν νομοίαι, ἧς παρέσθαι ἀπάντα τοῖς ἄνθρώποις ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω συμφέρε. Dionys. Halicarn. Antiquit. Rom. l. 2. c. 18. —

Deiis Deabusque immortalibus, quorum ope & auxilio, multo magis hæc Respublica, quàm ratione hominum & consilio gubernatur. Cicero Orat. pro C. Rabirio. Etenim quis est tam vecors, qui — cum Deos esse intellexerit, non intelligat eorum Numine hoc tantum Imperium esse natum & auctum, & retentum? Quàm volumus licet, P. C. ipsi nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec Artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus Gentis ac Terræ domestico patrioque sensu Italos ipsos ac Latinos, sed Pietate ac Religione, atque hac unâ Sapientiâ, quòd Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes Gentes nationesque superavimus. Cicero Orat. de Haruspicum Responsis.

secure (i): Thus *Tully* thought upon this Subject, concluding the Happiness of a Community to be founded upon Religion, and very judiciously querying whether [*Pi-etate adversus Deos sublatâ*] if a general neglect of Religion were introduced, a Looseness of Principle destructive of all Society would not quickly follow, an Evil which if the Magistrate does not prevent, he can do nothing very effectual to the public Welfare. This all the Heathen Magistrates have ever been apprized of; and therefore never were so wild as to attempt to discharge themselves of the Care of it: Their only Fault was, that their Care of it was too political: When they themselves were the Ministers of Religion, they set up their Fancies instead of Religion, as their Speculations led them, or their Interests directed; and afterwards, when they appointed other Persons to the Administrations, they so managed as to have them at their Direction for the same Purposes; as will appear to any one, that will fairly examine this Subject.

There should be something said, before I close this Book, about the Right which female Heirs may be supposed to have been thought by these Ancients to have to Crowns and Kingdoms. *Semiramis* was the first Queen that we read of in any Nation, and *Jupiter* supposes her to have obtained the Crown

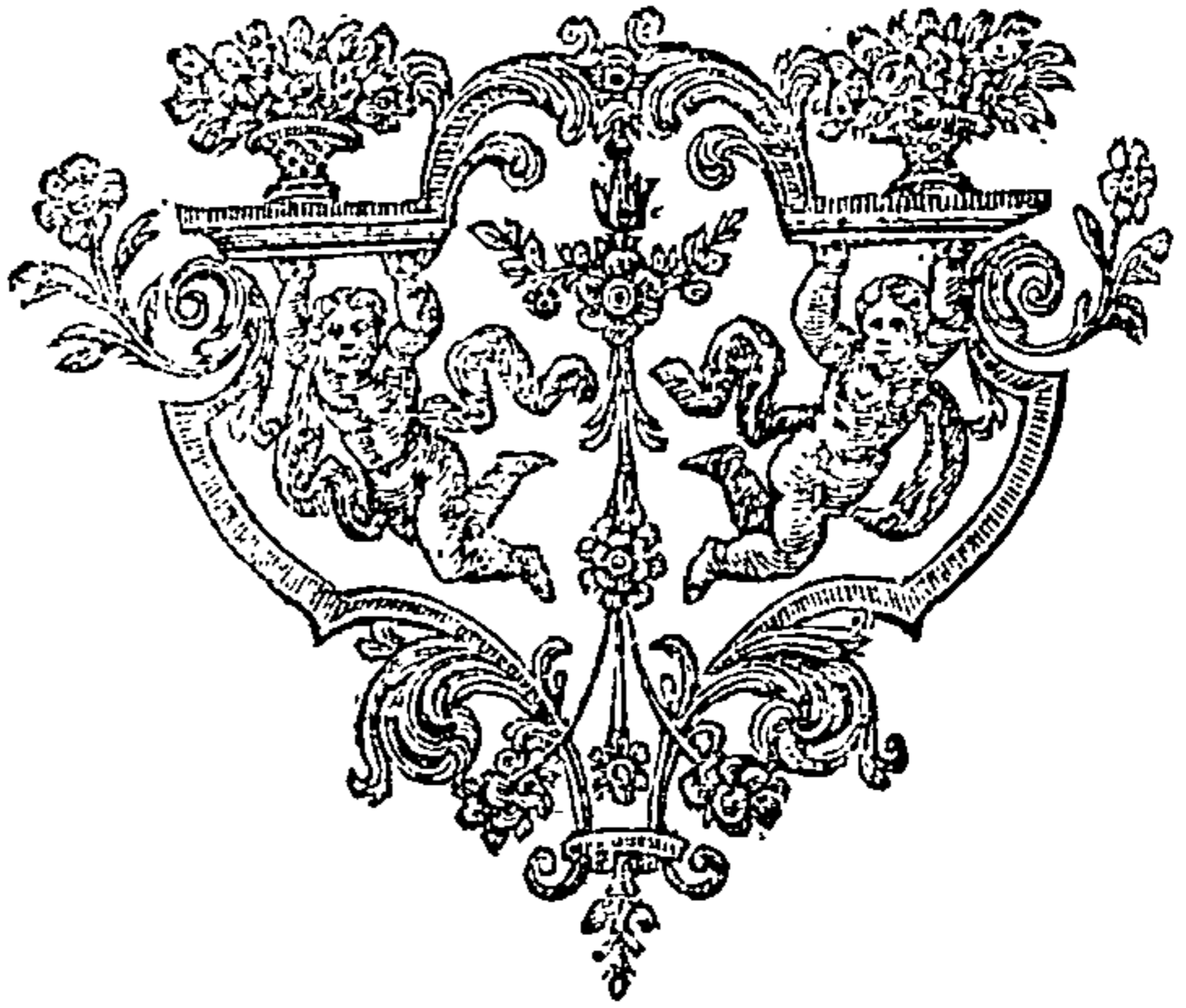
(i) Cic. de Nat. D:orum, lib. 1. c. 2. & in al. loc. innum.

a Deceit upon her People, by her being mistaken for her Son *Ninyas* (*k*); but *Diodorus* gives a much better and more probable Account of her Advancement: He says, that *Ninus* appointed her to be Queen at his Death (*l*). It is indeed true, that the original Constitutions of some Kingdoms, if they were founded upon the *Maxims*, which I have supposed, do not seem to admit of any Female Governours: Thus in *Egypt* they did not think of having Queens, at the forming their first Settlement; and for that Reason in order to make a Way for them, there was a Law made when *Binothis* was King of *This* (*m*), *i. e.* about *A. M.* 2232, that they should not be excluded. In Nations, where Civil Government began from Despotic Authority, Queens may be supposed to have succeeded naturally upon Defect of Male Heirs; and they have been commonly excluded in elective Kingdoms. Two Things are remarkable: 1. That in the ancient Times whenever Queens reigned, they presided in Religion, and were Priestesses to their People, as Kings were Priests; and thus *Dido* in *Virgil* (*n*), made the Libation at the Entertainment of *Æneas* and his Companions, as the Kings of *Greece* in *Homer* did upon like Occasions. 2. The Divine Providence has generally distinguished the Reigns of Queens, with

(*k*) Justin. lib. 1. c. 2. (*l*) Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. (*m*) Syncellus,

P. 54. (*n*) *Æneid.* 1. ver. 740.

uncommon Glory to themselves, and Happiness to their People, of which both our own, and the History of other Nations afford almost as many Instances, as there have been Queens upon their Thrones.





The SACRED and PROPHANE

HISTORY

Of the WORLD Connected.

BOOK VII.

ISAAC, after *Abraham* was buried, continued to live where his Father left him: *Rebekah* for some Years had no Children: About twenty Years after her Marriage with *Isaac*, A. M. 2168, she had two Sons, *Esau* and *Jacob* (a). The two Children grew up to Men; were of a very different Genius and Temper; *Jacob* was very studious and much versed in religious Contemplations; *Esau* had

(a) Gen. xxv. 24. *Isaac* was forty Years old when he married, and he was sixty when *Jacob* and *Esau* were born. ver. 26.

but little Thought or Care about them. *Jacob*, upon seeing *Esau* in some Absence of his Father officiate at the Sacrifice, was very desirous to obtain himself an Employment, which he thought so honorable; *Esau* on the other hand had no value at all for it; and so they bargained together, and for a small Refreshment *Esau* sold *Jacob* all his Right and Title to it (b). *Esau* is for this Action called the *prophane Esau* (c), because he despised his *Birth-right*, by parting with it for a trifling Consideration. Some Writers imagine, that the *Birth-right* which *Esau* here sold, was his Right to be the Heir of his Father's Substance: If this were true, and he sold that only, he might indeed be called a foolish and inconsiderate Person to make so unwise a Bargain; but why *Prophane*? It is evident, that this could not be the Fact; for when *Isaac* died, and *Esau* came from *Mount Seir*, where he lived (d), to join with *Jacob*, assisting at his Father's Funeral; at his going away from his Brother, he carried with him not only his Wives and his Sons and his Daughters and his Cattle, and all his Beasts; but besides all these, all his Substance which he had gotten in the Land of *Canaan* (e): *Esau* had no Substance in the Land of *Canaan* of his own getting; for he lived at *Seir* in the Land of *Edom*, beyond the Borders of *Canaan*; the Substance therefore which was gotten in the Land of *Canaan*, must be the Substance which *Isaac*

(b) Gen. xxv. 33.
(e) Gen. xxxvi. 6.

(c) Heb. xii. 16.

(d) Gen. xxxiii. 1.

died possessed of, and which as Heir *Esau* took along with him; so that after his Birth-right was sold, he was still Heir to his Father's Substance, and as Heir had it deliver'd to him, and therefore his Right to this was not what *Jacob* had bought of him. Others think, that the Birth-right was the Blessing promised to the Seed of *Abraham*; and the Words of the Writer of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* seem very much to favour this Opinion: (*f*) *Lest there be any Fornicator or prophane Person as Esau, who for one morsel of Meat sold his Birth-right; for ye know how that afterwards, when he would have inherited the Blessing, he was rejected; for he found no Place of Repentance, though he sought it carefully with Tears.* In these Words, the not inheriting *the Blessing* seems to be connected with his having sold his Birth-right, as if having parted with the one, he could not possibly obtain the other; but I am in great Doubt, whether this be the true Meaning of these Words. *Esau* himself, when he had sold his Birth-right, did not imagine that he had sold his Right to the Blessing along with it; for when his Father told him, that his Brother had come with Subtilty, and taken away his Blessing (*g*), *Esau* answered, *Is he not rightly named Jacob? for he hath supplanted me these two times; he took away my Birth-right, and behold now he hath taken away my Blessing: If Esau had apprehended the Blessing and the Birth-right to have been inseparable, having*

(*f*) Hebrews xii. 16, 17.

(*g*) Gen. xxvii. 35, 36.

fold the one, he would not have expected or pretended to the other; but he makes the getting from him the Blessing a second Hardship put upon him, distinct from, and independent of the former. *St. Paul*, I think, represents the Case of *Esau* in the loss of the Blessing in the same manner (b); he does not suppose it owing to any thing that *Esau* had done (i), but represents it as a design of God, determined before *Jacob* and *Esau* were born (k); and a Design determined purely by the Goodwill and Pleasure of God, without any View to, or Regard of any thing, that *Jacob* or *Esau* should do (l): God made the Promise at first to *Abraham*, not to *Lot*, and afterwards determined, that *Abraham's* Seed should be called in *Isaac*, not in *Ismael*; and in the next Generation in *Jacob*, not in *Esau*; and afterwards he divided the Blessing amongst the Sons of *Jacob*. The *Messiah* was to be born of *Judah*, and each of them in their Posterity had a Share of the Land of *Canaan*. The Author of the Book of *Ecclesiasticus* sets this Matter in the clearest Light, by distinguishing the Blessing into two Parts; one he calls the *Blessing of all Men*, alluding to the Promise made to *Abraham*, that in his Seed all the Nations of the Earth should be blessed; the other he calls the *Covenant*, intimating hereby the Covenant made with him about the Land of *Canaan*; and both these Parts of the Blessing were given to *Isaac*, for *Abraham's* sake: With

(b) Rom. ix.

(i) Ver. 11:

(k) Ibid.

(l) Ibid.

Isaac did he establish likewise, for Abraham his Father's sake, the Blessing of all Men, and the Covenant (m). and he made it rest upon the Head of Jacob. He gave the whole Blessing intire to Jacob also, but afterwards amongst the twelve Tribes did he part them (n). When the Blessing came to descend to Jacob's Children, it did not go intire according to Birth-right, nor to any one Person, who had deserved it better than all the rest; but as God at first made the Promise and Covenant to Abraham, not to Lot, and gave the Title to it afterwards to Isaac, not to Ishmael, then to Jacob not to Esau; so in the next Generation, He conveyed it intire to no one single Person, but divided it, and gave the Blessing of all Men to Judah, who was Jacob's fourth Son, and parted the Covenant about Canaan amongst all of them, giving to Joseph in his two Sons Ephraim and Manasseh two Parts of it.

There is a Passage in the Book of Chronicles, which may seem to contradict the Account I am endeavouring to give of Jacob's or Esau's Birth-right. The Sons of Reuben the first-born of Israel; for he was (says the Historian) the first-born, but forasmuch as he defiled his Father's Bed, his Birth-right was given unto the Sons of Joseph, and the Genealogy is not to be reckoned

(m) Ecclesiasticus xlv. 22, 23.

(n) The Words are,

διέσπειρε μερίδας αὐτῆς, ἐν οὐλαῖς ἐμείρισεν δεκάδ' αὐτῆς. i. e. He separated the Parts of it [i. e. of the Blessing]. He parted them amongst the twelve Tribes. Abraham is represented in Gen. xii. to have received only a Promise of the Blessing of all Men, but God is said to make a Covenant with him to give him Canaan, Gen. xv. 18.

after

after the Birth-right; for Judah prevailed above his Brethren, and of him came the chief Ruler, but the Birth-right was Joseph's (o). In this Passage the inspired Writer may be thought to hint, that there was a Birth-right to be observed in the Division of Canaan; and that when God ordered the Blessing to be parted, he had a Respect to such Birth-right in the Division of it; tho' he did not think fit to give it to a Person, who by his Demerits had forfeited it; and it may be asked, if Jacob's Children had a Birth-right in this Matter, why should we suppose that Isaac's had not? To this I answer: The Passage I have mentioned does not in the least refer to any Birth-right, which was esteemed to be such in the Days of Jacob and Esau. For, 1. If the Inheritance of the Father's Estate was at that time Part of the Birth-right, yet it is evident, that it was not so in the Proportion here mentioned: For not a double Portion only did peculiarly belong to the eldest Son in these Times, but the whole. Thus Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac, but unto the Children, which he had by Keturah, his second Wife, he gave Gifts and sent them away Eastward, while he yet lived, from Isaac his Son. If therefore the Inheritance of Canaan had been given according to the Birth-right in these Days, one of Jacob's Sons should have had the whole, and all the rest have been sent to live in some other Country. 2. The Right of the first-born was settled upon

(o) 1 Chron. v. 1, 2.

another Foot by the Law of *Moses*: The Priesthood was separated from it, and settled upon the Tribe of *Levi*, and a double Portion of the Father's Estate and Substance declared to belong to (*p*) the first-born. 3. *Eſau*, when he ſold his Birth-right, did not ſell his Right of inheriting his Father's Substance, for he had that Inheritance at his Father's Death. 4. *Jacob* had prophesied (*q*) that *Joſeph* ſhould have one Portion of the Land of *Canaan* above his Brethren, but does not any where hint any one of his Sons to have a Birth-right to any one Part of it more than the reſt; nor can we ſay, but that as the whole Bleſſing was made to reſt upon the Head of *Jacob*, without *Eſau*'s having any Part of it, ſo it might likewise have deſcended to any one of *Jacob*'s Sons, and it could have deſcended to but one of them, if it had been a Birth-right, and had not by the Good-will and Pleaſure of God been deſigned to be parted amongſt the twelve Tribes, to every one ſuch a Portion of it, as God was pleaſed to appoint, and that Part of it which contained *the Bleſſing of all Men* to *Judah* only. For theſe Reaſons I conclude, 5. That the Author of the Book of *Chronicles*, writing after that the Law of *Moses* had altered the Priesthood, and appointed two Portions of the Inheritance to the eldeſt Son, remarks *Joſeph* to have had the Birth-right given to him, meaning to refer to what was then called the Birth-

(*p*) Exod. xxviii. Numb. iii. 6—12. Deut. xxi. 17.

(*q*) Gen. xlviii. 22.

right,

right, but not to what was the Birth-right in *Jacob* and *Eſau's* Days, which was long *prior* to and very different from this Eſtabliſhment.

The *Jews*, at the time that the Apoſtles preached the Goſpel, ſeem to have been of Opinion that the whole Body of their Nation had a Birth-right and unalienable Title to the Bleſſings of the *Meſſiah*: This was *the hope of the Promise made of God unto their Fathers, unto which Promise their twelve Tribes inſtantly ſerving God Day and Night hoped to come* (r). After the Bleſſing, which had been made to reſt upon the Head of *Jacob*, had been parted amongſt the twelve Tribes, they apprehended that this was to be the laſt Diſtribution of it, and that the whole *Jewiſh* Nation, or twelve Tribes jointly as a People, were to enjoy the Bleſſing for ever; but *St. Paul* endeavours in ſeveral Places to correct this Miſtake, and argues very clearly, that the Bleſſing was never appointed to deſcend according to Birth-right or Inheritance; for that, not the *Children of the Fleſh*, but the *Children of the Promise* are to be counted for the Seed of *Abraham*, who have a Title to it, *i. e.* not thoſe, who by natural Deſcent may ſeem to have a Right, but thoſe to whom God by ſpecial Deſign and Promise had directed it (s). And this he proves by Inſtance from *Jacob* and *Eſau*, that, when *Rebekah* had conceived them, *before the Children were born, or had done good or evil*, that it might not be ſaid to be owing to any thing

(r) Acts xxvi. 7.

(s) Rom. ix. 8.

they had done, but to the mere Determination of God's Good-will and Pleasure, it was said unto her, *That the elder should serve the younger* (t): Thus *Esau* was the Son, who by Descent might seem to have the Right, but *Jacob* had it by Promise. In the same manner, when *Christ* the promised Seed of *Abraham* was come, the twelve Tribes thought themselves to be Heirs of the Blessings to be received from him; but in this they erred, not rightly understanding the Promise. He was to be the *Blessing of all Men*, or according to the Words of the Promise, in him *all the Families of the Earth* (u), or *all the Nations of the Earth* were to be *blessed* (w). And in order to this, God had determined *to call them his People which were not his People, and her beloved which was not beloved* (x), and to receive the *Gentiles* into the Blessings of the Promise. Nor could the *Jews* justly say, because the greatest Part of their Nation was rejected, that therefore the Promise to *Abraham* was broken, or had *taken none Effect*: For they are not all *Israel* which are of *Israel*, neither because they are the Seed of *Abraham* are they all *Children* (y); but as *Esau* received not the Blessing, tho' he was the Son of *Isaac*, so the *Jews* who fell short thro' Unbelief were rejected, and yet the Promise was made good to the Sons of *Abraham*, because a Remnant was received (z), and some of them

(t) Rom. ix. 12.
xxii. 18. xxvi. 4.
(z) Ver. 27.

(u) Gen. xii. 3. xviii. 18.
(x) Rom. ix. 25.

(w) Gen.
(y) Ver. 6, 7.

with the *Gentiles* made Partakers of it. God having not promised that all *Abraham's* Sons should be his Children, but only such of them as he should think fit to chuse. I think if the whole of what I have offered be duly considered, it will appear that the Blessing never was annexed to the Birth-right at all, nor did it ever descend as the Birth-right did; but was always disposed of, either in the Whole or in Part, just as it pleased God to think fit to dispose of it of his own Good-will and Pleasure. *Esau* by being eldest Son had the Birth-right, but he never had any Title to *the Blessing*; for before he was born, God was pleased to declare that it should belong to *Jacob* (a); and therefore *Esau* in selling his Birth-right, does not seem to have parted with any Right to the Blessing, for they were two different and distinct things. *Esau's* Birth-right therefore must be his Right of being Priest or Sacrificer for his Brethren; and he is justly termed *Profane* for selling it, because he hereby shew'd himself not to have a due Value and Esteem for a religious Employment, which belonged to him.

There was a Famine about this Time in the Land of *Canaan*, where *Isaac* sojourned, and he removed on Account of it, as his Father had done, and went into the Land of the *Philistines*, and lived at *Gerar* (b). Here he denied his Wife, pretending her to be his Sister, as *Abraham* did formerly; but the King of the

(a) Gen. xxv. 23. Rom. ix. 11, 12.

(b) Gen. xxvi.
Country

Country accidentally seeing some Familiarities pass between them, sharply reprov'd him; apprized his Subjects that she was his Wife, and declared that he would punish any Man with Death, that should offer Violence to either of them. *Isaac* continued for some Years in the Land of the *Philistines*, sowing some Fields, and reaping prodigious Crops from his Tillage. He was very prosperous in all his Undertakings, and increased his Stock and grew very great, until the *Philistines* envied him, and endeavoured to quarrel with him, and applied to the King to have him banished their Land. *Abimelech* hereupon ordered *Isaac* to go from them; for, said he, *thou art much mightier than we* (c): *Abimelech* could not mean by these Words, that *Isaac* was really more potent than the whole *Philistian* People; for we cannot imagine that possible: He might have as large a Family, and as numerous an Attendance as the King of *Philistia* himself had, and might therefore, if he had a mind, have been able to disturb his Government. But the Words of *Abimelech* above-mentioned do not suggest even this to us; for our *English* Translation of this Passage is very faulty, the *Hebrew* Words are [*cignatzampta mimmennu*] not because *thou art mightier than we*, but because *thou art increased or multiplied from or by us*, thou hast got a great deal from us, or by us, and we do not care to let thee get any more. The Case was, not that the *Philistines* feared

(c) Ibid. Ver. 16.

him, but they *envied* him (*d*); they grudged that he should get so much amongst them, and were therefore desirous to check him. *Abimelech* ordered *Isaac* to leave *Gerar*, upon which he departed, and pitched his Tent in the Valley of *Gerar*, and dwelt there (*e*). After *Isaac* was removed from *Gerar*, the *Philistines* thought him too well accommodated whilst he lived in the Valley, and their Envy and Malice still pursued him. The Herdsmen of *Gerar* quarrelled with *Isaac's* Herdsmen, took away their Wells, and put them to many Inconveniences; so that *Isaac*, quite tired with their repeated Insults, removed farther from them, and went and lived in the most remote Part of their Country towards *Egypt*, at *Beer-sheba* (*f*): Here he hoped to find a Place of Peace and Quiet. He built an Altar, and implored the Divine Favour and Protection, and had the Comfort to be assured, that he and his should be defended from all future Evils: And soon after he was settled here, *Abimelech*, sensible of the ill Usage he had met with from his People, and reflecting upon the extraordinary manner in which God had blessed him, and considering that perhaps in time he might revenge the Injuries they had done him, came with his Officers, and made an Alliance with him (*g*). *Esau* was about forty Years old, and had married two *Hittite* Women, very much to the Affliction of his Parents (*h*). The

(*d*) Gen. xxvi. 14.
 (*g*) Ver. 26 — 30.

(*e*) Ver. 17.
 (*h*) Ver. 34, 35.

(*f*) Ver. 17.

Hittites bordered upon the *Philistines* near to *Gerar*, so that *Esau* most probably married whilst his Father sojourned there. *Esau* was forty Years old, *A. M.* 2208, and therefore about that time *Isaac* lived at *Gerar*.

About nineteen Years after this died *Syphis* the first of that Name, a very famous King of *Egypt*. He was the tenth King of *Memphis*, after *Menes* or *Mizraim*, according to Sir *John Marsham's* Tables, who supposes him to begin his Reign about two hundred and twenty-two Years after the Death of *Mizraim*, who died, according to what I have formerly offered, *A. M.* 1943 (i), and therefore *Syphis* began his Reign *A. M.* 2164. *Syphis*, according to Sir *John Marsham* from *Manetho*, reign'd sixty-three Years, and therefore died *A. M.* 2227, and upon this Computation I have supposed *Syphis* to begin his Reign about eighty Years after *Abraham's* coming into *Egypt*, and to dye above forty Years after *Abraham* (k); for *Abraham* came into *Egypt* *A. M.* 2085 or 2086 (l), and died *A. M.* 2183 (m). *Syphis* was the first of the *Egyptians* who speculated upon religious Subjects (n). According to *Damascenus* in *Eusebius*, *Abraham* and the *Egyptian* Priests had many Disputes and Conferences about Religion (o). It may be asked, what Disputes could they have upon this Subject, if the *Egyptians* were not at this Time become Idola-

(i) Vol. I. B. 4.

(k) Vol. I. B. 5.

(l) Vol. I. B. 5.

P. 275.

(m) See Book 6.

(n) Marsham Can. Chron.

(o) Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 18.

ters, as I apprehend they were not (p)? To this I answer: The Religion of *Abraham*, as it differed from that of *Noah* and his Descendants in some Points, which depended upon special Revelations made to *Abraham*, must lay a Foundation for his having Conferences and Disputes with the Professors of Religion in all Countries into which he travelled. They knew nothing of the Promise made to him, *that in his Seed all the Nations of the Earth should be blessed*, nor were they apprized, that they ought to worship him whom *Abraham* worshipped, namely, *the Lord, who appeared to him* (q); and agreeably hereto we find an Expression in the Accounts we have of the Worship of *Abraham* and his Descendants, which we do not meet with any where in the Worship of *Lot*, of *Job*, or of any other Person, who had not received those Revelations, which had been made to *Abraham*, and to his Children. [*Fikra be Shem Jehovah*] not called upon the Name of the Lord, as we falsely translate the Place (r) but invoked i. e. God, in the Name of the Lord, whom he worshipped, and who appeared to him. And this Person I take to be the God, whom *Jacob* prayed to (s), and whom he resolved to worship, when he vowed that *the Lord should be his God*; by which Expression may be meant, not that *the true God* should be his God in opposition to *false Gods*, for that had been no very remarkable Reso-

(p) See Vol. I. B. 5.
vended in our English Version.

(q) Gen. xii. 7.

(r) Ver. 8. &

(s) Gen. xxviii. 21.

lution; no wise Man ever worshipping false Gods, that really knows them to be such; but the *Lord, who appeared to Abraham*, was to be his God, in Distinction from those who worshipped *the true God of Heaven*, without any Notion of *this Lord* at all. In the same manner we find, that this Person was worshipped by *Isaac*, and he is sometimes called *the Fear of Isaac*, and sometimes *the God of Abraham*, and *God of Isaac*; (t) and *Isaac* invoked God as *Abraham* did, in the Name of this Lord (u). The several Expressions denoting the Worship which different Persons paid the Deity, are very remarkable in the old Testament. Many Persons are said *Kara Jehovah* to invoke God, or *Kara el Jehovah*, to cry unto God; or their Worship is described in Expressions of much the same Import; but (w) *Kara be-shem Jehovah* is never used in a religious Sense, but of *Abraham* and his Descendants, who invoked in the Name of the true Mediator. This was the Difference between their Religion, and that of the rest of Mankind. Other Nations, before Idolatry was introduced, worshipped the true God, but not *be Shem Jehovah*, in the Name of the *Lord, who had appeared to Abraham*. And this I take to be the Point, which *Abraham* disputed with the *Egyptian* Priests, whether God was to be worshipped, as they

(t) Gen. xxxi. 42, 53. & in al. loc.

(u) Gen. xxvi. 25.

(w) The Expression *Kara be Shem* is used Gen. iv. but from the Persons there spoken of being called by the Name of the Sons of God, Gen. vi. I imagine the Words in that Place to signify to call by the Name. See Vol. I. B. 1.

worshipped him, or whether he was to be invoked in the Name of *Abraham's* God and Lord. *Damasceus* remarks (x) that the *Egyptians* admired *Abraham* as a very great Genius, able to convince and persuade Men into his Opinions; and we find from Scripture, that the Eminence both of *Abraham* and his Descendants made great Impressions upon all Nations they conversed with. The King of *Sychem* acknowledged *Abraham* to be an eminent Servant of the most high God (y); *Abimelech* was convinced, that God was with him in all he did (z). And the same Confession was made of *Isaac* in the same Country (a); and *Abraham's* Conversation raised him a great Character and Reputation in *Egypt*. For after he was gone from thence, the *Egyptians* copied after him in the Point of Circumcision, and introduced human Sacrifices, and imitated many Rites which they heard that he practised in his Religion; but it does not appear, that he intirely persuaded them to acknowledge his God to be their God. *Syphis*, a King of the next adjacent Country to that in which *Abraham* had sojourned, in a little time turned their Thoughts quite another way: He took up the Subjects, which *Abraham* had been famous for, and wrote a Book about Religion, which carried away his own People and the neighbouring Nations into Idolatry (b). And probably

(x) Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 18.

(y) Gen. xiv. 19.

(z) Gen. xxi. 22.

(a) Gen. xxvi. 28.

(b) Marsham.

Can. Chron. p. 54.

he did not oppose the Doctrine of *Abraham*, that God was to be invoked in the Name of a *Mediator*, but he set up *false Mediators* instead of the true one. For I conclude from the manner of the worshipping *Baal* in *Elijah's* time (c), that Men did not at first wander away from the true God, but they set up *Lords many*, or *false Mediators*, in whose Names they worshipped, and in time they went further, and lost all Notion of the true God. *Syphis*, instead of teaching to invoke God in the Name of *the Lord, who appeared to Abraham*, set up the Worship of the Sun, Moon and Stars, and taught the *Egyptians* to invoke in their Names; so that they had not *one God*, and *one Lord*, which was the ancient true Religion, but *one God*, and *Lords many*, and in time they had *Gods many* too. *Baal* was a *false Lord* of this sort, and the Worshippers of *Baal* invoked in his Name. *Elijah* called upon *the God of Abraham, Isaac, and of Israel* (d), invoking God in or by his Name (e). The Worshippers of *Baal*, in opposition to him, invoked in the Name of *Baal*, [*Fikreau be Shem ha Baal*] they called or invoked, not upon the Name, for the Words are not to be so translated, but *by, or in the Name of Baal*. If *Syphis* was the Builder of the largest *Egyptian* Pyramid, which, according to the best Accounts we have of it, is so large at the Bottom as to cover above eleven Acres of Ground, and

(c) 1 Kings xviii.
& 32.

(d) 1 Kings xviii. 36.

(e) Ver. 24

five hundred Feet high, and *Manetho* expressly says (*f*) that he built it; he must have been a Prince of great Figure in the Age he lived in; and no wonder if his own and the neighbour Nations embraced his Religious Institutions.

About the Times of this *Syphis*, or rather something later, lived *Job* the *Arabian*: The LXX in their Translation say that he lived in all 240 or 248 Years (*g*): If he did really live so long, we ought to suppose him earlier than *Syphis*; nay, much earlier than *Abraham*, for the Lives of Mankind were so much shortned ere the Days of *Abraham*, that tho' He lived but 175 Years (*h*), yet he is said to have *died in a good old Age, an old Man and full of Years* (*i*). *Peleg*, who was five Generations before *Abraham*, lived 239 Years (*k*). *Reu* the Son of *Peleg* lived as many (*l*). *Serug* the Son of *Reu* lived 230 (*m*); but the Lives of their Descendants were not so long: *Nabor* the Grandfather of *Abraham* lived but 148 Years (*n*). *Terah*, *Abraham's* Father, lived 205 (*o*). *Abraham* lived 175, *Isaac* lived 180 (*p*), and the Lives of their Children were shorter: If therefore *Job* lived 240 or 248 Years, he must have been cotemporary with *Peleg*, *Reu* or *Serug*; for Men's Lives were not extended to so great a Length after *their* Days. The LXX have some remarkable Additions to the Book of

(*f*) Euseb. Chron. (*g*) See cap. ult. lib. Job. Vers. LXX.
 Ver. 16. (*h*) Gen. xxv. 7. (*i*) Ver. 8 (*k*) Gen. xi.
 18, 19. (*l*) Ver. 20, 21. (*m*) Ver. 22, 23. (*n*) Ver.
 24, 25. (*o*) Ver. 32. (*p*) Chap. xxxv. 28.

Job, which are not found in the *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Syriac* or *Arabic* Copies, and this Account of the Length of *Job's* Life is one of them; but this is in no wise reconcileable with what follows, and is said to have been translated from the *Syriac* Version, namely that *Job's* original Name was *Jobab*, that his Father's Name was *Zare* of the Children of *E-sau*; that he was the fifth in Descent from *Abraham*; that he was the second King of *Edom*, next after *Bela* the Son of *Beor*: This Account will place *Job* even later than *Moses*; for *Bela* the first King of *Edom* was *Moses's* contemporary, and if we place him thus late, he could not live 240 Years: Men lived in *Moses's* Time about 130: But this Account is not consistent with itself; for if *Job* was the fifth in Descent from *Abraham*, he must be prior to *Moses*, *Moses* being seven Descents later than *Abraham* (q): These Additions which we now find in the last Chapter of the LXX Version of the Book of *Job*, will therefore so ill bear a strict Examination, that I cannot think the *Translators* themselves did at first put them there; but rather that they were the Work of some later Hand, added by some Transcriber, who thought *Jobab* (mentioned *Gen.* xxxvi. 33.) and *Job* to be the same Person. There are some Circumstances in the History of *Job*, which may lead us to guess pretty well at the Times he lived in. 1. He lived above 180 Years, for he lived 140 Years after

(q) *Moses* was in the third Generation from *Levi*, 1 Chron. vi. 1, 2, 3. *Levi* was Son of *Jacob*, Son of *Isaac*, Son of *Abraham*.

his Afflictions (*r*), and he must be more than 40 at the Beginning of them; for he had seven Sons and three Daughters, and all his Children seem to have been grown up before the Beginning of his Misfortunes (*s*); He could not therefore but live to be near 200 Years old. 2. The Idolatry practised in the Countries he lived in, in his Days, was the Worship of the Host of Heaven (*t*). 3. The Presents usual in *Job's* Days were Ear-rings of Gold, and Pieces of Money called *Keshitab* (*u*): Now from these Circumstances it seems most probable, 1. That he could not be much later than the Times of *Isaac*, for if he had, his Life would not have been so long, as it appears to have been. 2. He must have been something younger than *Syphis*, for *Syphis* first (*w*) instituted the Worship of the Host of Heaven in *Egypt*, which Idolatry spread thence into, and began to flourish in *Arabia* in *Job's* Time. 3. Ear-rings of Gold were in *Abraham's* Days (*x*), and they were part of the Women's Dress in the Days of *Jacob* (*y*); but the Piece of Money called *Keshitab* seems not to have been in Use until after *Abraham*: When *Abraham* bought the Field of *Ephron*, he paid the Price in Silver, not by Number of Pieces but by Weight (*z*); but when *Jacob* bought a Parcel of a Field of the Children of *Hamor*, he paid for it not by Weight, but he gave an

(*r*) Job xlii. 16. (*s*) Chap. i. 2---4. (*t*) Job xxxi. 26, 27.
 (*u*) Chap. xlii. 11. (*w*) See Vol. I. Book V. (*x*) Gen. xxiv. 21.
 (*y*) Chap. xxxv. 4. (*z*) Chap. xxiii. 16.

hundred *Keshitabs* (a), or Pieces of Money for it; so that the *Keshitab* or Piece of Money which *Job's* Friends gave him, was not in Use in *Abraham's* Time, but was in Use in *Jacob's*, and therefore *Job* was not so ancient as *Abraham*, tho' the Length of his Life will not permit us to suppose him altogether so young as *Jacob*. *Job's* Friends who visited him were *Eliphaz ha-Temani*, perhaps the Son of *Tema*, now *Tema* was the Son of *Ishmael* (b); and *Bildad ha-shuachi*, i. e. the Son of *Shuach*, now *Shuach* was Son of *Abraham* by *Keturah* (c); and *Zophar ha-naamatbi*; and *Elihu* the Son of *Barachel ha Buzi* conversed with them (d), now *Buz* was the Son of *Nabor Abraham's* Brother (e); *Barachel* might be his Son or Grandson, and *Elihu* his Son be cotemporary with *Isaac*, for *Nabor* being born when his Father *Terah* was little more than 70, must have been above 50 Years older than *Abraham*, and agreeably hereto *Abraham's* Son *Isaac* married *Nabor's* Grand-daughter (f). And thus all the Persons conversant with *Job* may reasonably be supposed to have lived about *Isaac's* Time, and therefore we need not upon Account of their Names place *Job* later. There are some learned Writers that are very positive that *Job* lived about the Time of *Moses*; *Grotius* was of this Opinion; others place him a Generation later than *Esau*, imagining *Eli-phaz* the *Temanite*, who was one of his

(a) Gen. xxxiii. 19. (b) Chap. xxv. 15. (c) Ver. 2.

(d) Job xxxii. 2. (e) Gen. xxii. 21. (f) Chap. xxiv. 24.

Friends, to have been *Eliphaz* the Son of *Esau* and Father of *Teman*; but I should think the Length of *Job's* Life to be an unanswerable Objection against supposing him to be thus late. *Job* lived in the Land of *Uz* (g): According to the Prophet *Jeremiah* this Country was adjacent to the Land of *Edom* (h): The *Sabeans* robbed *Job* (i), and the *Sabeans* lived at the Entrance of *Arabia Felix* (k). The *Chaldeans* also made three Bands, and fell upon his Camels and carried them away (l): The *Chaldeans* were at first a wandering People, Inhabitants of the Wilderness, until *Ashur* built them a City (m), then they lived at *Ur* in *Mesopotamia*, for they expelled *Abraham* their Land (n); but it is most probable, that like the ancient *Scythians* they wandered often from their Country in Bands for the sake of robbing, many Generations after their first Settlement, this being no unusual Practice in the early Times, and three Companies of them might make an Expedition and fall upon *Job's* Cattle, so that we need not suppose *Job* to live very near to *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, tho' he was robbed by these Men. If we suppose his Land to be adjacent to *Edom*, as *Jeremiah* hints it, he was nigh enough to both *Sabeans* and *Chaldeans* to suffer from each of them. Some Writers have imagined, that there never was any such Person as *Job*, and that his History is only an

(g) Job. i. 1. (h) Lam. iv. 21. (i) Job i. 15.
 (k) See Vol. I. B. 3. (l) Job i. 17. (m) Isaiah xxiii. 13.
 (n) Judith v. 8.

Instructive Fable; but nothing can be more wild than this Opinion, which has no Colour of Argument to support it. The Prophet *Ezekiel* supposes *Job* to have been as real a Person as either *Noah* or *Daniel* (o), and St. *James* mentions him as having been a true Example of Patience (p). We may at this rate raise Doubts of any ancient Fact and History.

About the hundredth Year of *Isaac's* Life there happened a very remarkable Accident in his Family; *Isaac* and *Rebekah* seem to have had a very different Opinion concerning their two Sons *Jacob* and *Esau*: *Isaac* was a very good Man; but he did not form a true Judgment of his Children: He was remarkably fond of *Esau* more than he was of *Jacob* (q); but his Affection was but poorly grounded, he loved *Esau* because he did eat of his Venison, but *Rebekah* loved *Jacob*; and it is remarkable, that before she placed her Affection upon either of them, she enquired of God concerning them, and received for Answer that the Younger should be distinguished by the Blessings of Heaven (r); This she treasured up in her Mind, and her Opinion of them was according to it. From the Time that God made the Covenant with *Abraham*, and promised the extraordinary Blessings to his Seed, which have been before mentioned, it was requisite for the Father of each Family some time before he died to call

(o) Ezek. xiv. 14---16. (p) James v. 11. (q) Gen. xxv. 27, 28. (r) Ver. 23.

together his Children, and to inform them according to the Knowledge which it pleased God to give him, how and in what manner the Blessing of *Abraham* was to descend amongst them. *Abraham* had no Occasion to do this; for God having determined and declared that in *Isaac* his Seed should be called (*s*), none of *Abraham's* other Children could have any Pretence to expect the particular Blessings which God had promised to the Seed of *Abraham*. *Isaac* had two Sons, and either of these might be designed by God to be the Heir of the Promise, *Isaac* being now in the Decline of Life; *he was old, and his Eyes were dim that he could not see*, and not knowing how soon he might be taken from them, was willing to determine this Point, by blessing them before he died (*t*): If we compare this Place with that where *Jacob* afterwards called his Children together, we may observe a remarkable Difference between them: *Jacob* called his Sons, and said, *Gather your selves together, that I may tell you what shall befall you in the last Days*, or rather it should be translated, *in the Times to come, or in the Days of your Posterity* (*u*). God had given *Jacob* a Prophetic View of his intended Dispensations to his Descendants and their Children, and he called his Sons together to relate to them, what God had thus revealed to him: But *Isaac* in the Place before us seems to have called *Esau*, without having received any par-

(*s*) Gen. xvii. 19, 20, 21.
xlix. 1.

(*t*) Chap. xxvii.

(*u*) Chap.

particular

ticular Revelation about him; nay it is evident he had received none; for he designed to tell him, what God never intended should belong to him. *Isaac* called *Esau*, and not *Jacob*, because he loved him more than he loved *Jacob*, and he loved him more, because *Esau* gat him Venison; but *Jacob's* Course of Life lay another way: *Rebekah* saw the low Springs of her Husband's Affection to his Children, and that he was going to promise the Blessing of *Abraham*, where his Affection led him to wish it, and not where, by having made Inquiry, she knew that God designed to bestow it: Hereupon she resolved if (w) possible to prevent him, and therefore sent for *Jacob*, and proposed to him a Scheme for his obtaining the Blessing which his Father design'd to give to *Esau*: *Jacob* was at first in great Perplexity about it; was afraid his Father should find out the Deceit, and instead of blessing him, be provoked to curse him for endeavouring to impose upon him; but *Rebekah* was so well assured, that God designed to bless *Jacob*, and that her whole Crime in this Attempt was only an Endeavour to deceive *Isaac* into an Action, which he ought to have duely informed himself of, and to have done designedly, that she took the Curse wholly upon herself, and persuaded *Jacob* to come into her Measures: One thing is remarkable, that when the Artifice had succeeded, and *Jacob* was blessed, *Isaac* let it go, nay he confirmed the Blessing, *Yea* (says he)

(w) Gen. xxvii.

and he shall be blessed. We do not find that he was either displeased with his Wife, or angry with *Jacob* for imposing upon him; but tho' he had before appeared full of Fears and Cares lest *Esau* should be defeated (x), yet now he expressed himself fully satisfied with what he had done. I cannot but think, that it pleased God at this time to open his Understanding, and to convince him, that he had given the Blessing to the right Person. Before this time he said nothing but what any uninspired Person might have said (y): He wished his Son of the *Dew of Heaven and the Fatness of the Earth, and plenty of Corn and Wine*, adding such other Circumstances of Prosperity as his Affection dictated; but saying nothing that can intimate him to have had any particular View of any Thing that was to happen to him; but now he began to speak with a better Sense of Things, he still wished *Esau* all possible Happiness, *the Fatness of the Earth and the Dew of Heaven* (z); but he knew, that the particular Blessings promised to *Abraham* and his Seed, did not belong to him; he could now enter into his future Life, and tell the Circumstances of his Posterity, and relate to him what should happen in After-days; describe how he and his Descendants should live; acquaint him, that *his Brother's* Children should indeed be their Governors; but that there should come a Time, when *his* Children should

(x) Gen. xxvii. 18, 21, 24.
 (z) Ver. 39.

(y) Ver. 27---29.

get the Dominion, and break his Brother's Yoke from off their Necks (†); a Particular accomplished not until almost nine hundred Years after this Prediction of it; for this Prophecy was fulfilled, when the Land of *Edom*, peopled by the Children of *Esau*, who had been brought into Subjection to the Seed of *Jacob* by King *David* (a), revolted in the Days of *Jehoram* (b), and set up a King of their own, and brake the Yoke of *Jacob* off their Neck, being never after that Time any more subject to any of the Kings of *Judah* (c).

Esau was exceedingly provoked at his Brother's thus obtaining the Blessing from him, and determined, as soon as his Father should be dead, to kill him (d). *Rebekah* heard of his Intentions, and thought the most likely way to prevent Mischief, would be to send *Jacob* out of the Way. She applied herself therefore to *Isaac*, mentioned to him the Misfortune of *Esau's* Marriages, and the Comfort they might have of *Jacob*, if he would take Care to dispose of himself better; so that *Isaac* sent for *Jacob*, and charged him not to take a Wife of the Daughters of *Canaan*, but ordered him to go into *Mesopotamia*, and enquire for the Family of *Bethuel* his Mother's Father, and get one of *Laban's* Daughters for a Wife, and that if he did so, God would certainly bless him (e), and give him the Blessing of

(†) Gen. xxvii. 40. (a) 2 Sam. viii. 14. (b) 2 Kings viii. 20--22. (c) See Archbishop Usher's Annals. Prieceux Connect. Vol. I. p. 11. (d) Gen. xxvii. 41. (e) Chap. xxviii. the Hebrew Words, ver. 3. are, *God Almighty will bless thee.* &c.

Abraham and the Land of *Canaan* to his Posterity. *Jacob* did as his Father had directed him, and set out for *Mesopotamia*: He was at first a little cast down at the Length of the Way and the Hazard of Success in his Journey, and when at Night he went to sleep, with an Head and Heart full of Cares, the God of *Abraham* and of *Isaac* (f) appeared to him in a Dream, and assured him, that he would preserve and protect him in his Journey, and bring him safe back into *Canaan* again, that He would make him happy in a numerous Progeny, and in Time multiply them exceedingly, and give them the Land for an Inheritance which he had promised to *Abraham*; and moreover, that in Him, *i. e.* in his Seed, all the Families of the Earth should be blessed: And thus at this time God expressly promised to him, that particular Blessing of *Abraham*, with the covenanted Mercies that belonged to it, which *Isaac* had before given him Reason to hope for. *Jacob* was surprized at this extraordinary Vision, and took the Stones upon which he had laid his Head, and reared them up into a Pillar, and poured Oil upon the Top of it, and made a Vow, that if the God that thus appeared to him should bless and preserve him, protect him in his Journey, and bring him back in Safety, that then *the Lord should be his God* (g), and that he would worship him in the Place where he had now erected the Pillar,

(f) Gen: xxviii. 13. (g) Ver. 21. See above p. 130, 131, and

and that he would dedicate to his Service the Tenth of all the Substance he should have.

Jacob pursued his Journey, and came to *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*, and found *Laban* and his Relations, and was received by them with great Joy and Welcome (*b*); but as he was not the only Son of his Father, nor the elder Son; not the Heir of his Father's Substance; so he did not pretend to expect a Wife, in so pompous a way as his Father had formerly (*i*). *Laban* had two Daughters, *Leah* and *Rachel*: *Jacob* fancied the Younger, and proposed to his Uncle *Laban*, that he would stay with him seven Years as his Servant to take care of his Flocks, if he would give him *Rachel* to Wife: *Laban* agreed to his Proposal, but at the End of the seven Years deceived him, and married him not to *Rachel* but to *Leah*: *Jacob* expressing some Dissatisfaction at it, *Laban* told him, that he could not break thro' the Custom of their Country, to marry his younger Daughter before his Elder; but that if he desired it, he would give him *Rachel* too, and he should serve him seven Years more for her, after he had married her: *Jacob* agreed to this, and when the Week was over for the Celebration of *Leah's* Nuptials, he married *Rachel*, and continued with *Laban*, and kept his Flocks seven Years more. At the Expiration of these seven Years, *Jacob* had a Family of twelve Children; he had six Sons and a Daugh-

(*b*) Gen. xxix. (*i*) Chap. xxiv.

ter by *Leah* (k); two Sons by *Zilpah*, *Leah's* Maid (l); a Son by *Rachel* (m); and two Sons by *Bilhah*, *Rachel's* Maid (n). He began to think it Time to get into a Way of making some Provision for them, and therefore desired *Laban* to dismiss him, and to let him return to his Father with his Wives and Children (o): *Laban* had found by Experience, that his Substance prospered under *Jacob's* Care, and was loth to part with him, and therefore agreed with him to stay upon such Terms (p), that *Jacob* in a few Years grew rich under him, and was Master of very considerable Flocks of his own. *Laban* by degrees grew uneasy at seeing him encrease so fast; so that *Jacob* perceived that his Countenance was not towards him as before; that he was not so much in his Favour as he used to be, and hereupon he resolved to leave him.

There is a very obvious Remark to be made upon *Jacob's* Bargain with *Laban*, when he agreed to stay with him, and upon his Behaviour consequent upon it: He bargained with *Laban* to serve him, upon Condition that he might take for Wages all the Speckled and Spotted Cattle, and this with an Air of Integrity, to prevent Mistakes about his Hire (q) so shall my Righteousness, says he, answer for me in Time to come, when it shall come for my Hire before thy Face. *Jacob* seemed to desire to

(k) Gen. xxix. 32, 33, 34, 35. xxx. 17, 19, 21. (l) Gen. xxx. 9, 12. (m) Ver. 23. (n) Ver. 4, 7. (o) Ver. 25, 26. (p) Ver. 28---43. (q) Ver. 31, 32, 33.

make a clear and exprefs Bargain, about which they might have no Disputes: If they had agreed for a particular Number of Cattle every Year, there might have been room for Cavil and Suspicions: If any of the Flock had by Accident been loft, they might have differed, whether *Jacob's* or *Laban's* were the loft Cattle; but to prevent all poffible Disputes, Let me, fays *Jacob*, have all the Speckled and Spotted Cattle, and then whenever you fhall have a Mind to look into my Stock, my Integrity will at firft Sight come before your Face, or be conspicuous; for you will immediately fee whether I have any Cattle befides what belong to me: And yet we find, that after all this feeming Fairnefs, *Jacob* very artfully overreach'd *Laban*, by using Means to have the beft Cattle always bring forth fuch as he was to take, and he fo ordered it, as to get away all the beft of the Cattle, fo that the feeblers only were *Laban's*, and the ftronger *Jacob's* (r); an Artifice which feems to argue him to have been a Man of very little Honesty: But to this it may be answered; 1. Tho' *Aristotle* and *Pliny*, and feveral other Writers, who are commonly cited by the Remarkers upon this Fact, and who all lived many Ages later than *Jacob*, have been of Opinion, that Impressions made upon the Imagination of the Dam at the Time of Conception, may have a great Effect upon the Form and Shape and Colour of the

(r) Gen. xxx. 42.

Young, and tho' it may hence be inferred, that such a Method as *Jacob* took might possibly produce the Effect, which it had upon *Laban's* Cattle, yet I cannot think *Jacob* himself knew any thing of it: Men had not thus early inquired far into the Powers of Nature; Philosophy was as yet very low and vulgar, and Observations of this Sort were not thought of, or sought after: Religion and the Worship of God was in these Days the Wisdom of the World, and a Simplicity of Manners and Integrity of Life was more studied, than curious and Philosophical Enquiries. If Study and Philosophy had helped Men to these Arts, how came *Laban* and his Sons to know so very little? They surely must have apprehended, that *Jacob* might by Art variegate the Cattle as he pleased, and would not have made so weak a Bargain with him; but they certainly had no Notion that any such Thing could be done, nor had *Jacob* any Thought of it, when he bargained with *Laban*; but he chose the Speckled Cattle only to put an End to all Cavils about his Wages, not doubting but God would so order it, that he should have enough, and being determined to be contented with what God's Providence should think fit to give him. It will here be asked, how came *Jacob* to make Use of the Pilled Rods, if he did not think this an artful Way to cause the Cattle to bring forth Ring-straked, Speckled and Spotted Young ones? To this I answer, 2. That we read, that the Angel of God spake unto him

him about this Matter (f). God saw the Injustice of *Laban's* Dealings with him, and the Honesty and Fidelity of *Jacob* in his Service, and he determined to reward *Jacob*, and to punish *Laban*. We are told, that God revealed to *Jacob* in a Dream, that the Cattle should be thus spotted, and very probably in the same Dream God ordered him to make Use of Pilled Rods in the manner he used them, and assured him, that if he did so, the Favour which he had promised him of encreasing his Wages should follow: We have frequent Instances in Scripture, of God's appointing Persons to perform some Actions in order to receive his Blessings; and that, in one of these two Ways: sometimes they are directed to do some Action, upon which they should receive some Sign or Token, that what was promised them should be performed: Thus *Abraham* was to take an

(f) Here seems to be a Defect of 2 or 3 Verses in our present Copies of the Bible. *Jacob* tells his Wives (Gen. xxxi. 11.) that the Angel of the Lord had spoken to him in a Dream, upon *Laban's* ill Usage; but we have no Account of any Angel's speaking to him in Chap. xxxi. before his using the Pilled Rods, in any of our Copies: but the Samaritan Version gives us very great Reason to think that there was originally a full Account of this Matter. After ver. 36. of chap. 31. the Samaritan Version inserts as follows: And the Angel of the Lord called unto *Jacob* in a Dream, and said, *Jacob*, and he answered, Here am I. And he said, Lift up now thine Eyes, behold the Rams leaping upon the Cattle Ring-streaked, Speckled, and Grissled: for I have seen all that *Laban* hath done to thee: I am the God of Bethel, to whom thou anointedst a Pillar there, and to whom thou vowedst a Vow there; but do thou arise now, and go out of this Land, and return into the Land of thy Father, and I will bless thee" — then follows: And *Jacob* took green Poplar Rods, &c. The early Transcribers, thro' whose Hands we have received our present Copies of the Bible, may have dropped some such Passage as this, which very fully answers to what *Jacob* afterwards told his Wives.

Heifer of three Years old, and a She Goat, and a Ram, and a Turtle Dove, and a young Pigeon, and to lay them in order for a Sacrifice, and then he was to receive an Assurance, that He should inherit *Canaan* (u): At other Times they are commanded to perform some Action which might testify their believing in God, and depending upon his Promise, and upon doing such Action the Favour promised was to follow: Thus *Naaman* the *Syrian*, when he came to beg of God a Cure of his Leprosy, was directed to wash seven times in *Jordan* (w); his washing in *Jordan* was to be an Evidence of his believing that God would heal him, and upon giving this Evidence of his Belief, he was to be cured: And this was the Case of *Jacob* here before us: God had told him, that he *had seen all that Laban had done to him*; but that He would take Care that he *should not hurt him*, and that he designed to turn all *Laban's* Contrivances to defraud him of his Wages, so much to his Advantage, as that they should tend to the Increase of his Prosperity, and then God commanded him in Token of his Belief and Dependance upon him, to take the pilled Rods, and use them as he directed him: *Jacob* believed, and did as he was commanded; no more thinking, that the pilling white Strakes in green Boughs, and laying them in the Troughs where the Flocks were to drink, was a natural way to cause them to bring forth speckled and ring-streaked Cat-

(u) Gen. xv. 9.

(w) 2 Kings v. 10.

tle, than *Naaman* did that washing in a River was a Cure for the Leprosie; but in both Cases the Favour expected depending upon the special Providence of God, the particular Directions of God were to be performed in order to obtain it. But, 3. I do not think it can be proved, that the Method which *Jacob* used is a natural and effectual way of causing Cattle to bring forth speckled and ring-streaked Young. As almost all the Conjectures of the ancient Heathen Writers upon the Powers of Nature had their first Rise from some Hints or Facts in the *Hebrew* Writings; so perhaps what is offered by *Aristotle*, and other ancient Writers, about the Effects which Impressions made upon the Imagination of the Dam may have upon their Young, might be first occasioned by this Fact thus recorded in the *Hebrew* Scriptures, or by some Remarks of ancient Writers made from it; but it is observable, that the ancient *Naturalists* carried their Thoughts upon these Subjects much further than they would bear; and we, who live in an Age of far better Philosophy, do not find, that we know so much as *Aristotle* thought he did upon these Subjects. The Effects of Impressions upon the Imagination must be very accidental, because the Objects that should cause them may, or may not be taken Notice of, as any one would find, that should try *Jacob's* pilled Rods to variegate his Cattle with. The Waters of *Jordan* may cure a Leprosie, or *Jacob's* pilled Rods produce spotted Cattle; either of these Means may have the desired Effect, if a

particular Providence directs them, but without such Providence neither of these Means may have any Effect at all. I might add farther, 4. That if we should allow that the pilled Rods, as *Jacob* used them, might naturally produce the Effect upon *Laban's* Cattle which followed; yet since, as I before hinted, we have no reason to think *Jacob* remarkably learned beyond *Laban* and all his Children, since it is not probable that he alone should know this grand Secret, and all other Persons have not the least Suspicion of it; we can at most only suppose that God directed him to what he did in this Matter. In *Hezekiah's* Sickness (*) the Prophet directed an Application of Figs in order to his Recovery, and *Hezekiah* recovered upon the Application of them; but since this Application was made not by any Rules of Physick then known, but by a divine Direction, we cannot but ascribe the Cure immediately to God himself, even tho' it may possibly be argued that Figs were a proper Medicine for *Hezekiah's* Distemper: They were not then known or thought to be so, and therefore human Skill or Prescription had no Part in the Cure. And thus in *Jacob's* Case; if it can be supposed that pilled Rods may be naturally a means to variegate young Cattle, yet unless we can think that he knew that the use of them would naturally have this Effect, and that he used them, not in Obedience to a special Direction from God,

(*) Isaiah xxxviii. 21.

but merely as an Art to get *Laban's* Cattle, we cannot lay any Blame upon him; it cannot, I think, be supposed that *Jacob* had any such Knowledge. God Almighty determined to punish *Laban* for his Injustice, and to reward *Jacob* for his Fidelity; and he revealed to *Jacob* the manner in which he designed to bless him, and ordered him to do an Action as a Token that he embraced God's Promise, and expected the Performance of it. *Jacob* faithfully observed the Orders that were given him, and God blessed him according to his Promise. And there is no reason for us to think, that *Jacob* knew of, or used any Art to over-reach *Laban*, and get away his Cattle; but the true Conclusion is that, which *Jacob* himself expressed in his Speech to his Wives: *Ye know, that with all my Power, I have served your Father; And your Father hath deceived me, and changed my Wages ten times; but God suffered him not to hurt me. If he said thus, The speckled shall be thy Wages, then all the Cattle bare speckled: and if he said thus, The ring-straked shall be thy Hire, then bare all the Cattle ring-straked. Thus God hath taken away the Cattle of your Father, and given them unto me (y).*

Jacob finding *Laban* and his Sons every Day more and more indisposed towards him, took an Opportunity, and contrived Matters with his Wives, and separated his own from his Father-in-Law's Cattle, and retired in a private Manner, and passed over *Euphrates*, and made

(y) Gen. xxxi. 6---9.

for Mount *Gilead* (z). He was gone three Days before *Laban* heard of it: As soon as it was told him, he gathered his Family together and pursued him for seven Days, and overtook him at *Gilead*. From *Haran* to Mount *Gilead* must be above 250 Miles, so that *Jacob* made haste to travel thither in ten Days, going about 25 Miles each Day; and *Laban's* Pursuit of him was very eager, for he march'd about 37 Miles a-day for seven Days together: but he was resolved to overtake him. And when he came up with him, he purposed in his Heart to revenge himself upon him; but here God was pleased to interpose, and warn *Laban* not to offer *Jacob* any Evil (a). Hereupon, when he came up to him, he only expostulated with him his manner of leaving him, and complained that he had stolen his *Teraphim*, which *Rachel*, fond of the Memory of her Ancestors, had, without *Jacob's* Knowledge, taken away with her (b); but upon *Jacob's* offering all his Company to be searched, *Laban* not being able to find where *Rachel* had hid them, they grew Friends, made a solemn Engagement to each other, and then parted. *Laban* returned home, and *Jacob* went on towards the Place where he had left his Father.

Jacob was now returning into *Canaan* in great Prosperity; he was a few Years before very low in the World, but now he had

(z) Gen. xxxi. 17.
Book 5. p. 349.

(a) Ver. 24.

(b) Ver. 30. See Vol. I

Wives, and Children, and Servants, and a Substance abundantly sufficient to maintain them. When he went over *Jordan* to go to *Haran*, his Staff or Walking-stick was all his Substance; but now he came to repass it, in order to return into *Canaan*, he found himself Master of so large a Family, as to make up two Bands or Companies (c); and all this Increase so justly acquired, that he could with an assured Heart look up to God, and acknowledge his having truly blessed him (d) according to the Promise which he had made him.

After *Jacob* had parted from *Laban*, he began to think of the Danger that might befall him at his Return home. The Displeasure of his Brother *Esau* came fresh into his Mind, and he was sensible he could have no Security, if he did not make his Peace with him. *Esau*, when *Jacob* went to *Haran*, observing how strictly his Father charged him not to marry a *Canaanite*, began to be dissatisfied with his own Marriages (e), and went hereupon to *Ismael* and married one of his Daughters, and went and lived in Mount *Seir*, in the Land of *Edom*. And *Jacob* finding by Inquiry that he was settled here, thought it necessary to send to him in order to appease him, that he might be secure of living without Molestation from him.

Some Writers have questioned why, or how *Jacob* should send this Message to his Brother:

(c) Gen. xxxii. 10.

(d) Chap. xxxi. 9. & xxxii. 12.

(e) Gen. xxviii. 6—9.

Jacob was in *Gilead*, and *Eſau* in *Mount Seir*, 120 Miles at leaſt diſtant from one another. *Jacob* went down *Gilead* to the Brook *Jabbok* (c), and his way thence lay over *Jordan* into *Canaan*, without coming any nearer to *Eſau*; why therefore ſhould he ſend to him? or having himſelf lived ſo long at ſuch a Diſtance, how ſhould he know where he was ſettled, or what was become of him? Theſe Objections have been thought conſiderable by ſome very good Writers, and *Adrichomius* conceived it neceſſary to deſcribe *Seir* in a different Situation from that in which the common Maps of *Canaan* place it. He imagined, that there were two diſtinct Countries called by the Name of the Land of *Edom*, and in each of them a Mountain called *Seir*, and that one of them, namely that in which *Eſau* lived at this time, lay near to *Mount Gilead*; and *Brocard* and *Torniellus* (d) are ſaid to have been of the ſame Opinion. They ſay, the Children of *Eſau* removed hence in time into the other *Edom* or *Idumea*, when they grew ſtrong enough to expel the *Horites* out of it (e); but that they did not live in this *Edom*, which was the Land of the *Horites*, in *Jacob's* Days. But as there are no Accounts of *Canaan* which can favour this Opinion, ſo I cannot ſee how this Situation of *Edom* can be admitted. They make and invent Names and Places, which no Writers but themſelves ever knew of, and

(c) Gen. xxxii. 22.
ii. 12.

(d) Pool's Syn. in loc.

(e) Deut.

so create real Difficulties in *Geography*, to solve imaginary ones in *History*. The *Horites* were indeed the first Inhabitants of *Seir*, and the Land of *Edom*, and were in Possession of it in *Esau's* Days; for he married one of their Daughters, namely *Abolibamah* the Granddaughter of *Zibeon* (*f*), and Daughter of *Anab*; and this *Zibeon* was the Son of *Seir* the *Horite* (*g*), and *Anab* was *Seir's* Grandson (*h*), and both of them were in their Turns Dukes or Princes in the Land (*i*). *Esau* therefore lived and married in this Country; for here only we find the Persons whose Daughter he took to Wife, and he lived here a Sojourner in the Kingdoms of other Men, until after some Generations God gave this Country to his Children, who destroyed the *Horims*, and took Possession of their Country, as *Israel* did of the Land of his Possession, which the Lord gave unto them (*k*). As to Mount *Seir's* being very distant from *Gilead* where *Jacob* stopped, and sent Messengers to *Esau*, it is certain it was so; so far distant, that after *Jacob* and *Esau* had met, *Jacob* represented it as too long a Journey for his Children to take, or his Cattle to be driven, but by easy Advances (*l*). It is easy to say, how *Jacob* could tell where *Esau* lived, and why he thought fit to send to him. It is not to be imagined, that *Jacob* could be so imprudent as to carry his Wives, Children and Substance into *Canaan*, without knowing

(*f*) Gen. xxxvi. 2. (*g*) Ver. 20. (*h*) Ibid. (*i*) Ver. 29.
 (*k*) Deut. ii. 12. (*l*) Gen. xxxiii. 13, 14.

whether he might safely venture thither; and therefore very probably, when he rested at *Gilead*, he sent Messengers to inquire whether his Father was alive; what Condition he was in, and what Temper the Inhabitants of the Land shew'd him, and whether he might safely come and live near him: And when he found that he should meet with no Obstruction, if he could but reconcile *Esau* to him, he very prudently sent to him also, intending, if he should find *Esau* averse to him, to bend his Course some other way *. And thus *Jacob's* Message to *Esau* may be best accounted for, by supposing *Esau's* Habitation in the Land of *Edom*, to be according to the common and known Geography of that Country; and *Adrichomius's* Scheme of two *Edoms* being a mere Fiction, purely to solve a seeming Difficulty, ought justly to be rejected.

Jacob was in more than ordinary Fears of his Brother *Esau*, and his Messengers at their

* If we consider what had passed between *Esau* and *Jacob*, before *Jacob* went from home, it will appear very proper that *Jacob* should send to him, before he ventured to come and sit down with his Substance near his Father. *Esau* still expected to be his Father's Heir; and if *Jacob* had return'd Home without *Esau's* Knowledge, it would have laid a Foundation for a greater Misunderstanding at *Isaac's* Death, than any that had as yet been between them. *Esau* would have thought, that *Jacob* had got the greatest Part of his Substance from his Father; and when he came, at *Isaac's* Death, to take away with him into *Edom*, what his Father had to leave him, he would have look'd upon *Jacob*, as having for many Years been contriving to get from him all he could. It was therefore *Jacob's* Interest to have *Esau* fully satisfied in this Point, and for this Reason, as well as others, he sent to him, to apprise him that he brought his Substance with him from *Haran*, and that he was not going into *Canaan*, to do him any Injury.

Return surprized him still more, by informing him, that *Esau* was coming after them attended by 400 Men (*m*). He concluded now, that his Brother had a Design to take his full Revenge, and destroy him and all that belonged to him. In his Distress he cried unto God, and after that applied himself to contrive the most likely Expedients for his Safety. First of all he divided his Company into two Parts, that if *Esau* should fall upon one Part, he might have a Possibility of escaping with the other. In the next Place, he ordered a very extraordinary Present of the Choice of his Flocks and Herds divided into several Drovers, and these he sent before him: After this he sent his Wives and Children, and all his Substance over the Brook *Jabbok* (*n*), staying himself alone some time behind them. And here God was pleased to put an end to his Fears, by giving him an extraordinary Sign or Token, to assure him that he should get through all the Difficulties that seem'd to threaten him. There came an Angel in the Shape and Appearance of a Man, and wrestled with him. It was the same Divine Person, according to *Hosea* (*m*), that appeared to him at *Bethel*. They struggled together, but the Angel did not overcome him; and at parting, when the Angel blessed him, he told him the Design of his Contest with him; that it was to instruct him, that as he had not been conquered in this Contest, so neither should he be overcome

(*m*) Gen, xxxii, 6.

(*n*) Ver. 22, 23.

(*m*) Hosea xii 4.
by

by the Difficulties that threatned him. The Angel said to him, *thy Name shall be called no more Jacob but Israel; for as a Prince hast thou Power with God, and with Men, and hast prevailed (n);* or rather the latter Part of the Verse should be thus translated, *for thou hast been a Prevailer with God; and with Men thou shalt also powerfully prevail.* This is the true Verbal Translation of the Hebrew Words; and the (o) Vulgar Latin, the LXX, and Onkelos in his Targum, have very justly expressed the true Sense of the Place, but our English Version is too obscure.

Jacob, full of the Assurance which the Angel had given him, prepared his Wives and Children to meet Esau; and instructed them, when they should come up to him, to pay him all possible Respect by bowing down to him: He himself came up last, and when he met Esau, he bowed himself to the Ground seven times. Whatever Apprehensions Jacob had entertained of Esau's Resentments, he had the Happiness to find him in a much better Temper than he expected: Esau was full of all possible Affection towards him, he ran at Sight to meet him, he embraced him with the greatest Ten-

(n) Gen. xxxii. 28. (o) The Hebrew Words are
 נִי שְׂרִית עִם אֱלֹהִים וְעִם אַנְשֵׁי וְהָרַכְלִי
 prævalebis etiam hominibus cum & Deo cum prævauisti Quoniam
 The Vulgar Latin translates the Place, Quoniam si contra Deum
 tortis fuisti, quantò magis contra homines prævalebis. The LXX
 render the Place, "Ὅτι ἐνίχυσας μετὰ Θεῶν, καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων
 δυνάτοσ ἔσῃ. Onkelos has it Quoniam Princeps es tu coram Deo
 & cum Hominibus prævalebis.

derness (*p*), and wept over him with Tears of Joy. As to the Present of the Cattle, *Esau* would not have taken it, for he said he had enough, but *Jacob* pressed him to accept it. *Esau* invited *Jacob* to *Seir*, and offered to conduct him thither; but *Jacob* had no design to accept the Invitation, and yet was afraid directly to refuse it. He designed to keep at a convenient Distance, and not to live too near; for fear of future Inconveniences. He therefore represented the Tenderness of his Children and Flock, that they could not travel with Expedition; he beg'd they might not confine him to their slow Movements, but that he would return home his own Pace, and that they would follow as fast as they could conveniently. *Esau* then offered him some of his Servants to shew him the Way; but *Jacob* evaded this Offer also, and so they parted. *Esau* went to *Seir*, expecting his Brother should follow him; but *Jacob* turned another way, went to *Succoth* and built himself an House, and lived there some time; and afterwards removed to *Salem* a City of the *Shechemites*, and bought some Ground of the Children of *Hamor*, and there settled (*q*).

Soon after *Jacob* was fixed at *Shechem*, there happened a Misfortune, which unsettled him again (*r*). His Daughter *Dinah* visited the *Shechemites*, and *Shechem* the Prince of the Country fell in Love with her, and lay with her. Her Father and Brothers resenting the

(*p*) Gen. xxxiii. 4.

(*q*) Ver. 19.

(*r*) Chap. xxxiv.

Injury and Scandal of so base an Action, could not bear the Thoughts of being reconciled to him, tho' he all along had a most passionate Desire to marry *Dinah*: He had desired his Father *Hamor* to treat with *Jacob* about it, and *Hamor* desired *Jacob's* Consent to it upon any Terms; but in their Treating about it, the Sons of *Jacob* answered *Hamor* and *Shechem* deceitfully, and pretended that they could make no Marriages with an uncircumcised People. Hereupon *Hamor* and *Shechem* persuaded all their People to be circumcised, in order to incorporate with *Jacob's* Family; but when this was done, three Days after the Operation, when the *Shechemites* were not fit for War, two of *Jacob's* Sons, *Simeon* and *Levi*, took each Man his Sword, and came upon the City boldly, and slew all the Males, and they killed *Hamor* and *Shechem*, and took away *Dinah* out of the House (s). And as soon as *Simeon* and *Levi* had thus executed the Part of the Revenge, which they had taken upon themselves to perform for the Abuse of their Sister, the other Sons of *Jacob* (t), who had very probably armed their Servants, and were ready to have assisted *Simeon* and *Levi*, if they had wanted it, came upon the Slain and spoiled the City; they seized upon the Cattle and Wealth of the *Shechemites*, and took their Wives and their little ones Captive. *Jacob* was much concerned at these furious Proceed-

(s) Gen. xxxiv. 25, 26. (t) Ver. 27. Quibus egressis ir-
erunt super occisos cæteri Filii Jacob. Vers. vulg. Lat.

ings of his Sons, and apprehended that the Inhabitants of the Land would unite against him for this violent Outrage; but his Sons *Simeon* and *Levi* were so warmed with the Thoughts of the Dishonour done their Sister and Family, that they did not think they had carried their Resentments too far for so base an Injury (u). However, *Jacob* thought he should be more secure, if he removed his Habitation to some other Part of the Country; and upon receiving a particular Direction from God where to go, he removed to *Bethel* (w).

Upon *Jacob's* designing to go to *Bethel*, he found it necessary to make a Reformation in his Family, and said unto his Household, and to all that were with him, Put away the strange Gods that are among you (x); so that one would guess from these Words, that Idols and Idolatry were crept into his Family; and some Writers imagine, that *Rachel* his Wife introduced them, by bringing out of *Haran* her Father's *Teraphim*, which she stole at her coming away from him. But it is remarkable, that *Jacob* had now with him more Persons than his own Household; for over and above these, he spake unto all that were with him. The Captives of *Shechem*, which his Sons had taken, were now to be incorporated into his Family; and he had to reduce them into new order; to abrogate any Habits of their Dress or Ornaments, or any Rites or Usages in Religion, which they might have used at *Shechem*;

(u) Gen. xxxiv. 31.

(w) Gen. xxxv. 1. 6.

(x) Ver. 2.

if he judged them unfuitable to his Religion, or to the Order in which he desired to keep his Family; and agreeably hereto, the Gods he took care to put away were not the [*Teraphim*] or little Pillars or Statues which *Rachel* brought from *Haran* (y), but the [*elohai han-necar*] *Gods of the Stranger*, that was in the midst of them, or amongst them, *i. e.* of the *Shechemites*, whom they had taken Captive and brought into his Family. The *Hebrew* Words are remarkably different from our *English* Translation: The Word *strange* in the *Hebrew* does not refer to *Gods*, as our Translators took it, and therefore rendered the Place *strange Gods*, but the *Hebrew* Words are as I have translated them, *the Gods of the Stranger*, &c. and these, together with the superfluous Ornaments of Dress which the *Shechemitish* Women had used, were what he took away, and buried under an Oak in *Shechem* (z), in order to preserve in his Family that Purity of Worship, and Simplicity of Life and Manners, which he designed to keep up amongst them. After he had done this, he removed for *Bethel*, and gat safe thither: The Inhabitants of the several Cities round about him were so far from any Thoughts of attacking him, that they look'd upon him as a Person powerful enough to engage with any of them, and were very much afraid of him (a). After *Jacob* came to *Bethel*, God appeared to him, and confirmed the Change of his Name, which had been made

(y) See Vol. I. B. 5. p. 349. (z) Gen. xxxv. 4. (a) Ver. 5.

at *Jabbok*, and gave him fresh Assurance of his Design of blessing and multiplying his Posterity, and of giving them the Inheritance of the Land of *Canaan* (*b*). Some time after this *Jacob* journeyed from *Bethel*, and near *Ephrath* his Wife *Rachel* died in Labour of *Benjamin* (*c*), and *Jacob* buried her near *Ephrath* or *Bethlehem* (*d*). From hence *Jacob* removed, and spread his Tent beyond the Tower of *Edar*; and soon after he removed hence, and came to the Plain of *Mamre*, unto the City of *Arbab* or *Hebron*, unto his Father *Isaac*, who at that time lived here (*e*). He had met with several Misfortunes from the time that he removed from *Bethel*; the Death of his Wife at *Ephrath*, and his Son *Reuben's* Baseness in lying with his Concubine *Bilhah* at *Edar*; and besides these, there was a Difference amongst his Children, which in a little time ended in the Loss of his Son *Joseph* (*f*).

Joseph was his beloved Child, a Circumstance which drew upon him the Envy of his Brethren, which encreased to a perfect Hatred, upon his telling them some Dreams, which seem'd to imply that he should be advanced in the World far above any of them. They told *Jacob* of *Joseph's* Dreams, and *Jacob* thought it proper to discountenance the aspiring Thoughts which he imagined they would too naturally lead him to; however, he could not but think in his Heart, that there was

(*b*) Gen. xxxv. 9—12.

(*c*) Ver. 16—18.

(*d*) Ver. 19.

(*e*) Ver. 21, 27.

(*f*) Ver. 22. & Chap. xxxvii.

something more than ordinary in them (g). Some time after, *Jacob* sent *Joseph* from *Hebron* to *Dothan*, where his other Sons were taking care of the Flocks; as soon as *Joseph* came in sight of them, they called to mind his Dreams, and were in a great Heat about him, and designed to kill him; but *Reuben* endeavoured to prevent his being murdered, and persuaded them to throw him into a Pit, and there to leave him, intending when they were all gone, to come back to the Place and help him out, and so to send him home to his Father (h): But whilst they were in these Debates, there happened to come some *Ishmeelites*, who were travelling from *Mount Gilead* to *Egypt* with Spicery, and upon sight of them, they determined to sell him (i). They sold him, and the *Ishmeelites* carried him to *Egypt*, and there sold him again to *Potiphar*, the Captain of the King's Guard (k). *Jacob's* Sons killed a Kid, and dipped *Joseph's* Coat in the Blood of it, and at their coming home, told their Father that they found it in that Condition; so that *Jacob* thought some wild Beast had killed him, and he mourned exceedingly for him (l). *Joseph* was more than seventeen Years old when his Brethren sold him into *Egypt* (m), and about eight or nine Years after he was sold thither *Isaac* being 180 Years old died, *A. M.* 2288 (n).

(g) Gen. xxxvii. 3—11. (h) Ver. 21, 22. (i) Ver. 25—28.
 (k) Ver. 36. (l) Ver. 31—35. (m) For he was seventeen
 when *Jacob* lived at *Edar*. Ver. 2. (n) Gen. xxxv. 28, 29.

Isaac's Death brought *Esau* and *Jacob* to another Meeting ; for *Esau* came from *Seir* to *Mamre* to assist at his Father's Funeral, and to receive as Heir his Father's Substance. *Jacob*, tho' he came to *Mamre* to live near his Father some Years before *Isaac* died, had yet been exceeding careful of laying any Foundation for a Misunderstanding with his Brother, and therefore had not brought his Flocks and Substance into that Part of the Country : For we find that when he lived at *Hebron*, his Sons were sent to take care of the Flocks to *Shechem* and *Dothan* (o) ; so that he had carefully kept his Substance at a Distance, and given *Esau* no Reason to suspect, that he had any ways intermixed what he had gotten with what was his Father's, or taken any Opportunity to get away any thing from his Father, to *Esau's* Hindrance. After *Isaac* was buried, *Esau* had no mind to live at *Mamre* ; for he considered, that what he had at *Seir*, and what he had now got at *Canaan* by his Father's Death, would be so great a Stock, that it would be difficult to find sufficient room for him to live in *Canaan*, especially if his Brother *Jacob* should settle there near him ; and therefore he took what he had in *Canaan* (a), and carried it with him into *Seir*.

The Land of *Seir* was at this Time possessed by the *Horites* or *Horims* (b), and these were the Inhabitants of it in the Days of *Abraham* ;

(o) Gen. xxxvii. 13, & 17.

(b) Deut. ii. 12.

(a) Chap. xxxvi. 6.

for *Chedorlaomer*, out of whose Hand *Abraham* rescued *Lot*, found them here when he brought his Armies to subdue the Nations of *Canaan* (c). *Seir* the *Horite* was cotemporary with *Abraham* and *Chedorlaomer*, tho' probably something older than *Abraham*; for *Esau*, *Abraham's* Grandson, married *Abolibamah* the Daughter of *Seir's* Grandson (d). If *Seir* was King of the *Horites*, he might fall in Battle; for *Chedorlaomer* smote the *Horites* in their Mount *Seir* unto *El-paran* (e). Under the Sons of *Seir*, the *Horites* gathered some Strength again, and were governed by *Seir's* Sons, who became Dukes of the Land (f), either ruling jointly, or setting up several little Sovereignities; and in the Time of these Dukes *Esau* came to live at *Seir*. His full Determination of settling there was at *Isaac's* Death (g), towards the Decline of *Esau's* Life; for *Isaac* was 60 Years old when *Esau* was born (h), and he lived to be 180 (i), so that *Esau* at his Death was 120, and this must be in the Time of the third Generation from *Seir*, when the Children of *Lotan*, and of *Zibeon*, and of *Shobal*, and of *Anab*, the Sons of *Seir*, ruled the Land; and agreeably hereto *Esau* married a Daughter of the Men of this Generation; *Abolibamah* the Daughter of *Anab*; which *Anab* was not *Anab* the Son of *Seir*, but *Anab* the Son of *Zibeon*, and Grandson of *Seir* (k),

(c) Gen. xiv. 6. (d) Chap. xxxvi. 20. (e) Chap. xiv. 6.
 (f) Chap. xxxvi. 21. (g) Ver. 6. (h) Chap. xxv. 16.
 (i) Chap. xxxv. 28. (k) Chap. xxxvi. 2, 20, 24.

this was that Anab, who found the Mules in the Wilderness as he fed the Asses of Zibeon his Father (l), for he is by this Action distinguished from the other Anab. The Sons of Seir did not keep the Dominion of these Countries long, for the Children of Esau got it from them. The Children of Esau destroyed the Horites, and dwelt in their stead, as Israel did in the Land of his Possession, which the Lord gave unto him (m); and this Conquest of the Horites happened not in Esau's Days, nor in his Children's or Grand-Children's Days; but in the Days of his Grand-Children's Children; for the Descendants of Esau, who became Dukes of Edom, were Timna, Alia, Jetheth, Abolibamah, Elah, Pinon, Kenaz, Teman, Mibzar, Magdiel, Iram, as the Writer of the Book of Chronicles has expressly remarked (n), These were the Dukes of Edom: Esau, and the Children of Esau, and their Children, are all enumerated, but they are not said to have been Dukes of Edom; but the Persons above mentioned only (o). I am sensible, that what I have here offered may be thought not intirely to agree with what we find in the xxxvith Chap. of Genesis. In that Chapter some of the Sons of Esau are said to have been Dukes (p), and most of his Grand-Children are likewise said to have arrived at this Dignity (q). But in Answer to this it should be remarked, that the

(l) Gen. xxxvi. 24. (m) Deut. ii. 14. (n) 1 Chron. i. 51. ad fin. (o) V 35---37. (p) Gen. xxxvi. 13. (q) Ver. 15, 16, 17.

Verſes from Ver. 15 to Ver. 20, do not ſay, that the Sons or Grand-ſons of *Eſau* there mentioned were *Dukes of Edom*, but only that they were *Dukes in the Land of Edom*: And this is a Diſtinction that ſhould carefully be obſerved; for the true Matter of Fact was this; the Children of *Eſau*, in the Days of *Eſau*'s Sons and Grand-ſons, ſet up a Form of Government amongſt themſelves, and over their own Families, and the Perſons that ruled them were *Dukes*; not *over the Land of Edom*, for the Inhabitants of the Land were not yet ſubject to them, but they were *Dukes in the Land*, and ruled the Children of *Eſau*, and ſo were, as they are called, [*Alephairu*] *their Dukes* (r). Their Children afterwards conquered the *Horites*, and took Poſſeſſion of the whole Land, and ſo became *Dukes of Edom*; and the Perſons that attained this larger Dignity were the Perſons mentioned Ver. 40, 41, 42, 43. theſe be the *Dukes of Edom*. And thus the ſeveral Parts of this Chapter may be reconciled to one another, and this Chapter made intirely agreeable to the firſt Chapter of *1 Chronicles*. If the *Dukes* that came of *Eſau* had been all alike *Dukes of Edom*, they would have been placed all together; but ſome of them being only the Rulers of their own Children, and the others the Governors of the whole Land, the Writer of the Book of *Genesis* ſeparates and diſtinguiſhes the one from the other; and the Writer of the Book of

(r) Gen. xxxvi. 19.

Chronicles does not mention the one Order to have been Dukes at all, determining to give the Title to those only who had governed the whole Country. The Children of *Eſau*, when they had made themſelves Dukes of *Edom*, continued this Form of Government but a little while, for they ſoon after ſet up a King. The Time when they ſet up a King, may be determined from *Mofes*: They were governed by Dukes, when the *Iſraelites* went out of *Egypt* (q), and they had a King when *Mofes* would have paſſed thro' their Land to *Canaan* (r); ſo that their firſt King was cotemporary with *Mofes*, and began his Reign a little after the *Iſraelites* came out of *Egypt*, *i. e.* about *A. M.* 2515 (ſ); and his reigning at this Time is very conſiſtent with his ſucceeding *Eſau's* Grand-Children's Children; for *Mofes* was the fifth in Deſcent from *Jacob*, as this firſt King of *Edom* was from *Eſau*; for the Father of *Mofes* was *Anram*, his Father *Cobath*, *Levi* was the Father of *Cobath*, and Son of *Jacob* (t); ſo that the Deſcents or Generations in each Family correſpond very exactly: The firſt King of *Edom* was *Bela* the Son of *Beor* (u), and he was the Brother of *Balaam*, whom *Balak* ſent for about this Time to curſe *Iſrael*; for *Beor* was *Balaam's* Father (w). The *Edomites* had eight ſucceſſive Kings before there reigned any King over the Children of *Iſra-*

(q) Exod. xv. 15.

(r) Numb. xx. 14.

(ſ) *Archbiſhop**Uſher's Chron.*

(t) 1 Chron. vi. 1, 2, 3.

(u) Gen. xxxvi. 32.

(w) Numb. xxii. 5.

el (x);

el (*x*); and so they might very well have; for from the beginning of *Bela's* Reign, to the Time that *Saul* was anointed King over *Israel*, *A. M.* 2909 (*y*), is 399 Years; so that these eight Kings of *Edom* must be supposed one with another to reign something above 48 Years a-piece, which suits very well with the Length of Men's Lives in these Times. And thus I have gone thro' the Account we have of *Esau's* Family, from *Esau* to the Time that *Saul* reign'd over *Israel*; and I think from what has been said it will easily appear, that the several Parts of the xxxvith Chapter of *Genesis* are intirely consistent with one another, and the whole agreeable to the Account we have of the same Family in the Book of *Chronicles*. Some learned Writers have made great Difficulties in their Explications of *Moses's* Account of this Family, and have been in great Doubt, whether the Kings mentioned from Ver. 31 to 40, were Sons of *Esau*, or *Horites*, and when they reign'd; but I think their Reigns do fall so naturally into the Compass of Time in which I have placed them, that there can be little Reason to imagine, that this is not the true Place of them; and none, if *Beor* the Father of *Balaam* was the Father of *Bela* the first of these Kings, which seems very probable; for if *Beor* (mentioned *Gen.* xxxvi. 32.) had not been the same Person with the Father of *Balaam* (*a*), *Moses* would either

(*x*) *Gen.* xxxvi. 31. & *Chron.* i. 43.
Chron. (*a*) *Numb.* xxii. 5.

(*y*) *Archbishop Usher's*

not have mentioned the Name at all, or have distinguished the one Person from the other: The Dukes of *Edom* being placed after the List of the Kings, hath occasioned some learned Writers to imagine that they succeeded them, and the *Latin* Version in the first Chapter of the first Book of *Chronicles* favours their Opinion very much (*b*), but the *Hebrew* Words do not at all countenance such a Version; and we find from *Saul's* Time, where-ever the *Edomites* are spoken of, they were governed by a King, and not by Dukes. It is said, that if the Dukes at the end of the Chapter were before the Kings, then the Order of the Narration is very unnatural: I answer, not very unnatural, if rightly considered; for it is only thus; 1. We have an Account of *Esau's* Family from Verse 9 to Verse 15, and this Family being very numerous, for we read that *Esau* had an Attendance of 400 Men, it is remarked, that they set up a Civil Government amongst themselves, and we are told who the Persons were that bore Rule amongst them from Verse 15 to Verse 20. 2. Then follows an Account of the *Horites* in whose Land *Esau* and his Children dwelt, from Verse 20 to Verse 30. 3. In the next Place we have an Account of the Kings, which the Children of *Esau* were governed by after they had expelled the *Horites*, and before the Time that the *Israelites* had a King, from Ver. 31 to Ver. 39.

(*b*) 1 Chron. i. 51. is translated thus: Mortuo autem Adad, Duces pro Regibus esse cœperunt.

4. It is remarked that Kings were not the first Rulers of the Land of *Edom* which the Sons of *Esau* set up, for they had one Generation of Dukes of *Edom*, Verse 40 to the end. The most learned Dean *Prideaux* (c) very justly observes, that “ the Words in the 31st Verse of this Chapter, *And these are the Kings that reigned in the Land of Edom, before there reigned any King over the Land of Israel,* could not have been said, till after there had been a King in *Israel*, and therefore cannot be *Moses’s* Words, but must have been interpolated afterwards;” and it is hard to conceive, that the List of Kings there mentioned could be inserted by him, when all, except the first, reigned after *Moses* was dead. If this be the Case, if I could have the Authority of any learned Writer to suppose that *Ezra*, or whoever was the inspired Writer that inserted them (d), might at first insert these Kings after the Dukes at the End of the Chapter, but that some careless Transcribers have misplaced them, I should readily embrace it.

We meet with no further mention of *Esau’s* Life, Death or Actions, in *Moses’s* History; but it may not be amiss, before we leave him, to take a short View of his Character. *Esau* was a plain, generous, and honest Man: for we have no Reason, from any Thing that ap-

(c) *Connect.* Part I. Book 5. p. 492. (d) *The most learned Dean intimates Ezra to be undoubtedly the Author of this and the other Interpolations which he mentions, pag. 493.*

appears in his Life or Actions, to think him wicked beyond other Men of his Age and Times; and his generous and good Temper appears from all his Behaviour towards his Brother: The Artifice used to deprive him of the Blessing, did at the Time abundantly enrage him, and in the Heat of Passion he thought when *Isaac* should be dead to take a full Revenge, and kill his Brother for supplanting him; but a little Time reduced him to be calm again, and he never took one Step to *Jacob's* Injury. When they first met he was all Humanity and Affection (e); and he had no Uneasiness, when he found that *Jacob* followed him not to *Seir*, but went to live near his Father: and at *Isaac's* Death, we do not find he made any Difficulty of quitting *Canaan*, which was the very Point which, if he had harboured any latent Intentions, would have revived all his Resentments. He is indeed called in Scripture the prophane *Esau* (f), and he is said to have been hated of God, *the Children*, says *St. Paul* (g), *being not yet born, neither having done any Good or Evil, that the Purpose of God, according to Election might stand, not of Works, but of him that calleth, it was said unto her, the elder shall serve the younger.* And it is written, *Jacob have I loved and Esau have I hated* (h): There is, I think, no Reason to infer from any of these Expressions, that *Esau* was a very wicked Man, or that God hated and

(e) Gen. xxxiii. 4. (f) Heb. xii. 16. (g) Rom. ix. 11, 12.

(h) Ver. 13.

punished him for an immoral Life. For, 1. The Sentence here against him is said expressly to be founded, not upon his Actions, for it was determined before the Children had done Good or Evil. 2. God's Hatred of *Eſau*, here spoken of by *St. Paul*, was not an Hatred, which induced him to punish him with any Evil; for *Eſau* was as happy in all the Blessings of this Life, as either *Abraham*, or *Isaac*, or *Jacob*, and his Posterity had a Land designed by God to be their Possession as well as the Children of *Jacob*, and they were enabled to drive out and dispossess the Inhabitants of it, as *Israel* did to the Land of his Possession (i), and they were put in Possession of it much sooner than the *Israelites*; and God was pleased to protect them in the Enjoyment of it, and to caution the *Israelites* against invading them with a remarkable Strictness (k), as he also cautioned them against invading the Land which he designed to give to the Children of *Lot* (l). And as God was pleased thus to bless *Eſau* and his Children in the Blessings of this Life, even as much as he blessed *Abraham*, or *Isaac*, or *Jacob*, if not more; so why may we not hope to find him with them at the last Day, as well as *Job*, or *Lot*, or any other good and virtuous Man, who was not design'd to be a Partaker of *the Blessing* given unto *Abraham*? For, 3. All the Punishment that was inflicted on *Eſau*, was an Exclusion from being Heir of *the Blessing* promised to *Abraham* and to *his Seed*, which was a Favour not granted

(i) Deut. ii. 5. & 12, (k) Ver. 4, 5. (l) Ver. 9.

to *Lot*, to *Job*, to several other very virtuous and good Men. 4. *St. Paul*, in the Passage before cited, does not intend to represent *Esau* as a Person that had particularly merited God's Displeasure, but to shew the *Jews*, that God had all along given the Favours that led to the *Messiah* where he pleased; to *Abraham*, not to *Lot*; to *Jacob*, not to *Esau*; as, at the time *St. Paul* wrote, the *Gentiles* were made the People of God, and not the *Jews*. 5. *Esau* is indeed called prophane, [βέβηλος]; but I think that Word does not mean wicked or immoral [ἀσεβής or ἀμαρτωλός] (*m*); he was called so for not having that due Value for the Priests Office which he ought to have had. In this Point there seems to have been a Defect in his Character; Hunting and such Diversions of Life were more pleasing to him, than the Views and Prospects which the Promises of God had opened to his Family, and which his Brother *Jacob* was more thoughtful about than he. And therefore, tho' I think it does not appear, that he was cut off from being the Heir of them, by any particular Action in his Life, yet his Temper and Thoughts do appear to be such, as to evidence, that God's Purpose towards *Jacob* was founded upon the truest Wisdom; *Jacob* being in himself the fittest Person to be the Heir of the Mercies, which God designed him.

When *Joseph* was sold into the Family of *Potiphar*, he soon obtained himself a Station,

(*m*) 1 Tim. i. 9.

in which he might have lived with great Comfort. His Master saw, that he was a Youth of great Wit and Diligence, and very prosperous in his Undertakings, and in a little time he made him his Steward (*n*), and put all his Affairs under his Management. When he was thus in a Condition of Life, in which he might have been very happy, his Mistress fell in Love with him; but in the Integrity of his Heart he refused to comply with her Desires, and took the Liberty to reprove her for them, and shunned all Opportunities of being at any time alone with her (*o*). Whether she feared by his Manner and Behaviour that he might accuse her to her Husband, or whether she was enraged at the Slight she thought hereby offered her, upon his peremptorily refusing to comply with her, she accused him to *Potiphar* of a Design to ravish her, and had him laid in Prison. *Joseph* was kept in Prison above two Years, but he got into Favour with the Keeper of the Prison, and was intrusted by him with the Management of all the Affairs belonging to the Prison, and with the Custody of the Prisoners (*p*). Two Years and something more after *Joseph's* Imprisonment (*q*), the King of *Egypt* dreamt two very remarkable Dreams, both which seemed to be of much the same Import: The King had a great Uneasiness about them, and the more, because none of his *Magi* could interpret, or tell him the Mean-

(*n*) Gen. xxxix. 4.
 (*q*) Chap. xli. 1.

(*e*) Ver. 8, 9, 10.

(*p*) Ver. 22, 23.

ing of them. In the midst of his Perplexity his chief Butler or Cup-bearer called to mind, that himself had been some time before under the King's Displeasure, and in Prison with *Joseph*, and that *Joseph* had very punctually interpreted a Dream of his, and another of the King's Baker, who was in Prison with him (r): He gave the King an Account of it, which occasioned *Joseph* to be sent for. *Joseph* came, and heard the King's Dreams, and told him the Meaning of them was, that there would be all over *Egypt*, first of all seven Years Plenty, and then a severe Famine for seven Years; and added, that since it had pleased God thus to inform the King what Seasons he intended, he hoped he would make a right use of the Information, and appoint some discreet and wise Person, with proper Officers under him, to gather a fifth Part of each plenteous Year's Product, and to lay it up in Store against the time of Scarcity. The King conceived a very great Opinion of *Joseph*, both from his Interpretation of the Dreams, and from the Advice he gave upon them, and thought no one could be so fit to manage the Office of gathering the Corn in the Years of Plenty, as he who had so wisely thought of a Scheme so beneficial, and therefore he immediately made him his Deputy over the Land of *Egypt* (b). *Joseph* was, I think, above twenty Years old when his Brethren sold him, and he was thirty when *Pharaoh* thus advanced him (i); so that

(r) Gen. xli. 9. (b) Ver. 38---41. (i) Ver. 46.

it pleased God in less than ten Years to promote him, from a Lad, the younger Son of a private Traveller, through various Changes and Accidents of Life, by several Steps, and not without a Mixture of some severe Misfortunes, to be the Head of a very potent Kingdom, inferior only to him who wore the Crown. He wore the King's Ring, had all the Marks and Distinctions that belong to the highest Rank of Life; rode in *Pharaoh's* second Chariot, and where-ever he passed, the Officers appointed cry'd before him, *Bow the Knee.* (k). *Pharaoh* called *Joseph Zaphnath-paaneah* (l), and married him to the Priest of *On's* Daughter; he had two Sons by her, *Manasseh* and *Ephraim* (m).

In the Years of Plenty *Joseph* had gathered a sufficient Stock of Corn, not for *Egypt* only, but to supply the neighbouring Countries: And in the Years of Famine, when he opened his Stores, and sold out his Provision, he acquired for the King immense Riches. The *Egyptians* bought his Corn with Money, until all the Money of the Land of *Egypt*, and all that could be procured out of the Land of *Canaan*, was in *Pharaoh's* Treasury; then they

(k) Gen. xli. 41 ——— 44. The best Expositors do not take the Word *Abrek*, to signify *Bow the Knee*, as our Translation renders it; but they suppose it to be a Name of Honour, which *Pharaoh* caused to be proclaimed before *Joseph*. See Vers. LXX. Targum Onkelos. Vers. Samaritan. Vers. Syriac. Vers. Arab. & Castelli Lexicon Heptaglotton, in Verb. 711. *Abrek*, Vox Egyptia est *ἱερατικὸς μὸς* quidam. See Pool. Synopsis in loc.

(l) The Name which *Pharaoh* gave *Joseph* is an Egyptian Name, and signifies a Discoverer of things hidden. (m) Ver. 51.

exchanged

exchanged their Cattle for Corn, until *Pharaoh* had purchased all them also; in the last Place, they sold their Lands and Possessions, so that by *Joseph's* Conduct, *Pharaoh* was become sole Proprietor of all the Money, Cattle, and Lands of all *Egypt* (*n*). There are two or three Particulars very remarkable in *Joseph's* Management of this Affair. 1. When the *Egyptians* had parted with all their Money, Cattle and Lands, and still wanted Sustenance, they offered to become *Pharaoh's* Servants (*o*), but *Joseph* refused to accept of this Offer. He seems to have had a great and true Insight into things, and could not think, that he should really advance his Master's Interest by keeping his Subjects in Poverty and Slavery. He was desirous to establish a sufficient Revenue for the Occasions of the Crown, and at the same time to give the Subject a Property of their own, as well to excite their Industry to improve it, as to raise in them a sense of Duty and Affection to the Government that protected them in the secure Enjoyment of it. For this Reason *Joseph* return'd back Possessions to all the People, upon Condition of paying yearly the fifth Part of the Product of their Lands to the King for ever (*p*). 2. When he returned the Lands back again to the People, he did not put them in Possession each Man of what was his own before, but he removed them from one end of *Egypt* to the other (*q*); wisely foreseeing, that few Men would have

(*n*) Gen. xlvii. 18.

(*o*) Ver. 19.

(*p*) Ver. 24, 26.

(*q*) Ver. 21;

so easy sense of their Condition in the Enjoyment of what had formerly been their own without Tax or Burthen, but now received upon Terms of Disadvantage; as they would have in the Possession of what never was their own, tho' they held it upon the same Conditions. 3. When *Joseph* bought in the Lands of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh*, he bought not the Priests Lands, for they did eat their Portion which *Pharaoh* gave them, and therefore sold not their Lands; and so, when afterwards the whole Kingdom came to be taxed the fifth Part, the Priests Lands were excepted, because they became not *Pharaoh's* (r). A Right Honourable Writer makes the following Remark upon this Favour shewn the Priests: "To what Height of Power the establish'd Priesthood was arrived even at that time, may be conjectured hence; That *the Crown* (to speak in a modern Style) offered not to meddle with the *Church Lands*; and that, in this great Revolution, nothing was attempted so much as by way of Purchase or Exchange in Prejudice of this Landed Clergy; the Prime Minister himself having joined his Interest with theirs, and entered by Marriage into this Alliance." (s) To this Answer: 1. I have already shewn, That the Priests of *Egypt* were the Heads of all the Families of the Land, not raised to be so by their Priesthood, but they became the Priests,

(r) Gen. xlvii. 22. & 26.
Vol. 3. Miscel. 1.

(s) *Ld Shaftsbury's Characteristicks*.

because they were originally Persons of the highest Rank: they were reputed almost equal to the Kings, consulted upon all public Affairs of Consequence, and some of them generally upon a Vacancy succeeded to the Crown; and if this be true, it does not seem likely that they should want *Joseph's* Alliance to strengthen their Interest, or to obtain them any Favour.

2. Whatever Favour was shewn them, *Moses* represents it as proceeding from the King, and not from *Joseph*: The Land of the Priests bought he not [*ci cbock le cohanim meeth Pharaoh*] because there was a Decree for (in favour of) the Priests from even *Pharaoh* (t), i. e. because *Pharaoh* had made a Decree expressly against it; or we may translate the Words agreeably to our *English* Version, because there was an Appointment for the Priests from even *Pharaoh*, and they did eat their appointed or assigned Portion, which *Pharaoh* gave them, wherefore they sold not their Lands: take the Words either way, the Favour to the Priests proceeded from *Pharaoh*. It may perhaps be here asked, why *Pharaoh*, when he thought fit to lessen the Property of his common Subjects, did not also attempt to reduce in some measure the exorbitant Wealth of the Priests, who, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (u), were possessed of a third Part of the whole Land. To this we may answer: The *Egyptian* Priests were obliged to provide all Sacrifices, and to bear all the Charges of the national Religion;

(t) Gen. xlvii. 22.

(u) Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 66.

and Religion was in these Days a matter of very great Expence to them, who were to supply what was requisite for the Performance of the Offices of it. The numerous Sacrifices, that were appointed to be offered in these times, could not be provided, nor the Preparations and Ceremonies in offering them performed, but at a very great Charge; at so great an one, that we find in Countries, where the Soil was not fruitful, and consequently the People poor, they did not well know how to bear the Burthen of Religion; and therefore *Lycurgus*, when he reformed the *Lacedæmonian* State, instituted Sacrifices the meanest and cheapest he could think of, that he might not make Religion too Expensive for his People (*w*): *Egypt* was a fertile and rich Country, and most probably both King and People were desirous of having the public Religion appear with a suitable Splendor: And I do not find that even *Aristotle* could compute, that less than a fourth Part of the Lands of his Republic could suffice for these Uses (*x*); and suppose we should allow them no more in *Egypt*, yet there would still remain a Difficulty; for the Priests of *Egypt* were the whole Body of the Nobility of the Land. They were the King's Counsellors and Assistants in all Affairs that concerned the public; they were joint Agents with him [*συνεργοὶ* (*y*)] in some things; in some others the King himself was to be di-

(*w*) Plutarch. in vit. Lycurgi. (x) Aristot. de republic. l. 2.
c. 10. (y) Diodor. Sic. ubi sup.

lected and instructed by them, in these they are said to be his *εἰσηγηταὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι* (z). They were the Professors and Cultivators of Astronomy, an useful Science at this time, without which even *Agriculture* it self could not have proceeded. They were the Keepers of the public Registers, Memoirs and Chronicles of the Kingdom; in a word, under the King, they were the Magistrates, and filled all the Prime Offices (a): And if we consider them in some or other of these Views, we may possibly allow, that *Pharaoh* might think that they had not too much to support the Stations they were to act in, and for that Reason, he ordered, that no Tax should be raised upon them.

As there came many Persons of the neighbouring Nations to *Egypt* to buy Corn; so amongst others *Jacob* was obliged to send his Sons from *Canaan* (b). *Joseph*, as soon as he saw them, knew them, and upon their bowing down before him, he remembered his former Dreams. He for some time kept himself very reserved, pretended to suspect them for Spies, and several ways seem'd to use them with an exceeding Strictness, so as to make them think themselves in great Extremities: At last he discovered himself to them, sent for his Father down to *Egypt*, and obtained for him and his Family a Residence in the Land of *Goshen*. Here they lived and flourished in Fa-

(z) Diodor. Sic. ubi sup.

(a) Δωτεράδοντες μετὰ βασιλέα πάντες δόξαις καὶ ταῖς ἑξουσίαις. Id ibid.

(b) Gen. xlii.

vour with the King, and with the *Egyptians* for *Joseph's* Sake (c).

Jacob came into *Egypt* *A. M.* 2298, for he was 130 Years old when he came into *Pharaoh's* Presence (d); and he was born *A. M.* 2168 (e), so that counting 130 Years from the Year of his Birth, we shall come to the Year above mentioned. I may here take occasion to fix the Chronology of the several Transactions we have passed over. 1. *Joseph* was about 30 Years old in the Beginning of the Famine; for he was thirty when he was first brought into *Pharaoh's* Presence just at the Beginning of the seven Years of Plenty (f): he was 32 two or three Years before his Father came into *Egypt*; for he revealed himself to his Brethren, and sent for his Father at the End of the second Year's Famine (g); so that he was 34 about *A. M.* 2295, and consequently *Joseph* was born *A. M.* 2257. 2. *Joseph's* Birth was six Years before *Jacob* left *Laban*; for *Jacob* served *Laban* in all twenty Years (h), and fourteen of the twenty Years were over at *Joseph's* Birth (i), the time being then expired which *Jacob* was to serve *Laban* for his Wives; so that *Jacob* left *Laban* *A. M.* 2261, and *Jacob* came to *Laban* *A. M.* 2243. 3. *Jacob* married seven Years after he came to *Laban* (k) i. e. *A. M.* 2250; and thus *Jacob* being born *A. M.* 2168, was about 75 Years old

(c) Gen. xlii, xliii, xlv, xlvi, xlvii. (d) Chap. xlvi. 9.
 (e) See p. 117. (f) Gen. xli. 46. (g) Gen. xlv. 6. (h) Gen.
 xxxi. 38. (i) Chap. xxx. 25, 26. (k) Chap. xxix. 20, 21.

when he first came to *Laban*, and 89 at *Joseph's* Birth. We are not exactly informed when *Benjamin* was born, when *Rachel* died, or when *Joseph* was sold into *Egypt*, but we may conjecture very nearly; for *Joseph* was 17 Years old when he was feeding his Father's Flock with the Sons of *Bilhab* (l): *Benjamin* was not then born; for *Joseph* was at that time the Son of his Father's old Age, or youngest Son (m); and *Rachel*, who died in Labour of *Benjamin*, was alive when *Joseph* dreamt his Dreams, for which his Brethren hated him (n). *Rachel* died and *Benjamin* was born near *Ephrath* (o), before *Jacob* came to *Isaac* at *Hebron*: *Jacob* did not go directly to *Hebron* as soon as *Rachel* was buried; but made some Stop at *Edar* (p): *Jacob* was come to *Hebron*, and sent *Joseph* thence back to his Brethren, when they took him and sold him into *Egypt* (q): From these several Particulars it seems most probable, that *Benjamin* was born, and *Rachel* died, when *Joseph* was about sixteen, *A. M.* 2273, for he was but seventeen when he told his Father of the evil Actions of his Brothers at *Edar* (r), where *Jacob* lived after *Rachel* died (s). *Jacob* might come to *Hebron* in about five or six Years after this, and

(l) Gen. xxxvii. 2. (m) Ver. 3. (n) Ver. 10. (o) Chap. xxxv. 16---19. (p) Ver. 21, 22. (q) xxxvii. 14. (r) Ver. 2. (s) Demetrius in Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. c. 21. says that *Rachel* died when she had lived with *Jacob* twenty three Years: *Jacob* married *Rachel* when he had been with *Laban* a Week more than seven Years, i. e. *A. M.* 2250. According to our Computation *Rachel* died twenty three Years after this, so that we agree exactly with Demetrius.

soon after his coming thither *Joseph* was sold into *Egypt*, *i. e.* when he was about twenty two Years old, about nine Years before the Death of *Isaac*, *A. M.* 2279.

Seventeen (*t*) Years after *Jacob* came into *Egypt* he fell sick and died. *Jacob* was a Person in every Respect very considerable: His Capacity was great, his natural Parts quick and ready, and the Revelations which God was pleased to make him were very many, and very remarkable: It was an Argument of his being a Person of great Prudence and Sagacity, that he so much prized the Privileges of *Esau's* Birth-right: and in every turn of his Life, (in his conduct with *Laban*; in his Address to his Brother *Esau*; in his Sense of his Sons Revenge upon the *Sichemites*;) he expressed himself a Man of a quick and ready Apprehension, to foresee the Evils that might befall him, and of great Courage and Prudence to shape himself the best way through them. The Life of *Isaac* seems to have been the Life of a plain and virtuous honest Man, without any great Variety or very extraordinary Turns in it: He had a vast Substance left him by his Father *Abraham* to carry him through the World, and he liv'd upon it all his Life almost always in or near the same Place: *Abraham* died at *Mamre*, and there *Isaac* liv'd and died, and we do not find he liv'd any where else, except only when a Famine oblig'd him to remove to *Gerar* (*u*); and *Gerar* was so near to *Mamre*,

(*t*) Gen. xlvii. 28.

(*u*) Gen. xxvi.

that we may affirm, that he spent his whole Life within about the Compass of a hundred or a hundred and twenty Miles: But *Jacob* was born to greater things, and designed to be more known to the World: He had no great Substance left him from his Father, but was to rise by his own Industry and God's Blessing: He was sent into *Padan-Aram* to obtain himself a Wife, and by his Diligence to make a Provision for his Family, which he was enabled to do in twenty Years in so ample a manner, as to live afterwards in Credit and Reputation with the Princes of his Age (x); nay, and to have even those of his Rank stand in fear of attempting to offer him any Injury. Towards the close of his Life God was pleased to strip him of, what I might call, all his adventitious Happiness, and to leave him only his Children and a few Necessaries; for we find the Pressure of the Famine had dispersed his numerous Family; for he did not go down to *Egypt* Master of two bands of Followers (y), nor possessed of his *Sichemitish* Captives, but he brought thither with him, besides his Sons Wives, only sixty six Persons, being his Children and Grand-children, with the Cattle and Goods which he then had (z); but even then, by the influence of his Son *Joseph*, he was receiv'd in *Egypt* with Credit and Respect, and admitted into the King's Presence as a Person of great Worth and Eminence; for it is

(x) Gen. xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv. 5. (y) So numerous was his Family when he left Haran. Chap. xxxii. 7.

(z) Chap. xlvi. 26.

particularly remark'd that he blessed *Pharaoh* (a). As the Turns of *Jacob's* Life were thus great and many ; so he had very frequent and remarkable Revelations to support and guide him in his Passage thro' them : We have no mention of any Revelations to *Isaac* above twice or thrice in his whole Life, and indeed the Circumstances of his Life required no more ; but with *Jacob* God was pleased to converse more frequently, and to give him a fuller Knowledge of the manner in which he design'd to deal with his Posterity. When *Isaac* purpos'd to dispose of the Blessing promised to *Abraham*, it is very evident that he did not know how God intended it should be given ; for he purposed to have disposed of it to the Person who was not to be the Heir of it (b) : He did indeed by the Contrivance of *Rebekah* happened to give it right, and when he had given it, God was pleas'd to enlighten his Understanding, and in some small measure to inform him what should be the Circumstances of his Sons and their Posterity ; but *Jacob*, when he came to draw towards his End, had a much greater Share of this Prophetical Knowledge imparted to him : He was enabled with great Exactness to enter into the Circumstances of the Lives of *Joseph's* Sons (c) ; and when he came to tell his Children what should befall them in the latter Days (d), he could offer the Hints of many Things that belong'd particularly to the Families of each of

(a) Gen. xlvii. 10.
10---22,

(b) Chap. xxvii,
(d) Chap. xlix,

(c) Chap. xlviii.

his Children ; as may be best seen hereafter, when we shall remark in their proper Places how the Things foretold by him were fulfill'd to their Posterity. As the Life of *Jacob* was more remarkable and various than the Life of his Father *Isaac* ; so we find larger Accounts of it amongst the Heathen Writers. We find but little mention of *Isaac* any where but in the sacred Writings, so little, that some of the Heathen Historians, who enquired after the Accounts of *Abraham's* Family, did not know there was such a Person as *Isaac* ; but took *Jacob* or *Israel* to be the Son of *Abraham* (a) ; But *Jacob's* Life was celebrated by many of their ancient Writers : *Eusebius* (b) gives a large Account of the Life of *Jacob*, which he took from *Demetrius*, and *Demetrius* had it from the Annals of *Alexander Polyhistor* (c) : The Account agrees in the main with that of *Moses* ; but in little Particulars differs remarkably from it : *Demetrius* fixes the Dates and Times of many Transactions in *Jacob's* Life, which *Moses* has not determined, and he fixes some in a manner which will not exactly agree with some other of *Moses's* Computations ; which seems to me to evidence, that he did not copy from *Moses*, as indeed there was no need he should ; for the ancient History even of these early Times was written by various Writers (d), who differ'd in some Circumstan-

(a) Justin from Trogus Pompeius lib. 36. c. 2. (b) Præp. Evang. lib. 9. c. 21. (c) Id. ibid. ad fin. cap. (d) Josephus cont. Apion. l. 1. p. 1350.

ces from one another, and therefore took their Hints from different Originals, and amongst the rest a very large mention was made of *Jacob* by *Theodotus* a very ancient Historian, who wrote the *Phœnician Antiquities* (e), and whose works *Chætus* translated into *Greek*, a Part of which Translation relating to *Jacob* is preserv'd in *Eusebius* (f): *Jacob* was a hundred and forty seven Years old when he died, and so died *A. M.* 2315.

When *Jacob* was dead, *Joseph* order'd the Physicians of *Egypt* to embalm him, the Performance of which Ceremony with the Circumstances belonging to it took up forty Days (g), and the *Egyptians* had a solemn or publick mourning for him for seventy Days (h); a Circumstance expressing the greatest Honour they could possibly pay to *Joseph* and his Family, for they perform'd but seventy two Days mourning for their Kings (i). After the time of this Mourning was over, *Joseph* obtain'd Leave of *Pharaoh* to go into *Canaan* to bury his Father, and the prime Officers of the Court of *Egypt* went with him to attend the Funeral; so that there went out of *Egypt*, the House of *Joseph* and his Brethren, and his Father's House, the Servants of *Pharaoh*, and the Elders of his House, and all the Elders of the Land of *Egypt*, both Chariots and Horsemen a very great Company (k): The Procession

(e) Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. p. 128. & Joseph. ub. sup. (f) Præp. Evang. lib. 9. c. 22. (g) Gen. l. 3. (h) Ibid. (i) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 1. p. 46. (k) Gen. l. 8, 9.

was so great, and the solemn Stop they made for seven Days upon the Borders of *Canaan* was so remarkable, that the *Canaanites* ever after called the Place they stopp'd at *Abel-mizrain*, or the Mourning-place of the *Egyptians*. *Jacob* was buried in the Cave of *Macpelah* by *Abraham* and *Sarah*, and *Joseph* and his Brethren and the *Egyptians* returned back again to *Egypt*.

After *Jacob* was buried, *Joseph's* Brethren began to reflect upon the ill Treatment which *Joseph* had formerly received from them, and to fear that now their Father was gone, he would remember and revenge it: They came to him in the most submissive manner, acknowledged all their former Unkindness to him, begg'd he would pass it over and forgive it, and offer'd themselves and Children at his Feet to be his Servants; and not thinking all this enough, they were willing to add Weight to their Entreaties by telling him, that their Father before he died required them thus to ask him Pardon and Forgiveness. *Joseph* could not keep from Tears at their Behaviour: He made a kind and tender Apology for them, observ'd to them how much Happiness God had produced from their little Animosities, and promised them his Favour and Protection as long as he should live (1).

We meet with nothing more of *Joseph* or his Management: The King that advanced him was, I think, *Thufimares*, who was the twen-

(1) Gen. l. 15—21.

tieth King of *Tanis* or lower *Egypt*, according to Sir *John Marsham*, and *Joseph* was advanced in the thirteenth Year of *Thusimares's* Reign. Sir *John Marsham* places the Advancement of *Joseph* in the time of *Rameffe-Tubaete* the twenty third King of *Tanis*, but this Position of him will appear to be too late: *Joseph* was sold into *Egypt* *A. M.* 2279, and if we compute the Reigns of Sir *John Marsham's* Kings of *Egypt*, supposing *Mizrain* first to reign there *A. M.* 1772, and to die *A. M.* 1943 (*m*), we must place *Joseph* about the Time of the twelfth King of *Tanis*, in *Achoreus's* Reign; but this will be much too high, and there are certainly Mistakes in this Part of Sir *John Marsham's* Tables. *Moses* hints to us, that *Joseph* placed his Brethren in the Land of *Rameses* (*n*); the Land could not be so called, until there had been such a Person as *Rameses*; for the ancient Practice was, after Kings or famous Men were dead, to call the Lands after their Names (*q*). Thus the Land of *Haran* was not so named until after *Haran* was dead (*r*). *Rameses* therefore, who according to Sir *John Marsham* was the eighteenth King of *Tanis*, and began to reign a hundred and forty five Years after *Achoreus*, was dead, and some Part of the Land of *Goshen*, where *Joseph* placed his Brethren, was called after his Name, before *Joseph* brought his Brethren into *Egypt*; and this will well agree to my placing *Joseph* in the Reign of *Thusimares*, who was the second King after

(*m*) See Vol. I. Book IV. xlix. 11.

(*r*) Gen. xi 31.

(*n*) Gen. xlvii. 11.

(*q*) Psalm

Rameses (f). *Thufimares* reigned thirty one Years (*t*), and if *Joseph* was advanced in the thirteenth Year of his Reign, *Thufimares* died sixty two Years before *Joseph*; for *Joseph* was thirty Years old when *Pharoah* advanced him (*u*), and he lived to be a hundred and ten Years old (*w*), so that he lived eighty Years after his Advancement. And according to Sir *John Marsham's* Account of the Lengths of the Reigns of *Thufimares's* Successors, *Joseph* lived to serve three of them, and died in the twentieth Year of the Reign of *Ramesse-Tubaete*. So that he supported his Credit with four Kings; an Instance of the Stability of Courts in these Times. He was highly esteemed by the Princes, and universally beloved by all the People: He had advanced the Crown of *Egypt* to a state of Wealth and Grandeur, which until his Time it had been a Stranger to, and had acquired the King a Property greater perhaps than any King in the World at that Time enjoyed, and established upon a better Foundation; for he had obliged the Subjects of the Land, in the manner by which he acquired it, as much as he had advanced *Pharoah* by the Acquisition of it, and was in truth what he styled himself, a Father not only to *Pharoah* (*x*), but to every one of his Subjects also; for by his Care and Provision, the whole Land was preserved from becoming desolate, and every one of the Inhabitants preserved from perishing. *Joseph*

(f) See Sir John Marsham. Can. Chron.
(u) Gen. xli. 46.

(w) Chap. l. 22.

(t) Id. ibid. 1
(x) Gen. xiv. 8.

lived to see his Grand-children grown up to be Men (y), and then he called his Brethren together, and assured them, that God would in due Time bring them out of *Egypt* into the Possession of the Land of *Canaan*, and made them swear to him, that when they should go out of *Egypt* they would carry away his Bones with them. *Joseph* died fifty two Years after his Father, *A. M.* 2367.

The Children of *Israel*, or Family of *Jacob*, when they came into *Egypt*, were about seventy Persons: *Jacob* and his Children that came with him were in number sixty seven, and *Joseph* and his two Sons make up the number seventy; but besides these, *Jacob's* Sons Wives came also with them (z). There are some Difficulties in *Moses's* Catalogues of *Jacob's* Children. We have one Catalogue in Chap. xxxv. and another in Chap. xlvi: In the xxxvth Chap. we are told the Sons of *Jacob* were twelve, and after a particular Enumeration of them it is said, *These are the Sons of Jacob, which were born to him in Padan-Aram.* Now it is evident that all these Sons were not born in *Padan-Aram*, for *Benjamin* was born near *Ephrath* in *Canaan* (a). Some Writers have remarked, that the Expression of the Hebrew is, *which were begat by him in Padan-Aram*, and they imagine that *Rachel* was with child of *Benjamin*, when *Jacob* left *Laban*, and that this was what *Moses* intended in this

(y) Gen. i. 22, 23.
16 — 18.

(z) Chap. xlvi. 26.

(a) Chap. xxxv.

Passage: But this cannot be allowed; for if the *Hebrew Words* may possibly bear that Sense (b), yet *Jacob* after he came from *Haran* lived at *Sichem* and bought Land there, and afterwards lived at *Bethel*, and removed thence before *Benjamin* was born; so that several Years passed between *Jacob's* leaving *Padan-Aram*, and the Birth of *Benjamin*. I have computed at least ten Years (c), so that *Rachel* could not be with Child of him in *Padan-Aram*. Other Commentators (d) think the Passage to be a *Synecdoche*; but surely this Pretence is very idle: We must have an odd Notion of *Moses's* Eloquence to imagine that he had a mind to display it in giving us the Names of *Jacob's* twelve Sons, and a still more surprizing Notion of Rhetoric, to make such a Passage as this a Figure of Speech, which looks ten times more like a Mistake than a *Synecdoche*. I should think it certain that *Moses* did not write the Words *in Padan-Aram* in this Place; but that he ended his Period with the Words *which were born to him*; but that some careless or injudicious Transcriber, finding the Words *in Padan-Aram* in *Gen. xlvi. 15.* might add them here also, and be led into the Mistake by considering, that he had twelve Children born there, which is indeed true, but eleven of them only were Sons, one of his Children born in *Padan-Aram*, namely *Dinah*, was a

(b) *The Hebrew Words are*

אֲרִיָּה בְּנֵי יַעֲקֹב אֲשֶׁר יָרַד לֵוֹ בְּפֹדֵן אֲרָם

(c) See p. 187.

(d) Vid. Pool Synop. in loc.

R 3

Daughter.

Daughter. In the Catalogue in *Genesis* xlv. there seems to be a Deficiency: *Moses* begins it, *These are the Names of the Children of Israel, which came into Egypt, Jacob and his Sons: Reuben his first born (r)*; but then he does not add the Names of *Jacob's* other Sons which he had by *Leah* and *Zilpah*, nor of those which he had by *Bilhah*; and if we cast up the Number of Names which are now given us, they will fall short of the Number which *Moses* computes them to be (*f*), by all the Names thus omitted: I cannot but think therefore, that all these Names of *Jacob's* Sons were inserted by *Moses*; but have been dropt by the Carelessness of Transcribers: The Accounts of each Family might be begun by *Moses*, as the first is. *Reuben, Jacob's first born, and the Sons of Reuben*: So *Moses* most probably wrote: *Simeon, and the Sons of Simeon (t)*: *Levi, and the Sons of Levi (u)*: *Judah, and the Sons of Judah (w)*; and so in the Accounts of all the rest; and the same Word being repeated might be easily dropt by an hasty Writer: and it is very evident, that the Transcribers have been careless in these Catalogues; for the Children of *Leah* are said by mistake to be thirty three (*x*), whereas there are but thirty two, and without doubt *Moses* computed them no more than thirty two; for he makes the whole Number of the Children of *Jacob* that came with him into *Egypt* to be sixty six (*y*), and

(*r*) Gen. xlv. 8. (*f*) Ver. 26. (*t*) Ver. 10. (*u*) Ver. 11.
 (*w*) Ver. 12. (*x*) Ver. 15. (*y*) Ver. 26.

thirty two Children of *Leah*, sixteen of *Zilpah*, eleven of *Rachel* (without *Joseph* and his two Sons) and seven by *Bilhah*, make up exactly the Number. If the Children of *Leah* had been thirty three, the Number that came with *Jacob* into *Egypt* must have been sixty seven, as may be seen by any one that will put together the several Persons named in the Catalogue. *All the Souls of the House of Jacob, which came into Egypt, were threescore and ten* (z); i. e. sixty six as above mentioned, and *Jacob* himself, and *Joseph*, and *Joseph's* two Sons *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*; and thus many they are always computed to be in all places where they are mentioned in Scripture (a). The LXX indeed suppose, that there were seventy five of *Jacob's* Family in *Egypt*, when he was come thither. They render the latter Part of the 27th Verse, *All the Souls of the House of Jacob, which came into Egypt, were* ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε, i. e. *Seventy five*. And thus they number them, *Exodus* Chap. i. ver. 5. and the Number is the same in *St. Stephen's* Speech (b), where they are said to be *threescore and fifteen Souls*. As to the *Septuagint*, it is evident how we come to find the Number seventy five instead of seventy in *Gen. xlii. 27.* for, 1. In our present Copies of the *Septuagint*, there is a very large Interpolation, of which not one Word is to be found in any *Hebrew* Copy. The LXX give us the 20th Verse of this

(z) *Gen. xlii. 27.*
vii. 14.

(a) *Exodus i. 5. Deut. x. 22.*

(b) *Acts*

Chapter thus: *And there were Sons born unto Joseph in the Land of Egypt, which Asenath the Daughter of Potipherah Priest of Heliopolis bare unto him, Manasseh and Ephraim.* After these Words they add, *And there were born Sons unto Manasseh, which Syra his Concubine bare unto him, Machir, and Machir begat Galaad; and the Sons of Ephraim the Brother of Manasseh were Sutalam and Taam, and the Sons of Sutalam were Edom:* And thus our present Editions of the *Septuagint* compute seventy five Persons instead of seventy, by taking into the Account five Sons and Grandsons of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, which are not in the *Hebrew*: But, 2. these five Persons were evidently not put into this Catalogue by *Moses*; for the Design of this Catalogue was to give the Names of the Persons of *Jacob's* Family, who came with him into *Egypt*, or who were there at the Time when he came thither; but *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* could have no Children born at this Time, and therefore their Childrens Names cannot be supposed to be inserted by *Moses* in this Place: *Joseph* was about thirty Years old when he married (c), and he was about forty or forty one when *Jacob* came into *Egypt*; so that *Manasseh*, who was his elder Son, could not be much above ten Years old, and therefore it is an evident Mistake in our present *Septuagint* Copies to insert *Joseph's* Grand-children, and their Children, in this Place. 3 It is not very difficult to guess how these Additions were

(c) Gen. xli. 45, 46.

made to the LXX. I call them Additions, for no one can imagine, that the first Translators of the *Hebrew Bible* into *Greek*, could so palpably and erroneously deviate from the Original. The Owners of ancient Manuscripts used frequently to make marginal References, Observations or Notes in their Manuscripts, and very probably some learned Person might collect from *Numbers* xxvi. and *1 Chronic.* vii. that *Manasseh* and *Ephraim* had these Sons and Grandsons, and remark it in the Margin of his Manuscript Septuagint, and some Transcribers from that Manuscript might mistake the Design; think it put there as an Omission of the Copyist, and so take it into the Text; and by degrees, this Accident happening very early when there were but few Copies of the LXX taken, all subsequent Transcripts came to be corrupted by it. 4. As to the 14th Verse of Chap. vii. of the *Acts*, I cannot conceive that St. *Luke* wrote *threescore and fifteen Souls*; but it being pretty certain, that Transcribers in the first Ages of Christianity did sometimes make such small Alterations as these to make the new *Testament* accord with the Copies they then had of the LXX Bible (the LXX being more read by the Christians of the first Ages, than the *Hebrew Scriptures*) it seems most reasonable to suppose that they finding 75 and not 70 in the xlviith Chapter of *Genesis*, and *Exodus* i, might alter the ancient reading of this Passage in St. *Stephen's* Speech, to make it accord with the LXX in the Places referr'd to. 5. That the Number 75 instead of 70 came into the
Septuagint

Septuagint Copies in the manner above-mentioned, might be confirmed from *Josephus*, who computes but 70 of *Jacob's* Family in *Egypt* at this Time, agreeing with the *Hebrew* (*d*), and perhaps even from the *LXX Translation* it self; for that very Translation says in another Place expressly, that they were but 70 Persons (*e*), agreeing fully with the *Hebrew*, which may hint to us that the true ancient Reading of the *LXX* it self was 70 and not 75. There is one Difficulty more which ought not to be passed over: In *Genesis* xli. 12. we are told, that *Er and Onan*, the Sons of *Judab*, died in the Land of *Canaan*, and *Hezron* and *Hamul*, Sons of *Pharez*, are inserted in the Catalogue of *Jacob's* Family that came with him into *Egypt*. *Jacob* married about *A. M.* 2250. *Judab* was *Jacob's* fourth Son, and might be born about *A. M.* 2254. *Jacob* came into *Egypt* *A. M.* 2298, so that *Judab* was at this Time about forty four Years of Age; but if he was no older, how could *Hezron* and *Hamul*, *Judab's* Grand-children by his Son *Pharez*, be born at this Time? We cannot suppose that *Judab* married *Shuah* (*f*) before he was twenty, we cannot well

(*d*) *Joseph.* *Antiq. Jud.* l. 2. c. 7. Ita in omnibus *Josephi* Exemplaribus tum hic, tum c. 9. §. 3. nec aliter ejus *Exscriptores*, *P. Comestor*, *Epitomator Cantuar.* alique. *Hudson.* not. in loc.

(*e*) *Deut.* x. 22. It must be acknowledged, that the *Alexandrian Manuscript* has in this Place ἐξ ὀλίγων τε πέντε. the Word πέντε might be inserted to correct a supposed Fault of other Manuscripts.

(*f*) *Gen.* xxxviii. 2.

suppose

suppose it so early; he must be at least twenty one, when his Son *Er* was born, about twenty two at *Onan's* Birth, and twenty three at the Birth of *Shelah* (g); and if he took a Wife for his Son *Er*, when *Er* was seventeen, then *Judab* was thirty eight when *Er* married. *Er* died soon after he married, and *Onan* took his Wife, and *Onan* died also, and *Judab* desired *Tamar* his Daughter-in-Law to remain a Widow until *Shelah* his Son should be grown (h): *Tamar* did so; but when *Shelah* was grown, and she was not given unto him to Wife, *Tamar* dressed her self like an Harlot, and *Judab*, not knowing her to be his Daughter-in-law, lay with her, and she had two Children by him, *Pharez* and *Zarah* (i). *Judab* could not be less than forty one or forty two when he lay with *Tamar*, and *Pharez* could not be above two or three Years old, when *Jacob* came into *Egypt*; so that it is impossible that *Pharez* should have any Children born at this Time. The most learned Archbishop *Usher* seems to think that *Jacob* married, and consequently that *Judab* was born, earlier than I have supposed. He intimates from *Gen. xxix. 21.* that *Jacob* might perhaps marry soon after he came to *Laban*; but the Place cited does surely prove that he served *Laban* seven Years, and then said, *Give me my Wife, for my Days are fulfilled, i. e. the Time is now expired which I agreed to serve*

(g) *Gen. xxxviii. 3, 4, 5.*(h) See *Ver. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.*(i) *Ver. 14 — 30.*

for her (*k*); but if we should even suppose that *Jacob* married when he first enter'd *Laban's* Service, this will help us but to seven Years, and can make *Pharez* not above ten Years old when *Jacob* came into *Egypt*, so that *Pharez* still could have no Children at this Time. It must be confess'd that all the Versions agree exactly in this Verse, and it appears to be Fact that *Er* and *Onan* died in *Canaan* (*l*). Mistakes in Numbers are easily made by even careful Transcribers: I am not sensible that it is of any moment to suppose, that *Jacob* and his Descendants when they came into *Egypt* were exactly seventy: Why may we not suppose that *Moses* computed them but threescore and eight, and that the Number *ten* is a Corruption of the Text, and the Names *Hezron* and *Hamul* the Sons of *Pharez*, an Interpolation? If I may not take the Liberty to make this Correction of the Text, I must freely acknowledge that I do not see how to clear the Difficulty I have mentioned; but must leave it to the (*m*) Learned, as I do entirely submit to them,

(*k*) Gen. xxix. See Ver. 20, 21.

(*l*) Chap. xxxviii.

(*m*) I ought not to omit taking notice, that the most learned Archbishop Usher has left something in a posthumous Work of his, which may perhaps be thought to solve this Difficulty. This most learned Writer supposes *Judah* to have been born A. M. 2247, to have married when nineteen Years old, A. M. 2266, that his Son *Er* was born within that Year, that *Onan* was born, A. M. 2267, *Shelah* 2268, that *Er* married when he was fifteen. i. e. A. M. 2281, that *Onan* married within the same Year, that *Shelah* was grown, i. e. was about fifteen A. M. 2282; that *Judah* lay with *Tamar*, 2283; that *Pharez* and *Zara* were born at the End of this Year. That *Pharez* was fifteen, and married, and had Twins, *Hezron* and *Hamul* at a time, and in the Year 2298, to have the Children carried with *Jacob* into *Egypt* in that Year.

Here

them, what I have attempted to conjecture about it. The Children of *Israel* flourished in *Egypt* and were protected and favoured by the Kings of it for *Joseph's* sake, until the Government of *Egypt* was overthrown in the following manner.

In the fifth Year of *Concharis*, whom *Josephus* from *Manetho* calls *Timæus* (*n*), and who according to *Syncellus* was the twenty fifth King of the Land of *Tanis* or lower *Egypt*, there came a numerous Army of unknown People, and invaded *Egypt* on a sudden, they over-ran both the upper and the lower *Egypt*, fired Houses and Cities, kill'd the Inhabitants, and made a terrible Devastation all the Land over, and having in a little time subdued all before them, they made one of their Leaders their King, whose Name was *Salatis*: *Salatis* being made King laid the Land under Tribute, made the ancient Inhabitants of *Egypt* his Slaves, garrison'd such Towns as he thought proper, all over the Country, and established himself upon the Throne, and settled his People in the Land. Whence *Salatis* and his Followers came, is only to be conjectur'd: They called themselves the *Pastors* or *Shepherds*; they took particular Care to fortify the Eastern Parts of *Egypt*, and seem'd most afraid of a Disturbance from that Quarter. The Government of *Egypt*

Here is certainly every thing offer'd, that can possibly be supposed, and whether nothing more than can reasonably be allowed, I must refer to the Reader's Consideration. See Usher's Chronol. Sacra. c. 10. p. 170.

(*n*) *Josephus contra Apion. l. 1.*

being

being thus subverted, the Protection and Happiness which the *Israelites* enjoy'd perish'd with it: *Salatis* knew nothing of *Joseph*, nor did he regard any Establishment which *Joseph* had settled: He made his way into *Egypt* with his Sword, and he brought his People into the Land by Conquest, in such a manner and upon such Terms as he thought fit; and the *Israelites* were a rich and encreasing People, inhabiting the very Parts which he thought proper to take the greatest Care of, and he readily suspected, that if any Invasion should happen from the East, they would join against them (g). He therefore took a particular Care to keep them low.

That this King, who oppress'd the *Israelites*, was not an *Egyptian*, but some Foreigner, who with his Forces had over-run the Country, seems very evident from the Appellations which *Moses* gives him. *He was a new King*, and *knew not Joseph* (h), both which Hints strongly intimate him to be a Foreigner; the Word *New* is frequently used in this Sense; *new Gods* (i) are *strange* or *foreign Gods*; and had he been an *Egyptian* he must have known *Joseph*, for he came to reign not long after *Joseph* was dead, and his Brethren and all that Generation (k); and it is impossible that the Kings of *Egypt* could in so short a Time have forgot *Joseph*. Some Writers have endeavour'd to determine whence this new King and People

(g) Exodus i. 10.
Judges v. 8.

(h) Ver. 5.

(k) Exod. i. 6.

(i) Deut. xxxii. 16, 17.

came. Cardinal *Cajetan* says they were *Assyrians*, which he collects from *Isaiab* (l): the Words of the Prophet are, *Thus saith the Lord, My People went down aforetime into Egypt to sojourn there, and the Assyrian oppressed them without Cause.* If the Hebrew Words had been put in such Order, as that the Word *and* in this Verse might be read before *there, and there the Assyrian oppressed them without Cause*, the Cardinal's Opinion founded upon this Passage would be unquestionable; but as the Verse is worded, the two Parts of it seem to be two distinct Sentences, and the Design of it was to comfort the *Jews* against the Prospect of the *Babylonian Captivity*, by hinting to them their former Deliverance out of the *Egyptian Bondage*. *My People went down aforetime into Egypt to sojourn there; and now the Assyrian is about oppressing them without Cause: Now therefore [as it follows] what have I here, saith the Lord, that my People is taken away for nought? — therefore my People shall know my Name — when the Lord shall bring again Zion* (m). The whole Design of this Passage, with what follows, was intended to hint to the *Israelites* that God would certainly bring them out of the *Babylonian Captivity* (n), and the Cardinal's Conjecture cannot be at all supported by it. *Africanus* says, that these Pastors that over-ran *Egypt* were *Phœnicians* (o), but hints, that some other Writers thought them

(l) *Isaiab* lii. 4.
Synopsis, in loc.

(m) *Isaiab* lii. 5, 6, 7, 8.
(o) *Syncellus*, p. 61.

(n) See *Pool's*

to be *Arabians*: These two Opinions are not so widely different as they seem to be, for *Africanus* hints that his *Phœnicians* came out of the Eastern Parts [$\epsilon\kappa \tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\alpha\tau\omicron\lambda\eta\upsilon \mu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{\omicron}\nu$] and the Ancients did not accurately distinguish, but often called the whole Land of *Canaan* with the Countries adjacent by the Name of *Phœnicia*: It is indeed true that the *Arabians* are situate rather Southward than Eastward, and I should not think these *Pastors* came out of that Country: The most probable Conjecture that I can make about them is, that they were the *Horites* whom the Children of *Esau* drove out of their own Land (*p*). These *Horites* were a People that liv'd by Pasturage, and they were expelled their Country much about this Time: Their Passage into *Egypt* was almost directly from the East, and they had great reason to fortify the Eastern Parts of *Egypt*, very probably apprehending that the Enemy that had dispossessed them of their own Country, might take Occasion to follow them thither. It may seem unaccountable, that a Number of unsettled People should be able to seize upon and overturn the Government of a large, a wise, and well-established Kingdom: But this will not appear so surprizing, if we consider the State of Kingdoms in these Ages. *Thucydides's* Observation of the ancient States of *Greece* might be applied to all the Kingdoms of the World in the early Ages (*q*). Kings had not so firm and secure a Possession of their Thrones,

(*p*) Deut. ii. 12. 22.

(*q*) Thucydid. l. 1.

nor yet the People of the Countries they inhabited, as we are apt to think from a Judgment formed from the present State of the World: As there was but little Traffick stirring in these Times, so distant Kingdoms had little or no Acquaintance with one another, nor did they know of Designs formed against themselves until they came to feel them. When the *Israe- lites* went out of *Egypt* and were come into the Wilderness, they exercised and formed their Discipline and Government for forty Years together, and tho' they were exceedingly numerous, yet no great notice was taken of them; by any of the Nations that lay near them, until they were ready to attack them: Where could such a Body of People get together now in the World, and not have an Alliance of all the Neighbour Kingdoms ready to require an Account of their Designs? But in these early Days

Mollia securæ peragebant otia Gentes. Ovid.

Kings apprehended no foreign Attacks until the Armies, that came to conquer them, were at their Doors, and so their Kingdoms were more easily over-ran by them: *Egypt* was a very flourishing Kingdom, but not famous for War: We do not read of any Exercise this way, or any Trial of their Arms from the Days of their first King to this Time; so that these *Horites* (if they were indeed the *Horites*) might easily conquer them, and gain themselves a Settlement in their Kingdom; as the *Arca- dians* did in *Thrace*; the *Pelasgi* and afterwards

the *Trojans* did in *Italy*; nay, and in much later Days the *Franconians* issued out of their own Country in this manner in armed Multitudes and conquer'd *France*, and set up there that Government, which that Kingdom is now subject to (r). The Time when these *Pastors* thus over-ran *Egypt* may be pretty well determined in the following manner. 1. It was before *Moses* was born; for the new King of *Egypt* had taken several measures to oppress the *Israelites* before the Time of *Moses's* Birth (s), and *Moses* was born *A. M.* 2433. 2. It was after *Levi's* Death, for *Joseph* died and all his Brethren before this new King arose, that knew not *Joseph* (t); and *Levi* liv'd to be 137 Years old (u), and so being born about *A. M.* 2253 (x), he died *A. M.* 2390. 3. It was some Years after *Levi's* Death, for not only *Joseph* and his Brethren were dead, but all that Generation. *Benjamin* was born twenty Years after *Levi*, and therefore we may suppose that He, or at least some of that Generation, liv'd so long after *Levi's* Death, *i. e.* to *A. M.* 2410, so that it was after that Year and before the Year of *Moses's* Birth 2433, perhaps about the Year 2420; and this Account will place it much about the same Time that the *Horites* were expelled *Seir* by the Children of *Esau*; for they were expelled by *Esau's* Grand-children of the Families of his younger Sons *Reuel* and *Aliphaz*, and

(r) Davila's *History of the Civil Wars of France*, Book I.

(s) *Exod.* i. (t) *Ver.* 6. (u) *Chap.* vi. 16. (x) *Levi* was *Jacob's* third Son. *Jacob* married *A. M.* 2250. *Levi* might be born about three Years after *Jacob* married.

these *Pastors* came to *Egypt* in the time of *Jacob's* Grand-children by his younger Sons, their Fathers being all dead. If we determine the *Pastors* coming into *Egypt* about the Year 2420 abovementioned, and in the fifth Year of the Reign of *Concharis*, we may count backwards 133 Years in Sir *John Marsham's* List of the Kings of *Tanis*, for so many Years passed between *Joseph's* Advancement and *A.M.* 2420, and so determine who the King was, and in what Year of his Reign he advanced *Joseph*; and according to this Account *Joseph* was advanced by *Thusimares* the twentieth King of *Tanis*, and in the thirteenth Year of *Thusimares's* Reign, as I have before supposed.

The *Pastors* and their King took particular care to keep the *Israelites* low. He made them his Slaves, employed them in building him Store-houses and Walls for *Abaris* (u) which was afterwards call'd *Pelusium*, or according to *Moses* *Pithom*, and for *Raamses* (w), and in making Brick, and in other laborious Services; and considering that they encreas'd exceedingly in Numbers, he order'd the Midwives to kill every Male Child that should be born of any of them (x). The Midwives did not execute his Orders, so he thought of another Way to destroy them, and charged all his People to have every Male Child, that was born to the *Israelites*, thrown into the River (y).

(u) Marsham Can. Chron. p. 105. Josephus cont. Appion. l. 1. Eusebius Præp. Evang. l. 10. c. 12.

(w) Exod. i. 11.

(x) Ver. 16.

(y) Ver. 22.

There is a Difficulty in the Account, which *Moses* gives in this Place of the Midwives, *It came to pass, because the Midwives feared God, that he made them Houses* (z). Can we suppose that God raised Houses for the Midwives miraculously? or could the *Israelites* oppressed in Slavery shew so great a Gratitude as to build them any? or if they could, dare they venture to requite them so publickly, for refusing to act as the King order'd them? If I may take a Liberty of guessing, I should think that *Moses* did not mean in this Place, that Houses were built for the Midwives, but for the *Israelites*. It will be queried who was the Builder? Why should God upon the Case here before us build the *Israelites* Houses? I answer: It was not God built the Houses here spoken of, but *Pharaoh*: The Case was this: *Pharaoh* had charged the Midwives to kill the Male Children that were born of the *Hebrew* Women; the Midwives feared God, and omitted to do as the King had commanded them, pretending in Excuse for their Omission, that the *Hebrew* Women were generally deliver'd before they could get to them (a): *Pharaoh* hereupon resolving to prevent their Increase, gave a Charge to his People to have all the Male Children of the *Hebrews* thrown into the River; but this Command could not be strictly executed, whilst the *Israelites* lived up and down in the Fields in Tents, which was their ancient and customary way of living, for they would shift here

(z) Exod. i. 21.

(a) Ver. 19.

and there, and lodge the Women in Child-bed out of the way to save their Children; *Pharaoh* therefore built them Houses, and obliged them to a more settled Habitation, that the People he had set over them might know where to find every Family, and take Account of all the Children that should be born: so that this was a very cunning Contrivance of *Pharaoh*, in order to have his Charge more strictly and effectually executed than it could otherwise have been, and was a remarkable Particular not to be omitted in *Moses's* Account of this Affair: But as to Houses built for the Midwives, it seems impossible to give any Account why they should be built, or how, or by whom. It will here be asked, But how can the Words of *Moses* be reconciled to what I have offered? I answer: If they be faithfully translated, they can bear no other Meaning whatsoever; which will be very evident from the following Translation of the Place, which is word for word agreeable to the *Hebrew*, and which I have distinguished into Verses, as I think the Passage ought really to have been distinguished.

Verse 18. *And the King of Egypt called for the Midwives, and said unto them, Why have ye done this Thing, and saved alive the Children?*

Ver. 19. *And the Midwives said unto Pharaoh, Because the Hebrew Women are not as the Egyptian Women, for they are lively, and are delivered before the Midwife comes to them.*

Ver. 20. *And God dealt well with the Midwives: And the People multiplied and waxed*

very mighty: [וַיִּהְיֶה *vejehi*, i. e.] *And this happened, (or was so, or came to pass) because the Midwives feared God.*

† *And Pharaoh built them [i. e. the Israelites] Houses, and charged all his People saying, Every Son that is born ye shall cast into the River, and every Daughter ye shall save alive.*

And thus, if I may take the Liberty to suppose the Passage not rightly pointed as to the Stops, which were the ancient Marks at the End of Verses (*b*), the Words may well be render'd as I would take them. The Division of the *Hebrew* Bible into Verses is certainly very ancient; but not earlier than the Captivity (*c*), and I do not find, that the best Writers imagine the Sections made by an unerring Hand. I should think the Verses which I am treating of, to have been divided as they now are injudiciously by some careless Transcriber; but it is evident, that they were thus parted before the LXX Translation was made, for the LXX render the 21st Verse thus, [Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐφοβῶντο αἱ μαῖαι τὸν Θεόν, ἐποίησαν ἑαυταῖς οἰκίας.] *And because the Midwives feared God, they made themselves Houses.* And hence it is evident that the LXX found a Difficulty in the Verse, and thought it absurd to say that God built the

† *The Words are*

וַיֵּשׁ לָחֵם בָּתִּים וַיִּצַו פֶּרַעְה לְכָל עַמּוֹ

Suo populo omni Pharaoh præcepit & domos illis fecit & *Our English Translators should have considered that the Nominative Case to two Verbs is commonly put after the second Verb, in other Languages, tho' our English will not admit of it.*

(*b*) See Priccaux. Connect. Vol. I. B. V.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

Midwives

Midwives Houses, and so turn'd the Expression another way; but their Version cannot be right, for the *Hebrew* Words are not *They* but *He built*, and in the Original [*la Hem*] signifies *for them* and not *for themselves*: and I do not at present see any way to give a clear Account of the Place so easy, as to suppose the Punctuation wrong, as I have imagined. Some of the Commentators have indeed offer'd a Conjecture at first sight very promising to explain the Expression as it now stands: They would take the Words *made them Houses*, *metaphorically*, and say that they mean, either that God gave the Midwives many Children, or that he made them prosperous in their Affairs: The former of these Interpretations is St. *Ambrose's*, and it is said, that the Expression is thus used *Gen. xvi. 2. xxx. iii. Deut. xxv. 9. Ruth iv. 11.* but in this Point these Interpreters make a great Mistake; the Expression before us is *Nashab Beith*, but the Expression in the Passages cited is a very different one, it is *Banab Beith* and not *Nashab*: Had the Expression here before us been [*Banab Beithim labem*], it might have signified, *God built up their Houses or Families, by making them numerous*; but [*Nashab Beithim labem*] are Words of a very different meaning: But in the second Place, it is said that [*Nashab Beithim*] signifies, that *God prospered them, or provided for them*, and *Gen. xxx. 30.* is cited to justify this Interpretation. The Words in that Passage are, *And now, when shall I [make or] provide for my own House also?* But here again the Instance fails:

The Expression cited is not [*Nashab Beith*], but it is [*Nashab le Beith*] not *When shall I make my House?* but, *when shall I make for my House,* or, *when shall I do for my House?* between which two Expressions there is evidently a Difference.





The SACRED and PROPHANE
HISTORY
Of the WORLD Connected.

BOOK VIII.

SALATIS, the new King of *Egypt*, not only oppressed the *Israelites*, but by the Violence of his Conquests (a) so terrified the ancient Inhabitants of the Land, that many Persons of the first Figure thought it better to leave their native Country, than to endeavour to sit down under the Calamities, which they feared might be brought upon them; and from hence it happened, that several Companies made the best way they could out of *Egypt*, in hopes of gaining themselves an happier Settlement in

(a) Josephus cont. Apion, l. 1. p. 1337.

some Foreign Country. *Ister*, a Writer cited by *Eusebius* (b), and by *Clemens Alexandrinus* (c), and who lived in the Time of *Ptolemy Evergetes* (d), wrote a particular Account of the Colonies that removed out of *Egypt* into other Nations: His Work would perhaps have been very serviceable in this Place; but this and other Performances of *Ister* are long since lost; however, *Diodorus Siculus* has particularly remarked, that *Egypt* has sent many Colonies into diverse Parts of the World (e), and we may collect from him, and from Hints of other ancient Writers, that *Cecrops*, *Erichthonius*, and the Father of *Cadmus*, left *Egypt* about the Times we are treating of; and *Danaus* and *Belus* followed them not long after.

Belus was the Son of *Neptune*: Who this *Neptune* was we are not informed, but it seems to be an *Egyptian* Name; for the *Egyptians* called the Shores which the Sea Waves beat upon, *Neptun* (f); and most probably the Person called by this Name was an Inventor of Shipping, and from thence came to be called the God of the Sea; and this Tradition of him was embraced by the *Cretans* (g). *Herodotus* observes, that he had divine Honours paid him in a Country next adjacent to *Egypt* (h), where his Wife seems to have lived (i),

(b) Præp. Evang. lib. 4. c. 16. (c) Stromat. l. 1.
 (d) Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 107. (e) Lib. 1. p. 24. (f) Plutarch. in Iside & Osiride, p. 366. (g) Diodor. Sic. Lib. 5. p. 337. (h) Lib. 2. c. 59. (i) His Wife was called *Διόνη*, Diodor. l. 1. p. 24.

and where perhaps he might go to live, when his Son *Belus* left *Egypt*; but either because he died not in *Egypt*, or because he lived in these troublesome Times, when the Natives of *Egypt* were under a Foreign Power that had invaded them, his Name was not recorded amongst the great and eminent *Egyptian* Ancients; and so, tho' in After-ages he was worshipped in many foreign Countries, yet he never was reputed a Deity by the *Egyptians* (*k*). His Son *Belus* went to *Babylon*, and carried with him some of the *Egyptian* Priests, and obtained them Leave to settle and cultivate their Studies there, in the same manner, and with the Encouragement and Protection, which they had been favoured with in their own Country (*l*): If we consider the Studies which these *Egyptians* were engaged in, it will be easy to account for their meeting with so favourable a Reception at *Babylon*. They employed themselves in Astronomy, and making Observations on the Stars (*m*), and the *Babylonians* had been Promoters and Encouragers of this Study above seven hundred Years before these Men came amongst them, and continued to cultivate and cherish these Arts for above eleven hundred Years after (*n*). These *Egyptians* were probably very able to put the *Babylonians* into a better Method of prosecuting these Studies, than they were before Masters of; for tho' the *Babylonians* be-

(*k*) Herodotus Lib. 2. c. 50. (*l*) Diodor. Lib. 1. p. 24.
 (*m*) Id. *ibid.* (*n*) See Vol. I. B. 4. p. 191, 192.

gan to make Astronomical Observations sooner than any other Nation in the World, yet the *Egyptians* seem to have been more happy in these Studies than they ; for the first Correction in the Length of the Year was made in *Egypt* (o), and before the *Babylonians* were able to attempt it. We may make a Conjecture not improbable, of what this *Belus* might teach the *Babylonians*, in order to improve their *Astronomical* Observations. The chief Aim of the ancient *Astronomers* was to observe the times of the rising and setting of the Stars ; and the first, and most proper Places they could think of to make their Observations in, were very large and open Plains (p), where they could have an extensive View of the *Horizon* without Interruption ; and such Plains as these were their Observatories for many Generations. But the *Egyptians* had, about three hundred Years before the time of this *Belus* (q), thought of a Method to improve these Views, namely by building their Pyramids, on the Tops of which they might take their Prospects with still greater Advantage ; and *Belus* taught the *Babylonians* the Use of these Structures, and perhaps projected for them that lofty Tower, which conveyed the Name of *Belus* down to future Ages. The most learned Dean *Prideaux* remarks of this

(o) Pref. Vol. I. p. 7---9. (p) Τῆς χώρης αὐτοῖς συναγωγῆς πρὸς τὸ τηλαυγέσθην ὄραν τὰς ἐπιτολὰς καὶ δύσεις τῶν ἀστρον. Diodor. Lib. 1. p. 46. (q) The largest Pyramid was built by Syphis. See Vol. I. B. 5. p. 319.

Tower, that it was more ancient than the Temple, which was afterwards built round it, and that it was certainly built many Ages (r) before *Nebuchadnezzar*; and according to this Account of it, it will be more ancient than his Reign, by almost a thousand Years. *Bochart* asserts it to have been the very same Tower, which was built in this Country at the Confusion of Tongues (s); but it cannot well be imagined to be so, for that certainly was a mountainous Heap raised with no great Art, by a Multitude of untaught and unexperienced Builders, who had no further Aim than to raise a Monument of their Vanity (t); but this was a nice Piece of Workmanship, more like the Production of a more improved Age, and it was a Building well contrived and fitted for various Uses. I might add further, that this Tower was finished, but the former never was; so that at most this could only be raised upon the Ruins and Foundations of that, and must have been the Work of later Builders. The Tower of *Belus* seems to have been a great Improvement of the *Egyptian* Pyramids; for the Tower was contrived to answer all the useful Purposes of the largest Pyramid, and in a better manner. It was raised to a much greater Height (u), and had a more commodious Space at Top, and more useful and larger Apartments within, and yet was a less bulky Building, and raised upon far narrower Foun-

(r) *Connect.* Vol. I. B. 2. (s) *Phaleg.* Part. I. l. 1. c. 9.

(t) See Vol. I, B. 2. p. 106. (u) *Dr. Prideaux* ub. sup.

dations.

dations. In its outward Form, it lookt so like a Pyramid to them that view'd it at a little Distance, that it has been mistaken for one; and *Strabo* expressly calls it a Pyramid in the Account he gives of it (*w*). And upon these Accounts, I should imagine it was projected by one well acquainted with the *Egyptian* Pyramid, and its Defects, and therefore able to design a Structure that might exceed it; and I cannot say to whom we can ascribe it with so great a shew of Probability as to the *Belus* we are speaking of. It is not probable that the *Egyptian* Name of this Man was *Belus*, for *Bel* or *Belus* is an *Assyrian*, and not an *Egyptian* Name; but it is remarkable that all sorts of Persons had new Names given them, whenever they were well received in Foreign Countries. *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*, called *Joseph Zaphnab-Paaneah* (*x*), and the Prince of the Eunuchs gave new Names to *Daniel* and his Companions, when they were appointed to be taken care of, and prepared for public Employments in the Court of *Babylon* (*y*); and what Name more proper, or more honorary than this, could they give this *Egyptian*, who was eminent in a Science, which one of their first Kings of this Name was the famous and first Professor of? It is even now a known Figure of Speech to call an excellent Orator a *Cicero*, a Poet an *Homer*, an eminent and virtuous Legislator *Lycurgus*, a Soldier *Achilles* or *Hector*. With the Ancients in the

w) Lib. 16. (*x*) Gen. xli. 45. (*y*) Dan. i. 7.

first Times, it was their common Usage; and thus *Agathodæmon* (z) was called *Thyoth* or *Thoth* in *Egypt*, because he was the Reviver or Restorer of those Parts of Learning, which a Son of *Mizraim* of that Name first planted there, many Ages before this second *Thyoth* was born. And thus the *Babylonians* named the Person we are speaking of *Belus*, because he was a great and remarkable Improver of that Astronomy which *Belus*, the second King of *Babylon*, was the celebrated Author of. Sir *John Marsham* seems to think the *Belus* we are speaking of, and the King of *Babylon* of that Name, to be but one and the same Person (a); and he imagines him to be *Arius* the fourth King after *Ninus*; and he endeavours to support his Opinion by a Passage from *Cedrenus* (b), who says, “ That after *Ninus*, *Tburus* reign’d over the *Assyrians*, that his Father *Zames* called him *Ares*, that the *Assyrians* set up the first Pillar to this *Ares*, and worshipped him as a God, naming him *Baal*.” In which Opinion of *Cedrenus* there are these Mistakes: 1. *Ares* here spoken of, to whom the *Assyrians* set up the first Pillar, was not a deify’d King or Hero, but a Name of the Star *Mars*; for the *Babylonians* worshipped in the first Days of their Idolatry the Luminaries of Heaven, and did indeed set up a Pillar to that particular Planet (c). 2. They did not call this

(z) See Vol. I. B. 1. p. 47. Sir J. Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 231. Ruseb. in Chron. (a) Can. Chron. p. 32. 107. (b) Cedren. p. 16, Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 32. (c) See Vol. I. B. 5. p. 328.

particular Deity *Baal*, but *Adar* or *Azar* (d). *Baal* was their Name for the Sun. 3. It was not until many Ages after, that they worshipped their Kings. *Gesner* very judiciously remarks, that the *Assyrians* deify'd *Belus*, i. e. the King of that Name, about *A. M.* 3185 (e), and they cannot be supposed to have deify'd him sooner. For they were not descended so low in their Idolatry as to worship Images, until after *A. M.* 3274, which is the twelfth or thirteenth Year of *Abaz*, and about the time that the Men of *Cuthah*, *Ava*, *Hamath* and *Sepharvaim* was brought to live in *Samaria* (f); and it is very probable, that when they had deified their Kings and Heroes, Image-worship was introduced soon after. These Mistakes of *Cedrenus* were most probably occasioned by the Planet *Mars*, and the King *Ares* bearing the same Name; but omitting to remark that the Names we now have of these early *Assyrian* Kings are exotic Names, and not *Assyrian*; and that the Persons intended by them, were not so called in their own Countries, nor until they came to be written of in Foreign Languages, out of which most of these Names are evidently taken; and supposing that this *Arius* had an *Assyrian* Name, as agreeable to the *Assyrian* Name for *Mars*, as *Arius* or *Ares* is to *Agnis* the *Greek* one; yet the Time he lived in should have been con-

(d) See Vol. I. B. 5. p. 331.
Worth. Oxon. p. 126.
Usher's Annals.

(e) Not. ad Tatian. Ed.
(f) Vol. I. B. 5. p. 346. *Archbishop*

sidered,

sidered, and the Customs of it. The *Assyrians* worshipped in these Days the Luminaries of Heaven; but in order to do their Kings Honour, they called them by the Names of their Gods; and they called one of them *Bel*, *Baal* or *Belus*, another perhaps *Adar*, another *Nebo*, another *Gad*, and in time they put two or three of these Names together (g); and this was their way of putting the Names of their Gods upon them (b): But it cannot be concluded from their Kings bearing these Names, that they worshipped their Kings; rather these Names of their Kings lead us to the Knowledge of the Gods which they served. Sir *John Marsham* observes, that *Pausanias* hints, that the *Babylonian Belus* had his Name from an *Egyptian* so called: The Passage in *Pausanias* is this, he relates that “*Mantichus* built a Temple for the *Messenians*, which he dedicated to *Hercules*, and that they called the God *Hercules Mantichus*, as they called the *African* Deity *Ammon*, and the *Babylonian Belus*; the one being named from *Belus* an *Egyptian*, the Son of *Libya*, the other from a Shepherd, who founded the Temple (i).” Now from this Passage of *Pausanias*, it can in no wise be concluded, that the *Babylonians* had had no King named *Belus*, untill this *Egyptian Belus* came amongst them; but the true Inferences from it are these: 1. That Deities had commonly a *cognomen* or additional Name

(g) Book 5. Vol. I. p. 329.

(b) Num. vi. 27.

(i) In Messeniac.

from the Founders of their Temples. 2. That the *Egyptian Belus* founded the Temple of *Belus* at *Babylon*. This last Proposition is indeed not true; for there were no Temples in the World so early as the Days even of this second *Belus*; Men at this time worshipping either in Groves, or at their Altars in the open Air. However *Pausanias* might find Reason to think this *Belus* built the Tower which was called by his Name, and he might not separate the Tower from the Temple, which, the most learned Dean *Prideaux* observes (*k*), was not built at the same Time; so that all that can be concluded from *Pausanias* is, that an *Egyptian* built the Tower of *Belus* at *Babylon*, and this I believe is true; but this *Belus* was not so called when he lived in *Egypt*, but had the Honour of that Name given him by the *Assyrians*, in Memory of a celebrated King so called by them, who was famous for the Astronomical Learning, which this *Egyptian* professed. Upon the whole; That the Successor of *Nimrod*, and Predecessor of *Ninus* the second King of *Babylon*, was called *Bel* or *Belus*, we are assured by *Africanus* and *Eusebius* (*l*); and *Africanus* remarks, that the most celebrated Historians concurred in it. That there was an *Egyptian* who led a Colony to *Babylon*, and was there called *Belus*, we are assured by *Diodorus*, and it is also hinted by *Pausanias* in the Passage above cited. That this *Belus* did not come to *Babylon* before the Times we are

(*k*) Ubi sup. (*l*) In Chronic. Euseb.

treating of, seems probable, because we have no Reason to think that *Egypt* sent out any Colonies until these Days; and further, from his being said to build the Tower of *Belus*, which cannot well be supposed to have been built until after the largest *Egyptian* Pyramid; and that he came to *Babylon* about these Times, seems further probable from his living about the time that Ships were invented: For it is said, his Father *Neptune* was the Inventor of Ships (*m*); and that they were invented about these Times, appears from what is recorded of *Danaus*, who was cotemporary with this *Belus*, that he made the first Ship, and fled with it from *Egypt* (*n*); his Ship, says *Pliny* (*o*), was called the first Ship, because until his Times Men used only smaller Boats or Vessels. Such Ships as *Danaus's* were a new thing in these Days, and therefore *Nephtun* the *Egyptian* was the Inventor of them, and consequently his Son *Belus* lived about this Time. And thus I have endeavoured to clear the History of these two *Belus's*, which some learned Writers have been fond of perplexing. *Belus* was the Father of *Danaus* (*oo*); and as it will appear that *Danaus* came to *Greece* *A. M.* 2494, so it is probable that *Belus* went to *Babylon* about the same time.

Cecrops left *Egypt* many Years sooner than the time when *Belus* went to *Babylon*, and af-

(*m*) Diodor. sup. cit. (*n*) Apollodor. l. 2. p. 63. Marm.
 Arundel. Ep. 9. (*o*) L. 7. c. 56. (*oo*) Prideaux Annotat. ad
 Chron. Marm. p. 156.

ter some Years Travels he came to Greece, and lived in *Attica*. He was well received there by *Actæus*, who was at that time King of the Country, and from whom the Country was named *Actica* (*p*); and some time after he married *Actæus's* Daughter; and when *Actæus* died succeeded him in his Kingdom (*q*). The time when *Cecrops* became King of *Attica*, may be determined from the *Parian Chronicon*, which records that *Cecrops* reigned at *Athens* 1318 Years before that Chronicle was composed (*r*). Now supposing the *Chronicon* composed *A. M.* 3741 (*s*), it will fix the Beginning of *Cecrops's* Reign to *A. M.* 2423. *Eusebius* is thought to differ from this Account (*t*), 26 Years says *Selden* and *Lydiat* from him (*u*); I think he seems to differ 44; for *Eusebius's* *Chronicon* begins the Reign of *Cecrops* 99 or 100 Years after the Death of *Joseph* (*w*), and consequently must begin it about *A. M.* 2467 (*x*). *Lydiat* has attempted to reconcile this Difference, but I doubt the Reader will find what he has offered but little to his Satisfaction. I should hope, that we may have Liberty to cut Knots of this sort, instead of trying to untie them: However, since all the ancient *Greek* Chronology must depend upon our fixing this Period, I will endeavour to lay before the Reader the whole of what the ancient

(*p*) Marm. Arundel. Ep. 1, See Prideaux Annotat. in Chron. Marm. p. 91. (*q*) Pausanias in Atticis. (*r*) Ep. Marm. 1.
 (*s*) Archbishop Usher's Chron. Annotat. ad Chron. Marm. p. 13. (*t*) Chronic. (*u*) Lydiat.
 (*w*) Num. Euseb. in Chron. 460. (*x*) Book VII.

Writers offer about it, and then he may the better form a Judgment of it. And,

1. *Castor* endeavours to fix the time of *Cecrops's* Reign, in his List or Account of the Kings of *Sicyon* (*y*). He tells us that *Ægialeus* was the first King of *Sicyon*, that he reigned 52 Years, and began his Reign about the 15th Year of *Belus* the first King of *Babylon*; so that we may fix the first Year of *Ægialeus* to *A. M.* 1920, *Belus* beginning his Reign *A. M.* 1905 (*z*). *Castor* proceeds, and gives us the Reigns of twelve Kings that succeeded *Ægialeus*, with the particular Lengths of each of their Reigns; and all of them together, including the Reign of *Ægialeus* with them, amount to 560 Years, ending at the Death of *Marathonius*, and will bring us to *A. M.* 2480. *Castor* remarks after *Marathonius's* Name, Κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Ἀττικῆς Κέκροψ ὁ διφυής, that in his Time *Cecrops* began to reign in *Attica*: Now *Marathonius* reigned but 30 Years, so that placing the first Year of *Cecrops* very early in his Reign, (*Eusebius* places it in the third Year) (*a*), we must fix the first Year of *Cecrops*, according to this Account, about *A. M.* 2450 or 2453. I would do *Castor* the Justice to remark, that his Account of these Times seems well adjusted in another Particular. After *Messapus* he remarks, that in his Time *Joseph* was made Governour of *Egypt*; and *Messapus*, according to his Ac-

(*y*) Eusebii χρονικ. λογ. πρωτ. p. 19. (z) See Vol. I. B. 4. p. 182. (a) In χρονικ. κεν.

count, began to reign *A. M.* 2246, and he reigned 47 Years; and *Joseph* was advanced (*b*) *A. M.* 2287, *i. e.* in the 41st Year of *Mesapus*.

2. We may collect the Time of *Cecrops* from another Account of the same Chronologer. We have his List of the *Argive* Kings, from *Inachus* the first King of that Country (*c*): He says that *Inachus* began his Reign about the time of *Thurimachus* the seventh King of *Sicyon*. Now if we calculate, we shall find that *Thurimachus* began his Reign about *A. M.* 2148; for *Castor* places him 228 Years later than the first Year of *Ægialeus*. And supposing *Inachus* to begin his Reign near as soon as *Thurimachus*, in *Thurimachus*'s sixth Year, according to *Eusebius* (*d*), we shall begin *Inachus*'s Reign *A. M.* 2154. From the first Year of *Inachus*, to the beginning of *Triopas*'s Reign, who was the seventh King of *Argos*, *Castor* computes 304 Years; so that *Triopas* began to reign *A. M.* 2458; and *Tatian*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus* both agree, that *Cecrops* reigned about the time of *Triopas* (*e*); and *Eusebius*, after examining further, was of the same Opinion (*f*). And thus from both these Accounts of *Castor*, we must begin *Cecrops*'s Reign later than *A. M.* 2450.

3. We have in the next Place a Computation, which *Scaliger* intended to have pass for

(*b*) See B. VII. (*c*) Euseb. *χρονικ. λογ. πρωτ.* p. 24.
 (*d*) In Chron. Can. (*e*) Clem. Stromat. l. 1. p. 380. Edit. Oxon. Tatian. orat. ad Græcos. p. 132. (*f*) Præp. Evang. Lib. 6. c. 9.

Eusebius's, and this will bring us to about the same Year. It is computed that *Ogyges* first reign'd over the *Athenians*, and that he was cotemporary with *Phoroneus* King of *Argos* (g): *Castor* was of the same Opinion (h). It is said further, that *Ogyges* lived about the Times of *Messapus* the ninth King of *Sicyon*, and that he was later than *Belochus* the ninth King of *Assyria*. Now if any one will make a Table of the Kings of *Assyria*, beginning *Belus's* Reign where I have placed it, he will find that *Belochus* died *A. M.* 2263; and from *Castor's* Table of the Kings of *Sicyon*, it may be computed, that *Messapus* began his Reign *A. M.* 2246, and ended it *A. M.* 2293; so that if we place *Ogyges* the Year after *Belochus* died, we shall place him in the 18th Year of *Messapus*, and *A. M.* 2264; and from *Ogyges* to *Cecrops*, we are told are 190 Years, so that this Account will place *Cecrops* *A. M.* 2454.

4. *Porphiry's* Account places *Cecrops* still later. He says that *Moses* led the *Israelites* out of *Egypt* in the 45th Year of *Cecrops* (k). Now *Moses* led the *Israelites* out of *Egypt* *A. M.* 2513, and therefore if *Cecrops* began his Reign but 45 Years before this Time, we must place him *A. M.* 2468. These are the several Computations of the ancient Writers which are now extant; but I would in the next Place observe, that *Eusebius* did not intend to agree with any of these Computations.

(g) Euseb. Χρονικ. λογ. πρωτ. p. 27.
 (k) Ibid. p. 29.

(h) Ibid. p. 24.

We have a general, but a full Account of what *Eusebius*, after the best Examination he could make, found to be true, both in his *Præparatio Evangelica*, and in his *Proœmium* to his *Greek Canon Chronicus* (*i*), and the Particulars are: 1. That *Cecrops* and *Moses* were cotemporaries. 2. That they lived 400 Years before the taking of *Troy*; or rather, as he expresses it in another Place, almost 400 Years before the taking of *Troy*. 3. That from *Moses* backwards to the Birth of *Abraham* are 405 Years, and so many likewise from *Ninus* to *Cecrops*. 4. From *Semiramis* to *Cecrops* are more than 400 Years. These are the Particulars which *Eusebius* thought himself well assured of, and from these Particulars it will fully appear, that *Eusebius's* Computations did not really differ from our *Epocha* on the Marble. For, 1. If by *Cecrops* and *Moses* being cotemporaries be meant, that *Moses* was born after *Cecrops* was King at *Athens*, and this seems to be *Eusebius's* meaning; (he says *Μωυσεία γενέσθαι κτ' Κέκροπα* (*k*), which Expression is best explained by what he says of *Ninus* in the same Place, that *Ἀβραάμ εἶναι κατ' αὐτόν*, and he supposes *Abraham* born towards the latter end of *Ninus's* Reign, in his 43d Year; and this is evidently the meaning of the Expression several times used in *Castor's* Lists beforementioned (*m*) always in this Sense:) If, I

(*i*) See *Præp. Evang.* l. 10. c. 9. p. 486. *Προœμ.* (*k*) *Προœμ.* ut sup. (*m*) Both of the *Sicyonian* and *Argive Kings*. *Κρονικ. λογ. πρώτ.* p. 19, 24.

say, we are to understand by this Expression, that *Moses* was born after *Cecrops* began his Reign at *Athens*, there is no Difference in this Particular between *Eusebius* and the Marble. For *Moses* was born *A. M.* 2433 (*n*), and according to the Marble, *Cecrops* began to reign *A. M.* 2423. 2. *Moses* and *Cecrops* were 400 Years before the taking of *Troy*, not quite so much but almost. Now if we suppose *Troy* was taken *A. M.* 2820, according to Archbishop *Usher*, the Year in which the Marble begins *Cecrops's* Reign is 397 Years before the taking of *Troy*; or rather, if we fix the taking of *Troy* according to the Marble (*o*) to *A. M.* 2796, we begin *Cecrops's* Reign 373 Years before the taking of *Troy*, and place *Moses's* Birth before that Period 383 Years, making it fall short 17 only of 400. 3. From *Moses* backwards to the Birth of *Abraham*, are 505 Years, and from *Cecrops* to *Ninus* are the same Number. Now *Moses* was born *A. M.* 2433, *Abraham* was born 2008, so that here evidently wants 80 Years of the Computation: But *Eusebius* tells us expressly, that he design'd this Account should begin, not at *Moses's* Birth, but at the 80th Year of his Life (*p*); how this came to be omitted in his *Præparatio Evangelica* (*q*) I cannot tell. And now, if in like manner we compute backwards from the 80th Year after the beginning of *Cecrops's* Reign (*r*), we

(*n*) Archbishop *Usher*. (*o*) *Epocha* 25. (*p*) Ἀπὸ τῆς π' Μασείως, &c. Πεγοίμ. ut sup. (*q*) *Præp. Evang. Lib. 10. c. 9. p. 484.* (*r*) Ἀπὸ δὴλωθέντος ἔτους τῆς Κέκροπος βασιλείας, are the Words of both in *c. 9. l. 10. Præp. Evang. & in Proœm. And Vigerius the Latin Translator renders it, Ab illo Cecropis Regni Anno.*

shall come to *Ninus*. *Ninus* died *A. M.* 2017. The 80th Year after the first of *Cecrops* is according to the Marble 2503, deduct out of it 505 Years, and the Year you will come back to is *A. M.* 1998, which falls within *Ninus's* Reign, and is the 33d Year of his Reign. 4. From *Semiramis* to *Cecrops* are more than 400 Years. *Semiramis* began her Reign *A. M.* 2017 (s). *Cecrops* according to the Marble began his 2423, *i. e.* 406 Years after *Semiramis*. Thus, according to the Particulars upon which *Eusebius* calculated the Time of *Cecrops*, we cannot conclude but that his Computation agreed perfectly well with that of the Marble, varying very little, if any thing at all from it; and from all these Particulars duly considered, it appears very plainly, that *Cecrops* is not placed in the *Canon Chronicus*, which we now have of *Eusebius*, where *Eusebius* did in all Probability really place him. For, 1. *Cecrops* is there placed 35 Years after the Birth of *Moses*, so that *Moses* ought not to have been said to be $\chi\tau^1$ Κέκροπα, or born in the Times of *Cecrops*, but *Cecrops* to have been $\chi\tau^1$ Μωυσεά, and so *Eusebius* would have expressed it, if this had been his Meaning. 2. According to this *Canon*, *Moses* is not born almost 400 Years before the taking of *Troy*. 3. *Cecrops* is here made to be 450 Years later than *Semiramis*, which cannot well be reconciled with *Eusebius*. 4. 505 Years computed backwards from the 80th Year of *Cecrops*, will not bring us back

(s) See Vol. I. B. 4. p. 135.

to *Ninus*; for according to this *Canon*, *Cecrops's* first Year is 450 Years after the last Year of *Ninus*, so that the Position of *Cecrops* in the present *Canon* of *Eusebius* does but ill agree with two of *Eusebius's* four Marks of *Cecrops's* Time, and evidently differs from the other two; whereas the true time of *Cecrops*, as fixed by the Marble, agrees perfectly with all the four. But the Learned know that the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius*, which he himself composed, is long ago lost, and that the Work we now have of that Name was composed by *Scaliger*, from such Fragments as he could find of *Eusebius* in other Writers; and he has in some things given us his own Sentiments, instead of *Eusebius's* Chronology, of which we have an evident Instance in this Particular; which, with several others, ought carefully to be distinguished by those, who would build upon the Authority of *Eusebius's* *Chronicon*. And thus at last it appears, that the Marble differs from *Scaliger* only, and not from *Eusebius*: *Scaliger* was probably led into this Mistake by *Castor's* Computations, not attending to what *Eusebius* has said upon the Subject in his other Works, and in his Preface to this.

I might offer something further to shew how *Castor* was led into his Mistake in this Point, but I fear the Reader is already tired with too long a Digression; however I will suggest an Hint, which the Reader may think further of, if he pleases. It is agreed by all the best Writers, that *Cecrops* lived about the time of *Triopas* King of *Argos*, and according to *Ca-*
stor's

Castor's Computations, *Triopas* began to reign *A. M.* 2458; but it is remarkable that *Castor* sets *Triopas* lower in the *Argive* List than he ought to have done; for he has inserted a King as his Predecessor, who never reign'd there. He makes *Apis* the third King of *Argos*, and says he reign'd 35 Years; but we find from *Æschylus* (*t*), that *Apis* was not a King of *Argos*, but a Foreigner who came from *Ætolia*, and did indeed do the *Sicyonians* a publick Service, and so might possibly have his Name recorded in their Registries. *Pausanias* confirms this Point, for he does not insert *Apis* amongst the Kings of *Argos* (*u*), but places *Argus* or *Criafus* next to *Phoroneus*, omitting *Apis*. Now if we strike *Apis* out of the Roll, and deduct the Years of his Reign, we shall bring *Castor's* Opinion 35 Years nearer to the Marble, and leave but a small Difference between them. Upon the whole, *Africanus* observed, that the ancient Writers differed in their Sentiments about the Times of *Cecrops*; some (he says) supposed him cotemporary with *Prometheus*, *Atlas*, and *Epimetheus*; others placed him 60, and others 90 Years after them (*w*). *Clemens Alexandrinus* places *Prometheus*, *Atlas*, *Epimetheus* and *Cecrops*, together in the time of *Triopas* (*x*), and so does *Tatian* (*y*), but *Eusebius* seems to differ from them in this Particular, and to think *Atlas*, *Prometheus* and *Epimetheus*, before *Cecrops* (*z*); how long,

(*t*) *Æschyl.* in *Supplic.* v. 264. (*u*) In *Corinthiacis.*
 (*w*) *Χρονικ. λογ. πρωτ.* p. 26. (*x*) *Strom.* t. l. i. (*y*) *Orat.*
ad Græcos. (*z*) See *Præp. Evang.* l. 10. c. 9. p. 486.

he has not told us, nor can we possibly guess, from *Scaliger's Eusebius's Canon*; for he has inserted *Atlas* twice; 82 Years before *Cecrops* in one Place (*a*), and again with *Prometheus* and *Epimetheus* 31 Years before him in the other (*b*); most probably *Eusebius* thought that *Clemens* and *Tatian* placed him too early, by making him Cotemporary with *Atlas*, and yet found that sixty or ninety Years after him would be too late, and so chose a *Medium*, and we find he was far from being singular in his Opinion; for the *Parian Chronicon* agrees very nigh, if not exactly with him; so that here are two Authorities concurring, which is more than can be found in Favour of any of the other Computations.

After *Cecrops* was made King of *Attica*, he endeavoured to form the People: They were, before his Time, but unsettled and wandering Peasants, that liv'd up and down the Country, and reap'd the Fruits of the Earth, and took the Cattle for their Use when and where they could find them; for this was the wild and disorderly manner in which the ancient Inhabitants of *Greece* lived (*c*): But *Cecrops* instructed his People, and gave them Laws for Society, and taught them how to be of Help and Comfort, and Advantage to one another; and in order to teach them this more fully, he endeavoured to draw them together, and to have them live in a settled Habitation, within the

(*a*) Num. Euseb. 379.
Hist. l. 1. p. 2.

(*b*) Num. 430.

(*c*) Thucyd.

reach of his Influence and Inspection; and therefore taught them to build Houses, and make a Town or City, which he called *Cecropia* from his own Name. *Strabo* from *Philochorus* says (*d*), that *Cecrops* instructed his People to build twelve Cities; but if such a Number of Cities were really built by a Prince of this Name, I should think, according to what the most learned *Dr. Potter*, the present *Lord Bishop* of *Oxford*, has remarked, that these twelve Cities were built by *Cecrops* the second of that Name, and seventh King of *Attica*, and not by this first *Cecrops* (*e*). Twelve Cities were not to be attempted at once; it was a great thing to raise one from so uncultivated a People. The *Scholiast* upon *Pindar* (*f*) reports from *Philochorus*, that *Cecrops* instituted a Poll, to see how many Subjects he had to begin with, causing every Man to cast a Stone into a Place appointed, and that upon Computation he found them to be in number twenty thousand; but why may we not think this Particular to belong to the second *Cecrops* also, and not to the first? I cannot well imagine how *Cecrops* could at first get together twenty thousand of these untaught People; or if he could have got them together, how he could well have managed them: It is more likely he would have chosen to begin with a less Company: But certainly the Country it self could not at this Time supply him with so many

(*d*) Lib. 9. (*e*) *Archæologia Græca*. p. 9. Vol. 1.
 (*f*) *Olympion*. Ode 9.

Men; for if we look to the *Trojan War*, tho' the *Athenians* had been a growing People all along until that Time; and tho' *Theseus* vastly augmented their Numbers by inviting all Foreigners that could be got into his City (g); yet we find the *Athenians* sent but twenty Ships to *Troy*, in each of which if we suppose with *Plutarch* a hundred and twenty Men, or which, from the Calculation of our *English Homer* (h), looks more probable, eighty five Men only in each Vessel, it will appear that *Athens* could then furnish out at most but 6000, or rather 4250 Men, and therefore could not begin with 20000; for considering how numerous they made their Armies in these early Days, in Proportion to the Numbers of their People, twenty thousand Men in the Days of the first *Cecrops* must have made *Athens* able to have furnished out a greater Number of Soldiers for an Expedition, in which all *Greece* was forward to engage with its utmost Strength: *Cecrops* therefore began his Kingdom, like other *Legislators*, with a far lesser Number of Subjects than the *Scholiast* represented. *Romulus* at first had but few Inhabitants for his City, which became afterwards the Mistress of the World: When he wanted Women to be Wives for his Subjects, six hundred eighty three *Sabines* were a great Supply (k); and af-

(g) *Plutarch*, in *Theseo*. (h) *Pope's Notes upon Homer's Catalogue of Ships* II. 2. See *Thucydid*, *Hist.* I. 1. (k) *Dionys. Halicarnass.* I. 2. p. 97. All his Number were 2300, *Ibid.* p. 86. Some say the *Sabine Virgins* taken were but thirty. *Valerius Antius* makes them 527: *Juba*, 683. *Plut.* in *Rom.*

ter that, when he had incorporated the People of two Nations (*l*) with his own, the Bulk of his Subjects even then amounted to but six thousand Men. These were the small Beginnings of all Nations in the World, and *Cecrops* must be thought to begin his in like manner. One of the Affairs which he took the greatest Care of, was to instruct the People in Religion; for all Authors that speak of him, are express and more particular in this Point than one would expect (*m*), so that we may guess he was remarkably diligent in this matter. He divided them into four Tribes, Orders, Ranks, or Fraternities, in order to their being capable of performing, each sort of Men in their Rank and Order, the several Offices of Civil Life, and he taught them all the Arts of living, which he must have been well instructed in, by having liv'd in so flourishing a Kingdom as *Egypt* had been; and he applied himself daily to the giving them Laws and Rules for their Actions, and in hearing and deciding all Causes of Difference that might arise amongst them, and in encouraging every thing that might tend to their living in Peace and good Order, and suppressing and dissuading them from all Actions that might interrupt their Happiness. Before his Time the People of *Attica* made no Marriages, but had their Women in Common; but he reduced them from this wild and brutish Extravagance, and

(*l*) *Id.* p. 100. (*m*) *Euseb.* in *Chronic.* id. *Præp. Evang.* l. 10. c. 9. *Syncellus* p. 153. *Macrob.* *Saturnal.* l. 1. c. 10.

taught them each Man to marry one Wife (n); and for this Reason *Athenæus* and *Justin* (o) say he was called Διφυνς, or One born of two Parents. Other Writers give other Reasons for his having this Appellation; but this seems by far the best: The *Athenians* themselves have given diverse Accounts of his having this Name, but they were so different, and many of them so frivolous, that *Diodorus Siculus* (p) concluded that they had lost the true Account of it. *Cecrops* governed *Attica* fifty Years (q). He had a Son and three Daughters; his Son's Name was *Erysichton*, his Daughters were *Hirce*, *Aglauros*, and *Pandrosos*. *Erysichton* died before his Father, and was buried at *Prasiæ* a City of *Attica* (r). *Cecrops* died A. M. 2473.

When *Cecrops* died, *Cranæus*, a very potent and wealthy *Attican*, was made King (s). He had several Daughters, one of which married to *Amphictyon*, who expelled his Father-in-Law *Cranæus* the Kingdom, and made himself King; but in a little time *Erichthonius* made a Party, and deposed *Amphictyon*; and all this happened in about twenty Years after the Death of *Cecrops*; for according to the Marble (f), *Amphictyon* was King within ten Years after *Cecrops*'s Death, and *Erichthonius* within ten more (t). *Erichthonius* was an *Egyptian*,

(n) Suidas in Ηεγμνθ. (o) Athenæus Deipnosoph. l. 1. c. 555. Justin. l. 2. c. 6. (p) Diodor. Sic. l. 1. (q) Euseb. in Chron. (r) Pausan. in Atticis. Lib. 1. c. 2. Ibid. c. 31. (s) Castor in Euseb. Chron. Pausan. in Atticis. (f) Epoch. 5, &c 7. (t) Epoch 9.

and very probably came with *Cecrops* into *Greece*. *Diodorus* says, that *Erechtheus* came from *Egypt*, and was made King of *Athens* (u); here is only a small Mistake of the Name, made either by *Diodorus*, or some Transcriber. *Erechtheus* was the Son of *Pandion*, and Grandson of *Erichthonius* (w), and *Erichthonius* was the Person that came from *Egypt*: And agreeable thereto is the Account which the *Greeks* give of him. They say he had no mortal Father, but was descended from *Vulcan* and the Earth (x), i. e. he was not a Native of their Country, for they had no Account to give of his Family or Ancestors, and so in Time they made a Fable instead of a Genealogy. *Attica* was a barren Country, but *Erichthonius* taught his People to bring Corn from *Egypt* (y).

About sixty three Years after *Cecrops* began his Reign at *Athens*, and about thirteen Years after *Cecrops's* Death, *Cadmus* came into *Bœotia* and built *Thebes*, A. M. 2486 (z): *Tatian* and *Clemens Alexandrinus* (a) thought him much later; but as they offer no Reasons for their Opinions, so certainly they were much mistaken in this, as they are confess'd to be in some other Points, which *Eusebius* wrote after them on purpose to correct (b). *Eusebius* himself, if *Scaliger* had indeed placed *Cadmus* according

(u) Lib. 1. p. 25. (w) Castor. in Euseb. Pausan. ubi sup.
 (x) Pausan. ibid. (y) Diodorus Sic. l. 1. (z) Marmor. Arund. Ep. 7.
 (a) Tatian. orat. ad Græcos. c. 61. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. l. 1.
 (b) See Euseb. *Περίου.*

to *Eusebius's* Meaning, has mistaken this Point; for *Cadmus* stands in the *Chronicon* (c) above a hundred Years lower than his true Place, which the Marble seems very justly to have fixed for us, as may clearly appear by considering what *Pausanias* has given of *Cadmus's* Family, and comparing that and what *Pausanias* further offers, with *Castor's* Account of the *Sicyon* Kings. *Labdacus* (*Pausanias* tells us) was the Grandson of *Cadmus*, and being a *Minor* when his Father died, he was committed to the Care of *Nycteus*, who was appointed to be his Guardian, and Regent of his Kingdom (d); Now *Nycteus* was wounded in a Battle with *Epopeus* (e). *Epopeus* was the seventeenth King of *Sicyon* (f), and was Cotemporary with the Guardian of *Labdacus*, *Cadmus's* Grandson. *Epopeus* reigned (g) but thirty five Years; we may therefore suppose *Polydorus* the Father of *Labdacus* Son of *Cadmus* Cotemporary with *Corax* the Predecessor of *Epopeus*, and *Cadmus* the Father of *Polydorus* might begin his Reign in the time of *Echureus* the Predecessor of *Corax*; and from the third Year of *Marathonius*, in whose Time (according to *Castor*) *Cecrops* reign'd at *Athens*, to the Beginning of *Echureus's* Reign, are but thirty five Years (h): So that supposing *Cadmus* to come to *Thebes*, according to the Marble, sixty three Years after *Cecrops* began his Reign at *Athens*, we must date *Cadmus's* coming to

(c) Euseb. Num. 587. (d) Pausan. in Pœoticiis, c. 5.

(e) Pausan. in Corinthiacis c. 6. (f) Castor. in Chron. Euseb.

(g) Id. ibid. (h) Id. ibid.

Thebes in the twenty eighth Year of *Echureus*, and thereabouts we must place *Cadmus*; because the Grandson of *Cadmus* was a *Minor* and had a Guardian in the Reign of *Epopeus*, who was the second King next after *Echureus*, in whose Time we suppose *Cadmus*. I might offer another Argument to prove that *Cadmus* cannot be later than the Marble supposes him. *Oenotrus* the youngest Son of *Lycaon* led a Colony of the *Pelasgi* into *Italy* (i). These *Pelasgi* did not go into *Italy* until after *Cadmus* had taught the *Greeks* the use of Letters; for they convey'd into *Italy* the Knowledge of the Letters which *Cadmus* had taught the *Greeks* (k). *Lycaon* the Father of *Oenotrus* reign'd in *Arcadia* at the same time that *Cecrops* reigned at *Athens* (l). The Marble supposes that *Cadmus* came into *Greece* about sixty three Years after *Cecrops* began his Reign at *Athens*, and we cannot imagine him later; for if he was later, how could the Son of *Lycaon*, when *Lycaon* was Cotemporary with *Cecrops*, learn *Cadmus's* Letters time enough to convey the Knowledge of them into a foreign Country?

The Reader may perhaps meet with an Account of *Cadmus's* Ancestors, taken in part from *Apollodorus* and other ancient Writers (m), which may seem to argue *Cadmus* to have liv'd much later than we suppose him. It is said that *Cadmus* was the Son of *Agenor*, *Agenor* Son of

(i) Pausan. in *Arcad.* c. 3. (k) *W. l. J. B.* 4. (l) Pausan. in *Arcad.* c. 2. (m) See *Prideaux Not. Historic. ad Chronic. Marmor. Ep.* 7.

Libya Daughter of *Epaphus*, *Epaphus* Son of *Io* Daughter of *Iafus*, who was Son of *Triopas* King of *Argos*. *Io* was carried into *Egypt*, and married there. By this Account *Cadmus* will be fix Descents lower than *Triopas*, and consequently as much later than *Cecrops*, for all Writers agree that *Cecrops* and *Triopas* were Cotemporaries; but from the former Arguments and Computations we suppose *Cadmus* to be about sixty three Years only later than *Cecrops*. But there is an evident Mistake in this *Genealogy*: There were two *Grecian Io's*, and both of them went into and lived in *Egypt*; the former was *Io* the Daughter of *Inachus*, the latter *Io* was the Daughter of *Iafus*, and *Cadmus* was descended from the former, and not from the latter. If we compute from *Castor's* Table of the *Argive* Kings (*n*), comparing and correcting it in respect of *Apis*, whom *Castor* has erroneously inserted, by *Pausanias's* Account of them (*o*), we shall find that *Io* Daughter of *Inachus* is exactly six Descents higher than *Io* the Daughter of *Iafus*; so that if the computing *Cadmus's* *Genealogy* from the latter *Io* sets him almost six Descents too low, as I just now remarked, the computing from the former *Io* exactly answers and corrects this Mistake. That the former *Io* went to live in *Egypt* is evident from *Eusebius* (*p*), as it is from *Pausanias* that the latter did so (*q*);

(*n*) Euseb. in Chronic. c. xv. xvi. ubi sup.

(*o*) Pausanias in Corinthiacis. Num. 160. & 481.

(*q*) Pau-

and further, it is expressly remark'd by *Eusebius* that *Io* the Daughter of *Inachus* was the Mother of *Epaphus* (*r*), and therefore this *Io*, and not the Daughter of *Iafus*, was the Ancestor of *Cadmus*.

It is much disputed by the Learned whether *Cadmus* was a *Phœnician* or an *Egyptian*, and there are Arguments not inconsiderable offered on both sides; but the true Account of him is, that he was born in *Phœnicia*; his Father was an *Egyptian*, and left *Egypt* about the Time that *Cecrops* came from thence, and he obtained a Kingdom in *Phœnicia* as *Cecrops* did in *Attica*, and his Sons *Phœnix* and *Cadmus* were born after his settling in this Country; and hence it came to pass that *Cadmus* having had an *Egyptian* Father, was brought up in the *Egyptian* Religion, and not a Stranger to the History of *Egypt*, which occasioned many Circumstances in his Life, which induced After-Writers to think him an *Egyptian*; and at the same time being born and educated in *Phœnicia*, he learnt the *Phœnician* Language and Letters, and had a *Phœnician* Name, and from hence has occasion'd most that have wrote of him with good Reason to conclude him a *Phœnician*. *Diodorus Siculus* (*a*), *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*b*), *Pausanias* (*c*), and from them (*d*) *Bochart* conclude him to be a *Phœnician*. Sir *John Mar-*

(*r*) Euseb. Num. 481.
mat. Lib. 1. p. 363.
Canaan.

(*a*) Lib. 4. p. 420.

(*b*) Stro-

(*c*) In Exoticis.

(*d*) In Præfat. ad

sham and *Dean Prideaux* (e) thought him an *Egyptian*.

Sir *John Marsham* offers one Argument for his being an *Egyptian* from an Inscription found in the Tomb of *Alcmena*, which though it does not seem to prove *Cadmus* an *Egyptian*, nor hardly any thing relating to him, yet I would willingly mention it, in order to take an Opportunity of remarking how artfully the Governors of Kingdoms in these Days made use of Oracles and Prodigies merely as Engins of State, to serve their political Views and Designs. The Tomb of *Alcmena*, Wife of *Amphitryon* and Mother of *Hercules*, was at *Haliartus* a City of *Bæotia*, and being open'd in the Time of *Agefilaus* King of *Sparta*, there were found in it a brass Bracelet, two earthen Pots which contain'd the Ashes of the Dead, and a Plate of Brass, upon which were inscribed many very odd and antique Letters, too old and unusual to be read by the *Grecian* Antiquaries; the Letters were thought to be *Egyptian*, and therefore *Agefilaus* sent *Agetoridas* into *Egypt*, to the Priests there, desiring them, if they could, to decypher them: *Chronuphis* an *Egyptian* Priest, after three Days examining all the ancient Books and Forms of their Letters, wrote the King word, that the Characters were the same that were used in *Egypt* in the Time of King *Proteus*, and which *Hercules* the Son of *Amphitryon* had learnt,

(e) *Marsham Can. Chron.* p. 118. *Prideaux Not. Histor. ad Chron. Marm.* p. 155.

and that the Inscription was an Admonition to the *Greeks* to leave off their Wars and Contentments with one another, and to cultivate a Life of Peace and the Study of Arts and Philosophy. The Messengers that were sent, thought *Chronuphis's* Advice very seasonable, and they were more confirmed in their Opinion in their Return home, by *Plato's* asking the Priests at *Delos* for some Advice from their Oracle, and receiving an Answer, which as *Plato* interpreted it, intimated that the *Greeks* should be happy, if they would leave off their Intestine Wars, and employ themselves in cultivating the Study of the Arts and Sciences. This is the Substance of *Plutarch's* Account of this whole Affair (e), and I cannot see that we have any Light about the Inscription in the Tomb, nor that we are told to any purpose, what the Letters were, or by whom written. The Discovery of them happened about the End of the War between the *Lacedemonians* and the *Thebans*, when the *Thebans* lost their General *Epaminondas* (f). At that Time *Agésilus* had a Scheme of being hired to command the *Egyptian* Armies against the *Persians*, and the *Egyptians* were fond of having him (g), but he could not think it safe to go out of *Greece*, unless he could be sure of settling a firm and lasting Peace amongst the several States of it; in order to which he laid hold of this Accident of the antique Inscription in the Tomb

(e) *Plut. d. Genio Socratis.*
B. VII. p. 661.

(g) *Ibid.*

(f) *Prideaux Connect. Vol. I.*

of *Alcmena*, and he and his Messengers and *Chromus* join'd all together to frame such an Interpretation of it, and to confirm it by a like Order from *Delos*, as might bind the *Greeks* to a Religious Obedience of the general Peace which was at that Time just concluded amongst them. Had the Brass Table been truly decyphered, without doubt it contained nothing else but an Account of the Persons whose Ashes were repositèd in the Tomb it was found in, and most probably the Letters were such as *Amphitryon* inscribed upon his *Tripod* at *Thebes* (b), but it came up luckily to serve the political Views of *Agésilas* and the *Egyptians*, and so the *Egyptians* contrived such an Account of it as might render it effectual for that Purpose: What became of the Original, we are not informed; probably the *Egyptians* did not send it back to have it further examined. But to return to *Cadmus*.

When *Cadmus* came into *Greece*, he was accompanied by a Number of Followers whom *Herodotus* calls the *Gephyræi* (c): They were Natives of *Phœnicia*, and went under his Direction to seek a new Habitation; a Custom not very unusual in these Days. When they came into *Greece*, they were at first opposèd by the Inhabitants of the Country; but being better Soldiers than the raw and ignorant *Bœotians*, they easily conquer'd them. *Bœotia* was inhabited at the time of *Cadmus's* coming into it by the *Hyantes* and the *Aones*; one of these,

(b) *Herodot.* in *Terpsichor.* c. 59. (c) *Id.* *Lib.* 5. c. 58.

the *Hyantes*, *Cadmus* intirely routed, and compelled them to flee out of the Country; but he came to Terms of Accommodation with the *Aones* (*d*), and having bought a Cow, and marked her according to the superstitious Ceremonies of the *Egyptian* Religion (*e*), he pretended he had a special Command from the Gods, to build a City where the Cow, which he order'd his Companions to drive gently into the Country, should lie down when weary; and so where the Cow lay down he built a City and called it *Cadmea*, and here he settled with his Companions; giving the *Aones* free Liberty, either to come and live in his City, and incorporate with his People, or to live in the little Villages and Societies which they had formed, in the manner they had been used to before he came into their Country (*f*). It is commonly said that *Cadmus* began his Travels by his Father's Order, in Search of his Sister *Europa* (*g*); but some considerable Writers think this a Fiction (*h*), and *Pausanias* hints *Europa* not to have been the Daughter of *Agenor*, but of *Phœnix* (*i*). *Ovid* relates at large an Account of *Cadmus's* Followers being devoured by a Serpent, that *Cadmus* killed the Serpent, and sowed his Teeth in the Ground, and that there sprang from this Serpent's Teeth a Number of armed Men, who as soon as they were grown up out

(*d*) Paulan. in Bœoticis, c. 5. (*e*) Id. ibid. c. 12. See Prideaux Not. ad Chronic. Marmor. (*f*) Pausanias in Bœoticis, c. 5. (*g*) Diodorus Sic. l. 4. (*h*) See Prideaux not. ad Chron. Marmor. Epoch. 7. (*i*) In Achaicis c. 4.

of the Ground, fell to fighting one another, and were all killed except five, and that these five, who survived the Conflict, went with *Cadmus* and assisted him in building *Thebes* (k). I am sensible that the Men that ever believed this strange Story, may be justly thought as weak as the Fiction is marvellous; but there are Hints of it in Writers not so poetically inclin'd as *Ovid*, and there is room to conjecture what might give the first Rise to so wild and extravagant a Fable. When *Cadmus* come into *Bæotia*, and had conquer'd the Inhabitants of it, it might be recorded of him, in the *Phœnician* or *Hebrew* Language, which anciently were the same, That He [עשה חיל חמש אנשים נושקים בשני נחש] *Nashab Chail Chamesth Anoshim, Noshbekim be Shenei Nachash* — These Words might begin the Account, and in these Words there are the following Ambiguities. *Chamesth* signifies Warlike or prepared for War, and a Word of the same Letters (l) may be translated Five. *Shenei* may signify Spears, or it may be rendred Teeth. *Nachash* is the *Hebrew* Word for a Serpent, or for Brass, and these Words being thus capable of denoting very different Things, a fabulous Translator might say (m), *He raised a Force of five Men armed from the*

(k) *Metamorph. Lib. 3. Fab. 1.* (l) *We may easily apprehend, that in a Language where the Vowels were originally not written, many Words of exactly the same Letters, must have a very different Signification. If we were to write our English Words in Consonants only; leaving the Reader to supply the Vowels, as the Hebrew was anciently written, our own Tongue would afford many Instances.* (m) See *Eocharti Canaan. l. 1. c. 19.*

Teeth of a Serpent, when the Words ought to have been translated, *he raised a warlike Force of Men*, [or an Army] *armed with Spears of Brass*. The Greeks in the Mythological Times were particularly fond of disguising all their ancient Accounts with Fable and Allegory, and it is no wonder that they gave the History of *Cadmus* this Turn, when the Words in which his Actions were recorded, gave them so fair an Opportunity. *Cadmus* is said to have found out the Art of working Metals and making Armour (*n*), and I imagine that some of his Companions were the *Idæi Daëtyli* mentioned by *Pausanias*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and other Writers; for these *Idæi Daëtyli* made their first Appearance near Mount *Ida* in *Phrygia* (*o*), and *Cadmus* travell'd this Way from *Phœnicia* into *Greece*, going out of *Asia* into *Thrace*, and from thence into *Greece*. *Cadmus* and his Companions introduced the Use of the *Phœnician* Letters into *Greece*, their Alphabet consisting of sixteen Letters only (*p*).

Danaus was another considerable Person, who travell'd about this Time from *Egypt* into *Greece*, and the ancient Writers agree pretty well in their Accounts of him. *Chemnis*, says *Herodotus* (*q*), is a large City near *Nea*, in *Thebais*; and the *Egyptians* say that *Danaus* and *Lynceus* were of *Chemnis*, and that they sailed into *Greece*. *Apollodorus* (*r*) agree-

(*n*) Plin. Lib. 7. p. 56.
Vol. I. B. IV.

(*o*) Diodor. Sic. l. 5.
(*q*) Lib. 2. c. 91.

(*r*) Lib. 2. p. 63.

(*p*) See
ing

ing with the *Parian* Marble, says, that *Danaus* built a Ship and fled with it from *Egypt*. *Diodorus* gives a larger Account of him (s), that he came from *Egypt* to *Rhodes* with his Daughters, that three of his Daughters died at *Rhodes*, that the rest went with him to *Argos*. *Pausanias* relates that *Danaus* came from *Egypt*, and obtained the Kingdom of *Argos* from *Gelanor* the Son of *Sthenelus* (t). *Danaus* was himself descended from a *Grecian* Ancestor. *Io* the Daughter of *Iafus* King of *Argos* married into *Egypt*, and when *Iafus* died, his Brother's Children came to the Crown, *Iafus* having no other Child but *Io*, and she being absent and married into a foreign Country: *Gelanor* was a Descendant of *Iafus*'s Brother, *Danaus* of *Iafus* by *Io* his Daughter, and this must be the Plea which he had to offer the *Argives* to induce them to accept him for their King. The Dispute between him and *Gelanor* before the People of *Argos*, upon this Point, was argued at large on both Sides for a whole Day, and *Gelanor* was thought to have offered as weighty and strong Arguments for his own Right, as *Danaus* could offer for his, and the next Day was appointed for the further hearing and determining their Claims, when an Accident put an end to the Dispute, and obtained *Danaus* the Crown. There happened a Fight between a Wolf and a Bull near the Place where the People were assembled, and the Wolf conquering the Bull, the Crown

(s) Hist. l. 5.

(t) Pausan. in Corinthiacis, c. 16. c. 19.

was hereupon adjudged to *Danaus*. The Combat was thought ominous, and the Wolf being a Creature they were less acquainted with than the Bull, it was thought to be the Will of the Gods, declared by the Event of this accidental Combat, that the Stranger should rule over them. And thus their Superstition made them unanimous in a Point of the greatest Moment, which perhaps they would not else have determined without creating great Factions among themselves: A Case somewhat like what happen'd in *Persia*, when *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes* was made King. His Horse being the first that neighed seem'd unquestionably to give him, in the Eyes of his superstitious Subjects, a better Title to the Throne, and perhaps a securer Possession of it, than any other Agreement which he and his Princes could have made, that had not had so appearing a Countenance from Religion (p). *Danaus* came into *Greece*, when *Erichthonius* was King of *Athens*, 1247 Years before the *Parian Chronicon* was composed (q), i. e. *A. M.* 2494, about eight years after *Cadmus* came into *Bœotia*. *Castor's* Account of *Danaus's* coming to *Argos*, if we take out of it the Years assigned to *Apis's* Reign (r), agrees well with this Computation from the *Parian Chronicon*. He computed that *Inachus* began to reign at *Argos* when *Thurimachus* was King of *Sicyon*, i. e. about *A. M.* 2154 (s); from

(p) Herodot. l. 3. Justin. l. 1. c. 10. Prideaux Connect. Vol. I. B. 3. (q) Epoch. Marmor. 9. (r) Vid. quæ supra. (s) Vide quæ supra.

the first Year of *Inachus* (including the Reign of *Apis*) he reckons 382 Years to the Death of *Sthenelus*, which would place *Danaus* *A. M.* 2536; but if we deduct thirty five Years for the Insertion of *Apis*'s Reign, it will place him *A. M.* 2501, seven Years only later than the Marble.

There can be but very little offered about the Affairs of *Greece*, before the Times that these Men came to settle in it; tho' it is certain that *Greece* was inhabited long before these Days, and that in some Parts of it Kingdoms were erected, and Men of great Figure and Eminence lived in them. *Ægialeus* began a Kingdom at *Sicyon* *A. M.* 1920 (a), above 500 Years before *Cecrops* came to *Athens*, during which Interval they had 13 Kings according to *Castor* (b), and *Pausanias* found Memoirs of the Lives and Families of 12 of them (c). *Inachus* erected a Kingdom at *Argos* *A. M.* 2154 (d), 269 Years before *Cecrops*, and they had six Kings in this Interval (e); and these Accounts are in all respects so reasonable in themselves, and do so well suit with every Fragment of ancient History, that no one can fairly reject them, unless Antiquity alone be a sufficient Reason for not admitting Annals of so long standing. Kingdoms did not begin so early in other Parts of *Greece*, but we find *Thessalus* a King of *Thessaly* *A. M.* 2332, his

(a) See above Book VI.

(b) In Chronic. Euseb. Part I.

(c) In Corinthiacis,
& Pausan.

(d) See Book VI.

(e) Castor

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(a) See above Book VI.

(b) In Chronic. Euseb. Part I.

(c) In Corinthiacis,
& Pausan.

(d) See Book VI.

(e) Castor

Father's Name was *Graicus* (*f*); *Deucalion* reigned King there *A. M.* 2431, *i. e.* eight Years after *Cecrops* came to *Athens* (*g*); *Ogyges* reigned in *Attica* about *A. M.* 2244 (*h*), and the Descendants of *Telchin* third King of *Sicyon* went and settled in the Island *Rhodes* *A. M.* 2284 (*i*). *Prometheus* lived about *A. M.* 2340. He was fabulously reported to have made Men, because he was a very wise Man, and new formed the ignorant by his Precepts and Instructions (*k*); we have no certain Account in what Part of *Greece* he lived. *Callithyia* was the first Priestess of *Juno* at *Argos*, *A. M.* 2381 (*l*). *Atlas* lived about *A. M.* 2385; he was a most excellent Astronomer for the Times he lived in, and his great Skill this way occasioned it to be said of him in After-Ages, That he supported the Heavens (*m*). He lived near *Tanagra* a City upon the River *Ismenus* in *Boeotia* (*n*), and near to this Place his Posterity were said to be found, by the Writers of After-Ages. *Homer* supposes *Calypso* a Descendant of this *Atlas*, who detained *Ulysses*, to be Queen of an Island (*o*),

—————“Ὅθι τ' ὀμφαλός ἐστι θαλάσσης
Νῆσος δένδρηεσσα”

i. e. of the Island *Atalanta* near the *Sinus Me-*

(*f*) Euseb. Chron. Num 224. (*g*) Id. Marm. Arund.
Epoch. 4. (*h*) Euseb. Chron. Num. 236. (*i*) Id. Num 276
(*k*) Id. Num. 332. (*l*) Id. Num. 375. (*m*) Id. Num. 375
(*n*) Pausan. in Boeoticis c. 20. (*o*) Odyss. i. ver. 50.

liacus in the *Euripus* (p), over-against *Opus* (q), a City of *Bœotia*.

The several Kingdoms that were raised in the other Parts of *Greece*, began not much before or after *Cecrops* came to *Attica*. *Pelasgus* was the first King of *Arcadia*, and his Son *Lycaon* was cotemporary with *Cecrops* (r). *Aëtæus*, whom *Cecrops* succeeded, was the first King of *Attica* (s). *Athlius* was the first King of *Elis*; he was the Grandson of *Deucalion*, and therefore later than *Cecrops* (t). *Ephyre* Daughter of *Oceanus* is said to have first governed the *Corinthians* (u), but we know nothing more of her than her Name. The *Corinthian* History must begin from *Marathon*, who was the Son of *Epopeus*, and planted a Colony in this Country. *Epopeus* lived about the Times of *Cadmus*; for he fought with, and wounded *Nyctæus*, who was Guardian to *Labdacus* the Grandson of *Cadmus* (x), and therefore *Marathon* the Son of *Epopeus* must come to *Corinth* many Years later than *Cadmus*

(p) Wells's Map of the mid Parts of ancient Greece.

(q) See Strabo Geograph. l. 1. c. 9. The Reader will, I am sensible, find but little Certainty of the Situation of Calypso's Island: Solon gave an Account, that there was really such a Place when Homer wrote, but that it is since his Time sunk in the Sea, i. e. he could not tell where to find it. Some Writers place it near to Egypt. All I can offer for my supposed Situation of it, is, The Island *Atalanta* in the *Euripus* hits Homer's Description exactly, ὀμφαλὸς ὄρεϊ θαλάσσης, better than any other Island supposed to be the Place, and it lies near the Country where Pausanias informs us that *Atlas* the Father of *Calypso* lived, and *Ulysses's* Voyages as described by Homer may be well reconciled with this Position of it.

(r) Pausanias in *Arcadicis*.

(s) Id. in *Atticis*.

(t) Id. in *Eliacis*.

(u) Id. in *Corinthiacis*,

(x) Id. in

Corinthiacis, c. 6.

came into Greece. *Phocus* was the first King of *Phocis* (*y*), and he was five Descents younger than *Marathon*; for *Ornytion* was Father of *Phocus* (*z*), *Sisyphus* was Father of *Ornytion* (*a*); *Sisyphus* succeeded *Jason* and *Medea* in the Kingdom of *Corinth*, and *Jason* and *Medea* succeeded *Corinthus* the Son of *Marathon* (*b*), so that the Inhabitants of *Phocis* became a People, several Generations later than *Cadmus*. *Lelex* formed the *Lacedemonians* much earlier; for *Menelaus*, who warred at *Troy*, was their eleventh King, so that *Lelex* reigned about the Times of *Cecrops* (*c*). The *Messenians* lived at first in little Neighbourhoods, but at the Death of *Lelex* the first King of *Sparta*, *Polycaon* one of his Sons became King of this Country (*d*). These were the first Beginnings of the several Kingdoms of *Greece*; and before the Persons I have mentioned formed them for Society, the Inhabitants of the several Parts of it lived a wandering Life, reaping such Fruits of the Earth as grew spontaneously, each Father managing his own Family or little Company; and having little or no Acquaintance with one another, like the *Cyclops* in *Homer* (*e*); or, where most civilized, like the Men of *Laiish*, they

(y) Pausanias in Phocicis.

(z) Id. in Corinthiacis c. 4.

(a) Id. ibid.

(b) Id. ibid. c. 3.

(c) Id. in Laconicis.

(d) Id. in Messeniaticis.

(e) Homer Odyss. 9. v. 108.

Οὐτε φυτεύουσι χερσὶ φυτόν, ἔτ' ἀρώσιν·
 Ἄλλ' οἷγ' ὑψηλῶν ὄρέων ναίεσι κάρηνα
 Ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι θειμισεύει δὲ ἕκαστος
 Παιδῶν ἢ δ' ἀλόχων, ἔδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγχει.

dawelt

dwelt careless after the manner of the Zidonians quiet and secure, and there was no Magistrate in the Land, that might put them to Shame in any thing; and they had no Business with any Man.

Most Writers, that have mentioned either *Ogyges* or *Deucalion*, have recorded a Deluge to have happened in each of their Kingdoms; *Attica*, they say, was over-flowed in the Reign of *Ogyges*, and *Thessaly* in the Reign of *Deucalion*; but it is most reasonable to think, that there were no extraordinary Floods in either of these Countries in the Times of *Deucalion* or *Ogyges*, but that what the Heathen Writers offer about these supposed Deluges, were only such Hints as came down to their Hands of the universal Deluge in the Days of *Noah*. *Attica*, in which *Ogyges's* Flood is supposed to have happened, is so high situated, that it is hard to imagine any Inundation of Waters here, unless the greatest Part of the World were drowned at the same Time; its Rivers are but few, and even the largest of them almost without Water in Summer time (*f*); and its Hills are so many, that it cannot well be conceived how its Inhabitants should perish in a Deluge particularly confined to this Country. *Hieronimus* in his *Latin* Version of *Eusebius's* *Chronicon*, seems to have been sensible that no such Flood could be well supposed to have happened in *Attica*, and therefore he removes the Story into *Egypt* (*g*), supposing *Egypt* to have suffered

(*f*) Strabo Geogr. l. 9. p. 400.

(*g*) His Words are, Dilu-

vium *Ægypti* hoc Tempore fuit, quod factum est sub *Ogyge*.

a Deluge in the time of Ogyges's Reign: But the most learned Dean *Prideaux* (*b*) remarks from *Suidas* (*i*), and *Hesychius* (*k*), that the *Greeks* used the Word (*Ὠγύγιον*) *Ogygian* proverbially, to signify any thing which happened in the most ancient Times; and therefore by the Flood of Ogyges they meant, not any particular Deluge, which overflowed his or any other single Country, but only some very ancient Flood, which happened in the most early Times, and such was the Flood of *Noah*. The *Greek* Chronology of the early Ages was very imperfect; they had some Hints, that there had been an universal Deluge; they apprehended nothing to be more ancient than the Times of Ogyges, and therefore they called this Deluge by his Name, not intending hereby to hint that it happened precisely in his Days, but only intimating it to have been in the most early Times. As to *Deucalion's* Flood, *Cedrenus* and *Johannes Antiochenus* were of Opinion that *Deucalion* left his People a written History of the universal Deluge, and that their Posterity many Ages after his Death, imagined his Account to be a Relation of what happened in the Times he lived in, and so called the Flood, which he treated of, by his Name (*l*); but to this it is very justly objected, that Letters were not in use in *Greece* so early as *Deucalion's* Days; so that it is not to be sup-

(*b*) Not. Historic. ad Chronic. Marm.
Ὠγύγιον. (*k*) Helych. in *Ὠγύγιον*.
 Notis Historicis ad Chron. Marm. Ep. 1.

(*i*) Suidas in Voc.
 (*l*) *Prideaux* in

posed, that he could leave any Memoirs or Inscriptions of what had happened before his Time; but then a small Correction of what is hinted from *Cedrenus* and *Antiochenus* will set this matter in its true Light. *Deucalion* taught the *Greeks* Religion, and the great Argument which he used to persuade his People to the Fear of the Deity, was taken from the Accounts which he had received of the Universal Deluge; some Hints of which were handed down into all Nations: But as the *Greeks* were in these Times not skilled in Writing, so it is easy to imagine, that *Deucalion* and the Deluge might, by Tradition, be mentioned together, longer than it could be remembered whether he only discoursed of it to his People, or was himself a Person concerned in it. It is remarkable, that whenever the Prophane Writers give us any Particulars of either the Flood of *Ogyges*, or of that of *Deucalion*, they are much the same with what is recorded of *Noah's* Deluge. *Solinus* and *Apollonius* hint, that the Flood of *Ogyges* lasted about nine Months (*m*), and such a space of Time *Moses* allots to the Deluge (*n*). *Deucalion* is represented to have been a just and virtuous Man, and for that Reason to have been saved from perishing, when the rest of Mankind were destroyed for their Wickedness (*o*); and this agrees to what *Moses* says of *Noah* (*p*). *Deucalion* preserved

(*m*) See *Prideaux Not. Hist. ad Chron. Marm:*
vii. viii. See Vol. I. B. 1. & 2.
Ovid. Metam. l. 1.

(*n*) *Gen.*

(*o*) *Lucian. de Dcâ Syriâ.*

(*p*) *Gen. vi. 5, 9.*

only himself, his Wife, and his Children (q); and these were the Persons saved by *Noah* (r). *Deucalion* built an Ark, being forewarned of the Destruction that was coming upon Mankind (s); and this *Moses* relates of *Noah* (t). The taking two of every Kind of the living Creatures into the Ark (u); the Ark's resting upon a Mountain when the Waters abated (w); the sending a Dove out of the Ark, to try whether the Waters were abated or no (x); all these Circumstances are related of *Deucalion*, by the Heathen Writers, almost exactly as *Moses* remarks them in his Account of *Noah*: And as *Moses* relates, that *Noah*, as soon as the Flood was over, built an Altar, and offered Sacrifices, so these Writers say likewise of *Deucalion* (y); affirming that he built τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν, or an Altar (for these were the most ancient Places of Worship) to the *Olympian Jupiter*. Upon the whole, the Circumstances related of *Noah's* Flood, and of *Deucalion's*, do so far agree, that our learned Countryman Sir *W. Raleigh* professed, that he should verily believe, that the Story of *Deucalion's* Flood, was only an Imitation of *Noah's* Flood devised by the Greeks, did not the Times so much differ, and *St. Augustin* with others of the Fathers and reverend Writers, approve the Story of *Deucalion*. As to the Difference of the Times, certainly no great

(q) Ovid. ub. sup. Lucian in Timone. (r) Gen. vii. 7.
 (s) Apollodorus l. 1. Lucian de Deâ Syriâ. (t) Gen. vi. 13, 14.
 (u) Lucian. de Deâ Syriâ. (w) Stephanus Etymolog. in
 Πάρινον, Suidas in Voc. ead. Ovid. Metam. l. 1. (x) Plut.
 in lib. de solertiâ Animalium, (y) Pausan, in Atticis. c. 18.

Stress can be laid upon it: The *Greeks* were so inaccurate in their *Chronology* of what happened so early as *Deucalion*, that it is no wonder if they were imposed upon, and ascribed to his Days, Things done above seven hundred Years before him; and I cannot but think, that *St. Austin*, and the other learned Writers, that have mentioned either the Flood of *Ogyges* or of *Deucalion*, would have taken both of them to have been only different Representations of the Deluge; if, besides what has been offered, they had considered, that we read but of one such Flood as these having ever happened in either *Deucalion's* or *Ogyges's* Country. If the Floods called by their Names, were not the one Universal Deluge brought upon the ancient World, for the Wickedness of its Inhabitants, then they must have proceeded from some Causes, which both before and since might, and would in a Series of some thousands of Years, have subjected these Countries to such Inundations: But we have no Accounts of any that have ever happened here, except these two only, in each Country one, and no more; so that it is most probable that in *Attica*, and in *Thessaly*, they had a Tradition that there had anciently been a Deluge; their want of *Chronology* had rendered the Time when extremely uncertain, and some Circumstances not duely weighed, or not perfectly understood, determined their Writers in After-Ages to call this Deluge in the one Country the Flood of *Ogyges*, in the other the Flood of *Deucalion*.

According to the *Parian Chronicon* (a), a Person named *Mars* was tried at *Athens* for the Murder of *Halirrothius* the Son of *Neptune*, in the Reign of *Cranus* the Successor of *Cecrops*, about *A. M.* 2473; and it is remarked, that the Place of Trial was named *Arius Pagus*, and this was the Beginning of the Senate or Court of *Areopagus* at *Athens*, which was instituted, according to this Account, soon after *Cecrops's* Death, in the very first Year of his Successor. *Æschylus* had a very different Opinion of the Origin of the Name and Time of erecting this Court. He says the Place was named *Areopagus* from the *Amazons* offering Sacrifices there to "A^gns or *Mars*, and he supposes *Orestes* to have been the first Person tried before the Court erected there (b): But it is evident from *Apollodorus* (c), that *Cephalus* was tried here for the Death of *Procris*, and *Procris* was the Daughter of *Erechtheus* the sixth King of *Athens* (d). And the same Author says, that *Dædalus* was also tried here for the Death *Talus* (e), and *Dædalus* lived about the Time (f) of *Minos* King of *Crete*; so that both these Instances shew, that *Æschylus* was much mistaken about the Antiquity of the Court of *Areopagus*, and he may therefore well be conceived to be ill informed of the true Origin of its Name. *Cicero* hints that *Solon* first erected this Court (ff), and *Plutarch* was fond of the

(a) Ep. 3. (b) Eumenid. v. 690. (c) L. 3. p. 200.
 (d) Pausanias in Phocicis, c. 29. (e) Apollodorus l. 3. p. 206.
 (f) Pausanias in Achaicis, c. 4. (ff) De Offic. l. 1. c. 22.

same Opinion (g), even tho' he could not but confess, that there were Arguments against it, which, I think, must appear unanswerable: For he himself cites a Law of *Solon*, in which the Court of *Areopagus* is expressly named in such a manner as to evidence, that Persons had been convened before it, before *Solon's* Days (h). *Solon* did indeed, by his Authority, make some Alterations in the Ancient Constitution of this Court, both as to the Number and Quality of those who were to be the Judges in it, and as to the Manner of electing them: And all this *Aristotle* remarks of him (i) expressly, saying at the same time, that *Solon* neither erected nor dissolved this Court, but only gave some new Laws for the Regulating it. *Æschylus* thought this Court more ancient than the Times of *Solon*, but *Apollodorus* carries up the Accounts of it much higher than *Æschylus*, to *Minos's* Times, and to *Erechtheus*, who reigned about one hundred Years after the Times when the Marble supposes the Trial of *Mars*, and the Trial of *Mars* there for the Death of *Halirrothius* is reported by many of the best

(g) In Vit. Solon. p. 38. (h) Plut. in Solon. his Words are
 Ὁ ἢ τεισκαίδέκατ' ἄξων τῆ Σόλων' τὸν ὄγδον ἐχει τὸν
 νόμον ἕτως αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι γεγραμμένον Ἄτιμον ὅσοι ἀτιμοὶ
 ἦσαν πρὶν ἢ Σόλωνα ἀρξαι, ἐπιτίμους εἶαι, καὶ ὅσοι ἐξ
 Ἄρειν πάγυ καταδικαζόντες — ἐφυγῶν. N. B. The Party
 accused in the Court of *Areopagus* had leave to secure himself by Flight,
 and go into Voluntary Banishment, if he suspected punishment would be
 given against him, provided he made use of this Privilege before the Court
 entered into the Proofs of the Merits of his Cause, and by *Solon's* Law,
 a Person who had claimed this Privilege, was to be for ever infamous.

(i) *Aristot. Polit.* l. 2. c. 12.

ancient Writers (*k*). The number of the Judges of this Court at its first Origin were twelve (*l*), and the King was always one of them; their Authority was so great, and by their upright Determinations they acquired themselves so great a Reputation, that their Posterity called them Gods; and thus *Apollodorus* says, that *Mars* was acquitted by the twelve Gods (*m*). The Number of these Judges varied according to the different Circumstances of the *Athenian* Government; sometimes they were but nine, at other times thirty one; and fifty one. When *Socrates* was condemn'd, they were two hundred eighty one, and when *Rufus Festus* the *Proconsul* of *Greece* was honoured with a Pillar erected at *Athens*, it was hinted on that Pillar, that the Senate of *Areopagus* consisted of three hundred (*n*); and from hence it is very probable, that the first Constitution of the City directed them to appoint twelve Judges of this Court; perhaps *Cecrops* divided his People into twelve Wards or Districts, appointing a President over each Ward, and these Governours of the several Districts of the City were the first Judges of the Court of *Areopagus*. That *Cecrops* divided his People into twelve Districts seems very probable, from its being said of him, that he built twelve Cities (*o*): For they say also, that all the twelve united at last into one; so that it looks most probable, that *Ce-*

(*k*) Pausan. in Atticis. Stephanus, Suidas, & Phavorinus in Ἀρχαῖα Πόλις. (l) Apollodor. l. 3. p. 193. (m) Ibid.
 (n) Potter's *Antiquities*. (o) Strabo, l. 9.

croys only parted the People in order to manage them the more easily, appointing some to live under the Direction of one Person, whom he appointed to rule for him, and some under another, taking the largest Number under his own immediate Care, and himself inspecting the Management of the rest: And these Deputy-Governours, together with the King, were by *Cranauis* formed into a Court for the joint Government of the whole People. And as the Government came into more Hands, or was put into fewer, the Number of the *arcopagite* Judges lessened or encreased. This Court had the Cognizance of all Causes, that more particularly concerned the Welfare of the State; and under this Head all Innovations in Religion were in time brought before the Judges of it. *Socrates* was condemned by them, for holding Opinions contrary to the Religion of his Country; and *St. Paul* seems to have been questioned before them about his Doctrines (*p*), being thought by them *to be a setter forth of strange Gods*. Many learned Writers have given large Accounts of the Constitution and Proceedings of this Court (*a*), which obtained the highest Reputation in all Countries where the *Athenians* were known. *Cicero* says, that the World may as well be said to be governed without the Providence of the Gods, as the *Atbenian* Republic without the Decisions of the Court of *Arcopagus* (*b*); and

(*p*) Acts xvii. 19.
Greece.

(*a*) See *Bishop Potter's Antiquities of*

(*b*) *De Nat. Deorum* lib. 2.

their

their Determinations were reputed to be so upright, that *Pausanias* informs us, that even Foreign States voluntarily submitted their Controversies to these Judges (c). And *Demosthenes* says of this Court, that to his Time, no one had ever complained of any unjust Sentence given by the Judges of it (d). But it belongs to my Design, only to endeavour to fix the Time of its first Rise, and not to pursue at large the Accounts which are given of the Proceedings of it.

The Council of the *Amphietyones* was first instituted by *Amphietyon* the Son of *Deucalion*, about *A. M.* 2483 (e). *Deucalion* was King of *Thessaly*, and his Son *Amphietyon* succeeded him in his Kingdom. *Amphietyon*, when he came to reign, summoned all the People together, who lived round about him, in order to consult with them for the public Welfare; they met at the *Pylæ* or *Thermopylæ*, for by either of these Names they called the Streights of Mount *Oeta* in *Thessaly*; for through this narrow Passage was the only Entrance into this Country from *Greece*, and therefore they were called Πύλαι, *Pylæ*, or the Gates or Doors, that being the Signification of the Word (f); and *Thermopylæ*, because there were many Springs of hot Waters in these Passages, the Greek Word Θερμός signifying hot (g); and here *Amphietyon* met his People twice a Year, to con-

(c) In *Messeniac.*
Arundell. Ep. 5.
eod. p. 420.

(d) In *Aristocrat.*
(f) *Strabo*, l. 9. p. 428.

(e) *Marmor.*
(g) *Id. lib.*

sult with them, to redress any Grievances they might labour under, and to form Schemes for the public Good. This seems to have been the first Design of the Council of the *Amphictyones*, so called from *Amphictyon*, the Person who first appointed it; or some Writers imagine, that the Coassessors in this Council were called Ἀμφικτυόνες, because they came out of several Parts of the circumjacent Countries. This was the Opinion of *Androtion* in *Pausanias* (b); but the best Writers generally embrace the former Account of the Name of this Council, and it seems to be the most natural. Tho' *Amphyction* first formed this Council out of the People that lived under his Government, and for the public Good of his own Kingdom, yet in time it was composed of the Members of different Nations, and they met with larger and more extensive Views, than to settle the Affairs of one Kingdom. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* says, that the Design of it was to cultivate an Alliance of the *Græcian* States with one another, in order to render them more able to engage with any Foreign Enemy (i). When the Design was thus enlarged, the Deputies of several Cities were appointed to meet (k) twice a Year, at Spring, and at Autumn. *Strabo* agrees with *Æschines* and *Suidas*, and computes the Cities that sent Deputies to this meeting to be twelve, but *Pausanias* enume-

(b) Lib. 10. c. 8.

(i) Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. l. 4.

c. 25.

(k) Æschinis Orat. ἐπὶ παραπροσβείας. Suidas in

voc. Ἀμφικτυόνες.

rates ten only (*l*); it is most probable, that the States that agreed to meet in this Council were at first but few, only those who lived near to *Thermopylae*; in time more Nations joined in Alliance with them, and sent their Agents to this Meeting, and they might be but ten when the Accounts were taken from which *Pausanias* wrote; and they might be twelve, when the Hints from which *Strabo*, *Suidas*, and the Writers that agree with them wrote, were given. *Acrisius* King of *Argos*, who reigned above two hundred Years later than *Amphytyon*, composed some Laws or Orders for the better regulating this Council, and for the Dispatch of the Affairs that were laid before the Members of it, and what he did of this sort, occasioned some Writers to imagine, that he might possibly be the first Institutor of this Council (*m*); but *Strabo* justly hints that he was thought so, only for want of sufficient Memoirs of what had been appointed before his Times (*n*). *Acrisius* did indeed in many Respects new regulate this Meeting, he settled a number of written Laws for the Calling and Management of it; he determined what Cities should send Deputies to it, and how many each City, and what Affairs should be laid before the Council (*o*); and it is easy to conceive, that his having made these Regulations, might occasion him to be thought in After-ages the

(*l*) In Phocicis, c. 8.
τὰ πάλαι μὲν ἔν ἀγνοεῖται.
Chron. Marm.

(*m*) *Strabo* l. 9.

(*n*) *Id.* *ibid.*

(*o*) *Prideaux* Not. Histor. ad

first Inftitutor of the Affembly. The Regulations made by *Acrifius* were punctually obferved, and the feveral Cities who had Votes according to his Conftitutions continued to meet without any Obftruction, until the Time of *Philip* King of *Macedon* the Father of *Alexander the Great*, each City having two Votes in the Council and no more (p); but in *Philip's* Reign the *Phocians* and *Dorians* were excluded the Council for plundering the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, and the two Votes belonging to the *Dorians* were given to the *Macedonians*, who were then taken into the Number of the *Amphictyones* (q). About fixty feven Years after this, the *Phocians* defended the Temple at *Delphos* with fo much Bravery againft the *Gauls*, that they were reftored to their Votes again: and the *Dolopians* at this time being in Subjection to the *Macedonians*, were reckoned but as a Patt of the Kingdom of *Macedon*, and the *Macedonian* Deputies were faid to be their Representatives; and the Votes, which they had in the Council before their incorporating with the *Macedonians*, were now taken from them and given to the *Phocians* (r). The *Perrhæbians* iikewife about the fame Time became fubject to the *Macedonians*, and fo loft their Right of fending their Representatives to the Council; and the *Delphians*, who had before been represented by

(p) *Æſchines* in Orat. *αὐτὸν πρῶτον ἔθετο.* (q) *Diodor.*
Sic. l. 15. *Paufan.* in *Phocicis.* (r) *Paufan.* in *Phocicis.*
Strabo. l. 9.

the *Phocians*, were now considered as a distinct and independent City, and were allowed to send their Deputies to the Council (s). In the Reign of *Augustus Cæsar*, after his building the City *Nicopolis*, he made several Alterations in the Constitution of this Council (t). He ordered several of the States of *Greece*, which in former Times had been independent, and had sent distinct Representatives, to be incorporated into one Body, and to send the same Representatives; and he gave his new City a Right of sending six or eight. *Strabo* thought that this Council was intirely dissolved in his Time; but *Pausanias*, who lived in the Time of *Antoninus Pius*, informs us, that the *Amphietyones* held their Meetings in his Time, and that their Number of Delegates were then thirty. But it is remarkable, that the ancient Constitution of the Assembly was intirely broken (u); many Cities sent but one Deputy, and some of the ancient Cities had only Turns in sending; they were not suffered to send all of them to one and the same Council, but it was appointed that some should send their Deputies to the Vernal Meeting, and some to the Autumnal. I imagine, that when *Greece* was become subject to the *Roman* State, *Augustus* thought it proper to lessen the Power and Authority of the Council of the *Amphietyones*, that they might not be able to debate upon, or concert Measures to disturb

(s) *Æschines* in orat. *περὶ παρορρησίας*.
Phocicis. (u) *Id.* *ibid.*

(t) *Pausan.* in

the *Romans*, or recover the ancient Liberties of *Greece*; it might not perhaps be proper to suppress their Meeting, but he took care to have so many new Votes in the *Roman* Interest introduced, and the Number of the ancient Members, who might have the *Græcian* Affairs at Heart, so lessened, that nothing could be attempted here to the Prejudice of the *Romans*; and perhaps this was all that *Strabo* meant by hinting that *Augustus* dissolv'd this Council. He did not deprive the *Græcians* of a Council which bore this Name, but he so far new-modelled it, that it was far from being in Reality what it appeared to be; being in Truth, after *Augustus's* Time, rather a *Roman* Faction, than a *Græcian* Assembly meeting for the Benefit of the *Græcian* States. And in a little time the *Amphietyones* were not permitted to intermeddle with Affairs of State at all, but reduced to have only some small Inspection over the Rites and Ceremonies of Religion practised in the Temples, under their Cognizance; and so upon abolishing the Heathen Superstitions by *Constantine*, this Assembly fell on Course. The ancient Writers are not unanimously agreed about the Place where the *Amphietyones* held their Meeting; that they met at first at *Thermopylæ* is undeniable, and in later Ages a Temple was built there to *Ceres Amphietyoneis* (π), in which they held their Assemblies; but after that the Temple of *Delphos* was taken into their Protection, it is

(π) Herodotus Lib. 7. c. 200. Pausan. in Phoc. is.

thought by some Writers, that the *Amphietyones* met alternately one Time at *Thermopylae*, the next time at *Delphos*, then at *Thermopylae*, &c. Sir *John Marsham* endeavours to argue from *Pausanias* (x) that the *Amphietyones*, who met at *Delphos*, were a different Council from that of the same Name, which met at *Thermopylae*; but the learned Dean *Prideaux* has shewn this to be a Mistake, *Pausanias's* Words not necessarily inferring the two Councils to be different; and many other good Writers attesting them to be the same, and that the *Amphietyones* did meet at *Delphos* one time, and at *Thermopylae* another (y). *Strabo* mentions a Meeting held in the Temple of *Neptune*, in the Island *Calauria* (z), to which seven neighbouring Cities sent their Deputies; this Meeting was called by the Name *Amphietyonia*, most probably, because it was instituted in Imitation of the famous Council so called; but this Meeting, and that Council, were never taken to be the same.

Hellen the Son of *Deucalion* reigned at *Phthia*, a City of *Thessaly*, about *A. M.* 2484, and his People were called *Hellenes* from his Name; before his Times they were called *Græci* or *Græcians* (a), most probably from *Graicus* the Father of *Thessalus*. Many of the ancient Writers agree with the Marble in this

(x) Marsham Can. Chron. p. 116. Pausan. in Achaicis, c. 24.
 (y) Prideaux Not. Historic. ad Chronic. Marmor. Ep. 5.
 (z) Strabo l. 8. p. 374. (a) Marmor. Arundel, Ep. 6.

Remark ; *Apollodorus* (b), *Aristotle* (c), and *Pliny* (d), and the Scholiast upon *Lycophron*; but it should be observed from all of them, that neither *Hellenes*, nor *Græci*, were at first the Names of the Inhabitants of the whole Country called *Greece* in After-Ages, but only of a Part of it. The ancient *Græci* were those whom *Hellen* called after his Name, and *Hellen* was a King of Part of *Thessaly*, and only his People were the ancient *Hellenes*. And thus *Pausanias* remarks, that *Hellas*, which in later Ages was the Name of all *Greece*, was at first only a Part of *Thessaly* (e); namely that Part where *Hellen* reign'd. In *Homer's* Time, *Hellas* was the Name of the Country near to *Phthia*, and it was then used in so extended a Sense, as to comprehend all *Achilles's* Subjects, who were two small Nations besides the *Hellenes*, namely, the *Myrmidons*, and the *Pelasgian Achæans* (f); nay it took in the Country round about the *Pelasgian Argos*; for *Homer* places this *Argos* in the middle of it,

Ἄνδρες τῆς κλέος ἐσὺν καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος (g).

But it is remarkable that *Homer* never calls all *Greece* by the Name of *Hellas*, nor the *Græcians* in general *Hellenes*; because, according to *Thucydides's* Observation, none but *Achilles's* Subjects had this Name in *Homer's* Days (h). *Strabo* indeed opposes this Remark of *Thucydides*, and cites *Archilochus* and *Hesiod* to prove,

(b) Lib. 1. (c) De Meteoris, lib. 1. (d) Lib. 4. c. 7. (e) Pausan. in Laconicis, c. 20. (f) Il. 2. v. 190. (g) Odyss. 1. v. 344. (h) Thucyd. Hist. 1. 1.

that the Inhabitants of all Greece were called *Hellenes*, before the Times of *Homer* (i); but *Archilochus* was much later than *Homer*, and the Verse cited from *Hesiod* falls short of proving what *Strabo* infers from it (k). The Descendants of *Hellen* were the Founders of many very flourishing Families, who in Time, and by Degrees, spread into all the Countries of Greece, and in length of Time came to have so great an Interest, as to have an Order made, that none could be admitted as a Candidate at the *Olympick* Games, who was not descended from them; so that *Alexander the Great*, according to *Herodotus* (l), was obliged to prove himself to be an *Hellen*, before he could be admitted to contend for any Prize in these Games: And from the Time of making this Order, every Kingdom was fond of deriving their Genealogy from this Family, until all the *Greeks* were reputed to be *Hellenes*, and so the Name became universally applied to all the several Nations of the Country. The Marble hints, that *Hellen*, the Father of this Family, first instituted the *Panathenæan* Games; not meaning, I suppose, that *Hellen* called them by that Name, but that he instituted Games of the same sort with the *Panathenæan*. *Erichthonius* was the first in Greece who taught to draw Chariots with Horses, and he instituted the Chariot-Race (m) about *A. M.* 2499

(i) Strabo. l. 8. p. 370. (k) See Prideaux Not. Hist. ad Chron. Marm. Ep. 6. (l) Herodot. l. 5. c. 22. (m) Virgil. Geor. 3. Euseb. Chron. Num. 543.

(n), in

(*n*), in order to encourage his People to learn to manage Horses this way with the greater Dexterity. And we are told that in his Days, there was found in some Mountains of *Phrygia* the Image of the Mother of the Gods, and that *Hyagnis* made great Improvements in the Art of Musick, inventing new Instruments and introducing them into the Worship of *Cybele*, *Dionysius*, *Pan*, and of the other Deities and Heroe-Gods of his Country (*o*). Chariots may very probably be supposed to have been introduced into *Greece* by *Erichthonius*; for he was an *Egyptian*; and Chariots were used in *Egypt* in the Days of *Joseph* (*p*): But as to *Cybele's* Image, we cannot reasonably suppose it thus early, and the Heathen Music cannot be thought to have been much improved until after these Times. If *Hyagnis* invented the Pipe or *Tibia*, we must say of his Pipe in the Words of *Horace*,

*Tibia non ut nunc Orichalco vincita, tubæque
Æmula; sed tenuis simplexque foramine pauco,
Aspirare, & adesse Choris erat utilis, atque
Nondum spissa nimis complere sedilia flatu.*

De Arte Poeticâ.

His Pipe was a mean and simple Instrument,

(*n*) Chron. Marmor. Ep. 10. (*o*) Chron. Marmor. F. 10.
(*p*) Gen. 1. 9. In the Latin Version of Eusebius's Chronicon, Trochilus is said to have invented the Chariot, Num. cccclvii; but it must appear, by what we have in the same Version Num. dxliii. where Erichthonius is mentioned, that either Trochilus was a Foreigner, and did not live in Greece, or what is said of him is a Mistake.

of less Compass even than the Trumpet, and Music was advanced to no remarkable Perfection in his Days.

It is generally said, that the Religion of Greece was anciently, what these *Egyptians*, *Cecrops*, *Danaus*, *Cadmus*, and *Erichthonius* introduced; so that it may not be amiss, before we go further, to examine what the ancient *Egyptian* Religion was in their Times; how far it might be corrupted, when they left *Egypt*; and this will shew us what Religion these *Egyptians* carried into the Countries which they removed into. I have already considered that the most ancient Deities of the *Egyptians*, and of all other Nations, when they first deviated from the Worship of the true God, were the Luminaries of Heaven (g); and if we carry on the Enquiry, and examine what further Steps they took in the Progress of their Idolatry, we shall find that the *Egyptians* in a little time consecrated particular living Creatures in Honour of their Sidereal Deities; and some Ages after, they took up an Opinion, that their ancient Heroes were become Gods; which Opinion arose from a Belief, that the Souls of such Heroes were translated into some Star, and so had a very powerful Influence over them and their Affairs.

I. The first Step they took, after they worshipped the Luminaries of Heaven, was to

(g) See Book V. Vol. I.

dedicate to each particular Deity some living Creature, and to pay their Religious Worship of the Deity before such Creature, or the Image of it : This was practised in *Egypt* very early, evidently before the *Israelites* left that Country ; for the *Israelites* had learnt from the *Egyptians* to make the Figure of a Calf for the Direction of their Worship (*b*) ; for the most Learned, who were able to give the most plausible Accounts of their Superstition, did not allow, that they really worshipped their sacred Animals, but only that they used them as the most powerful *Mediums*, to raise in their Hearts a Religious Sense of the Deity to which they were consecrated (*i*). It may be asked how they could fall into this Practice, which to us seems odd and humourfome ; for of what Use can the Figure of a Beast be, to raise in Mens Minds *Ideas* of even the *Sidereal* Deities. To this I answer, Their Speculation and Philosophy led them into this Practice. When Men had deviated from that Revelation which was to have been their only Guide in Points of Religion, they quickly fell from one Fancy to another, and after they came to think *the Lights of Heaven to be the Gods that governed the World*, they in a little time apprehended these Gods to have made the living Creatures

(*b*) Exodus xxxii. (*i*) Ἀγαπιτόν ἐν ἑ ταῦτα τιμῶντες, ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτων τὸ θεῖον, ὡς ἐναργετέρον ἐσώπληρον καὶ φύσει γεγονότων. Plutarch. de Iside & Osiride. p. 382. In which Words the learned Heathen gives a more refined and philosophical Reason for the Egyptian Image-worship, than the Papists can possibly give of theirs.

of the Earth more or less Partakers of their Divinity and Perfections, that they might be the Instruments of conveying a Knowledge of them to Men (*k*); and Men of the nicest Enquiry and Speculation made many curious Observations upon them, which seemed highly to favour their Religious Philosophy. After the Worship of the Moon was established, and the Increase and Decrease of it superstitiously considered, by Men who had no true Philosophy, the Dilatation and Contraction of the *Pupilla* of a Cat's Eye seem'd very extraordinary: *Plutarch* gives us several Reasons why the *Egyptians* reputed a Cat to be a sacred Animal; but that formed from the Contraction and Dilatation of the Pupil of its Eye, seems to have been the first and most remarkable (*l*): This Property of that Creature was thought strongly to intimate to them, that it had a more than ordinary Participation of the Influence of the *Lunar* Deity, and was by Nature made capable of exhibiting lively Representations of its Divinity unto Men, and was

(*k*) Ἡ δὲ ζῶσα καὶ βλέψασα καὶ κινήσεως ἀρχὴν ἔξ αὐτῆς ἔχουσα, καὶ γινῶσιν οἰκείων καὶ ἀλλοτείων φύσις, ἔσπακεν ἀπορροῦν καὶ μοῖραν ἐκ τῆς φρονέειν ὅπως κυβερνᾶται τό, τε σύμπασι ὅθεν ἔχειται ἐν τέτοις εἰκάζεται τὸ θεῖον ἢ χαλκείοις καὶ λιθίνοις δημιουργήμασιν ——— πάλιν μὲν ἐν τῇ τιμωμένῳ ζώων ταῦτα δοκιμάζω μάλιστα τῇ λεγομένῳ. *Plut. de Iside & Osiride* p. 382. (*l*) Αἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὀμμασιν αὐτῆς κόραι πληρεῖς μὲν καὶ πλατύνεες δοκῶσιν ἐν πανσελίῳ, λεπτοῦνεες δὲ καὶ μαραινεῖς ἐν ταῖς μειώσεσι τῆς ἀστρ. πῶς δὲ ἀνθρωπομόρφω τῆς αἰθέρος τὸ νοερὸν καὶ λογικὸν ἐμφαίνεται τῇ πάλιν Σελιῶν μεταβολῶν. *Id. ibid.* p. 376.

therefore consecrated and set apart for that purpose. The Asp and the Beetle became sacred upon the same Account; they thought they saw in them some faint Images of the divine Perfections, and therefore consecrated them to the particular Deities, whose Qualities they were thought to exhibit (*m*): And this Practice of reputed some Animals sacred to particular Gods was the first Addition made to their Idolatry; and the Reason I have given, seems to have been the first Inducement that led them into it. In later Ages more Animals became sacred than were at first thought so, and they paid a more Religious Regard to them, and gave more in Number, and more frivolous Reasons for it; but this was the Rise and Beginning of this Error.

II. Some Ages after, they descended to worship Heroes or dead Men, whom they canonized: That they acknowledged many of their Gods to be of this sort, is very evident from the express Declaration of their Priests, who affirmed, that they had the Bodies of these Gods embalmed and deposited in their Sepulchres (*n*): The most celebrated Deities they had of this Sort were *Chronus*, *Rhea*, *Osyris*,

(*m*) Ἀσπίδα ὃ καὶ γαλιῦ καὶ κείθαρον, εἰκόνας τινὰς ἑαυτοῖς ἀμαυροῦσιν ὡς περ ἐν σαγόσιν ἡλίε τ' ἢ θεῶν δυνάμεις κατιδόντες. Plut. de Iside & Osiride. (*n*) Οὐ μόνον ὃ τέτων οἱ ἱερεῖς λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τ' ἄλλων θεῶν, ὅσοι μὴ ἀγεννητοὶ μηδὲ ἀφθαρτοὶ, τὰ μὲν σώματα παρ' αὐτοῖς κείσθαι καμόνηα καὶ δεσφιδέσθαι. Plut. de Iside & Osiride.

Orus, Typhon, Isis and Nephthe; and these Persons were said to be deify'd upon an Opinion that at their Deaths their Souls migrated into some Star, and became the animating Spirit of some luminous and heavenly Body: This the *Egyptian* Priests expressly asserted (o), and this Account almost all the ancient Writers give of these Gods; thus it was recorded in the *Phœnician* Antiquities, that *Chronus* or *Saturnus* was after his Death made a God, by becoming the Star of that Name (p); and this Opinion was communicated from Nation to Nation, and prevailed in all Parts of the Heathen World, and was evidently received at *Rome* at *Julius Cæsar's* Death, who was canonized upon the Account of the Appearance of a Comet or a luminous Body for seven Days together at the Time that *Augustus* appointed the customary Games in Honour of him (q); the *Phænomenon* which then appeared, was thought to be the Star which he passed into at his leaving this World, and was accordingly called by *Virgil* *Dionæi Cæsaris Astrum* (r), and by *Horace* *Julium Sidus* (s). And an Opinion of this sort appears to have prevail'd amongst the *Arabians* at the Time of our Saviour's Birth, when the Eastern *Magi* came to worship him, convinced of his Divinity by an Evidence of it, which God was pleased to give them in their own Way, from their having *seen his Star in the East* (t). Let us now see,

(o) Τας ὃ ψυχὰς λάμπειν ἀστρα. Ibid. (p) Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. (q) Suetonius Hist. Cæsar. Lib. 1. ad fin. (r) Eclog. 9. v. 47. (s) Ode 12. Lib. 1. (t) Mat. ii. 2.

III. When the *Egyptians* first consecrated these Heroe-Gods, or deify'd Mortals. To this I answer, not before they took Notice of the Appearances of the particular Stars which they appropriated to them. *Julius Cæsar* was not canonized until the Appearance of the *Julium Sidus*, nor could the *Phœnicians* have any Notion of the Divinity of *Chronus*, until they made some Observations of the Star, which they imagined he was removed into: And this will at least inform us when five of the seven ancient Heroe-Gods of the *Egyptians* received their *Apotheosis*. The *Egyptians* relate a very remarkable Fable of the Birth of these five Gods (*u*). They say that *Rhea* lay privately with *Saturn*, and was with Child by him; that the Sun upon finding out her Baseness, laid a Curse upon her, that she should not be delivered in any Month or Year; that *Mercury* being in Love with the Goddess lay with her also, and then play'd at Dice with the Moon, and won from her the seventy second Part of each Day, and made up of these Winnings five Days, which he added to the Year, making the Year to consist of 365 Days, which before consisted of 360 Days only, and that in these Days *Rhea* brought forth five Children, *Osiris*, *Orus*, *Typho*, *Isis*, and *Nephthe*. We need not enquire into the *Mythology* of this Fable; what I remark from it is this, that the Fable could not be invented before the *Egyptians* had found out that the Year consisted of 365 Days, and consequently, that by

(*u*) Plutarch. de *Iside & Osiride*.

their own Accounts the five Deities said to be born on the five ἐπαγόμενα or additional Days, were not deify'd before they knew that the Year had these five Days added to it; and this Addition to the Year was first made about the time of *Assis*, who was the sixth of the *Pastor-Kings* which reigned in *Egypt*, and it was towards the End of his Reign (w), i. e. about *A. M.* 2665, a little after the Death of *Josua*. Had *Osiris*, *Orus*, *Typho*, *Isis* and *Nephthe* been esteemed Deities before this additional Length of the Year was apprehended, we should not have had this, but some other fabulous Account of their Birth transmitted to us; but from this Account one would think that the *Egyptian* Astronomers had about this time remarked the Appearance of five new Stars in their *Horizon*, which their Predecessors had taken no notice of; and as *Julius Cæsar* was reported a God from the Appearance of the *Julium Sidus*, so these five Persons being the highest in Esteem amongst the *Egyptians* of all their famous Ancestors, might be deify'd, and the five new appearing Stars be called by their Names; and the Observation of these Stars being first made about the Time, when the Length of the Year was corrected, this Piece of Mythology took its Rise from them. It is indeed asserted in the Fable, that these five Deities were born at this Time; but we must remember the Relation to be a Fable, and *Plutarch* well remarks, just upon his giving

(w) Syncell. p. 123. Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 235.

us this Story, that we must not take the *Egyptian* Fables about their Gods to relate Matters of Fact really performed; for that was not the Design of them (*x*): All that this Fable can reasonably be supposed to hint to us, is, that the five Stars called by these Names were first observed by their Astronomers about the Time that the Addition of five Days was made to the Year, and consequently that the Heroes and Heroines whose Names were given to these Stars, were first worshipped as Deities about this Time; and we are no more to infer hence, that these Persons were born of *Rhea* as the Fable relates, than that *Mercury* and *Luna* really play'd at Dice, as is fabulously reported. *Isis* seems at first to have been reputed to be the Star, which the *Greeks* called the Dog-star, the *Egyptians* *Sothis* (*y*), and this they expressed on a Pillar erected to her (*z*). *Orus* was the Star called *Orion*, and *Typho* the Bear-star (*a*). Afterwards the Names both of these and their other Gods were very variously used, and applied to very different Powers and Beings.

The *Egyptians* had other Heroe-Gods besides these five; they had eight Persons whom their *Chronology* called Demigods; *Diodorus*

(*x*) Ὅταν ἐν αἰ μυθολογῶσιν Αἰγύπτιοι ἀεὶ τῆ Σελήνης ἀκρότης, δὲ τῆ προσηρημένου μνημονεύουσιν, καὶ μηδὲν οἰεσθῆναι τῆ τῆ λέγειν γέγονος ἔτω καὶ πεπερασμένον. Plut. de Iside & Osiride.

(*y*) Plutarch. lib. de Iside & Osiride. (*z*) Diodor. Sic. l. 1. Part

of the Inscription on the Pillar, is Ἐγὼ αἶμι ἢ ἐν πῶ Ἄστρο πῶ κενὶ ἐπιτέλλασα. (*a*) Plut. ubi sup.

gives them these Names, *Sol, Saturnus, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Vulcanus, Vesta, Mercurius* (b); and their historical Memoirs affirm these Persons to have reigned in *Egypt* before *Menes* or *Mizraim*, and before their Heroes; so that they certainly lived before the Flood (c); and they had after these a Race of Heroes, fifteen in Number, and the Persons I have been speaking of, are five of them (d), and these must likewise have been *Ante-diluvians* (e); but I do not imagine they were deify'd until about this Time of the correcting of the Year; for when this Humour first began, it is not likely that they made Gods of Men but just dead, of whose Infirmities and Imperfections many Persons might be living Witnesses; but they took the Names of their first Ancestors, whom they had been taught to honour for Ages, and whose Fame had been growing by the Increase of Tradition, and all whose Imperfections had been so long buried, that it might be thought they never had any. It has always been the Humour of Men to look for truly great and unexceptionable Characters in ancient Times; *Nestor* frequently tells the *Greeks* in *Homer*, what sort of Persons liv'd when he was a Boy, and they were easily admitted to be far superior to the greatest and most excellent then alive; and had he been three times as old as he was, he might have almost deify'd his Heroes; but it is hard

(b) Lib. 1.
rus Sic. L. 1.

(c) See Vol. I. Book I. p. 20, 21.

(d) Diodo-

(e) See Book I. Vol. I. p. 22, 23, 24.

to be conceived, that a Set of Men could ever be chosen by their Cotemporaries to have divine Honours paid them, whilst numerous Persons were alive, who knew their Imperfections, and who themselves or their immediate Ancestors might have as fair a Pretence, and come in Competition with them: *Alexander* the Great had but ill Success in his Attempt to make the World believe him the Son of *Jupiter Ammon*; nor could *Numa Pompilius*, the second King of *Rome*, make *Romulus's* Translation to Heaven so firmly believ'd, as not to leave room for subsequent Historians to report him kill'd by his Subjects (c); nor can I conceive that *Julius Cæsar's* Canonization, tho' it was contrived more politickly, and supported with more specious and popular Appearances, would ever have stood long indisputable, if the Light of Christianity had not appeared so soon after this Time, as it did, and impaired the Credit of the Heathen Superstitions. The Fame of deceased Persons must have Ages to grow up to Heaven, and divine Honours cannot be given with any Shew of Decency, but by a late Posterity. *Plutarch* (d) observes that none of the *Egyptian* Deities were Persons so modern as *Semiramis*; for that neither she amongst the *Assyrians*, nor *Sesostris* in *Egypt*, nor any of the ancient *Phrygian* Kings, nor *Cyrus* amongst the *Persians*, nor *Alexander* the Great, were able, tho'

(c) *Dionys. Halicar. Lib. 2. c. 56.*

(d) *Lib. de Iside &*

Oliride.

they perform'd the greatest Actions, to raise themselves to higher Glory, than that of being famous and illustrious Princes and Commanders; and he remarks from *Plato*, that whenever any of them affected Divinity, they sunk instead of raised their Character by it: Their Story was too modern to permit them to be Gods. *Euemerus Messenius* in *Plutarch* is reported to have wrote a Book to prove the ancient Gods of the Heathen World to have been only their ancient Kings and Commanders; but *Plutarch* thought he might be sufficiently refuted by reviewing all the ancient History, and remarking, that the most early Kings, tho' of most celebrated Memory, had not ever attained divine Honours. *Plutarch* himself thought these Gods to have been *Genii*, of a Power and Nature more than Mortal: The Truth seems to have been this; they were their *ante-diluvian* Ancestors, of whom they had had so little true History, and such enlarged Traditions and broken Stories, that they thought them far superior to their greatest Kings, whose Lives and Actions they had more exact Accounts of.

It may perhaps be said, that if these Heroe-Gods lived so many Ages earlier than this supposed Time of their being canonized, why should we not imagine that they were deify'd sooner? or since eight of them, namely the Demi-gods, are thought more ancient than the rest, and *Chronus* and *Rhea* two of them are fabled to be Parents of some of the others, why should they be imagined to be all deify'd

at this one particular Time, and not rather some in one Age, and some in another? All I can offer towards answering these Queries is,

1. I conclude from the Fable related by *Plutarch*, that *Osiris*, *Orus*, *Isis*, *Typho*, and *Nephthe* mentioned in it were not deify'd before the Addition of the five Days to the ancient Year; because the whole Fable and the Birth of these Deities is founded upon the Addition of those Days.
2. We shall see Reason hereafter to conclude that no Nation but the *Egyptians*, not even those who received their Religion from *Egypt*, worshipp'd Heroe-gods, even so early as these Days.
3. We have no Reason to think the Number of their Gods of this sort was very great; I cannot see Reason to think they had any more besides what I have mentioned, except *Anubis* who was Contemporary with *Osiris* (e); so that they had but fourteen Demi-gods and Heroe-gods taking the Number of both together, and thus many they might well deify at one Time: If these Gods had been canonized at different Times and in different Ages, there would have been a greater Number of them, but all that the Ingenuity of succeeding Ages performed was only to give these Gods new Names. Thus *Osiris*, and sometimes *Typhon*, and sometimes the Sun, was call'd in After-ages *Serapis*; and *Orus* was call'd *Apollo*, and *Harpo crates*.
4. *Osiris*, said to be born when the five Days were added to the Year, is reputed

(e) Diodor. Lib. i. p. 77.

to be one of the most ancient of the *Egyptian* Gods, and therefore sometimes taken for the Sun; so that this Heroe seems to have been deify'd as early as any (*f*), and therefore most probably he and all the rest about the Time I have mentioned. 5. About this Time lived the second *Mercury*, he was the thirty fifth King of *Thebes*, called *Siphoas* and *Hermes* for his great Learning, and for being the Restorer and Improver of the Arts and Sciences first taught by the ancient *Hermes* or *Thyoth*. It was perhaps he who found out the Defect in their ancient Computations of the Year. *Strabo* says this was first found out by the *Theban* Priests (*g*), and he adds, that they make *Mercury* (meaning undoubtedly this second *Mercury*) the Author of this Knowledge (*b*); for the first *Mercury* liv'd Ages before the Length of the Year was so far apprehended: And I think we cannot conjecture any thing more probable, than that as *Syphis* soon after *Abraham's* Time built the Errors of the *Egyptian* Religion upon his Astronomy; so this Prince, upon his thus greatly improving that Science, introduced new Errors in Theology by this same Learning. The one taught to worship the Luminaries of Heaven, thinking them instinct with a glorious and divine Spirit; the other carried his Astronomy to a greater Height than his Predecessors had done: He apprehended some Stars to be of a more benign In-

(*f*) Diodorus Lib. 1.
(*b*) Id. *ibid.*

(*g*) Strabo Lib. 17. p. 816.

fluence to his Country than others, and taught that the Souls of some of their most famous Ancestors lived and governed in them, and from hence arose the Opinion of *Indigetes*, Θεοὶ πατρίων, or Deities peculiarly propitious to particular Countries, of which we have frequent mention in ancient Writers, and which spread universally by degrees into all the Heathen Nations. *Philo Biblius* mentions *Taautus* as a Person who framed (*j*) a great Part of the *Egyptian* Religion, and most probably what he hints at, was done by this second *Taautus*, *Thoth* or *Hermes*; and the Additions he made to the Religion of his Ancestors, seem from *Philo*, to relate to what I have ascribed to him. *Herodotus* (*i*) seems to hint that the *Egyptians* had at first eight of these Gods only, that in time they made them up twelve, and afterwards imagined these twelve to have been the Parents of other Gods. If any one thinks it most probable that *Sol*, *Saturnus*, *Rhea*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Vulcanus*, *Vesta*, *Mercurius*, (these being the eight terrestrial Deities which *Diodorus Siculus* mentions to have been the first Heroe-Gods, which the *Egyptians* worshipped,) I say if any one thinks it most probable that *Siphoas* canonized these, and that the five Deities said to be born of *Rhea* were deify'd later; and that a Story was made upon the five additional Days, not at the time of their being first found out, but many Years after, and that afterwards they

(*j*) Eusebius Præp. Evang: l. 1. c. 10. (*i*) Lib. 2. c. 145.

still added to the Number of their Gods, I cannot pretend to affirm that this Opinion is to be rejected ; for I must confess that all that we can be certain of in this matter is only this, that the *Egyptians* did not worship Heroe-Gods before the Times of the second *Mercury*, and that *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Orus*, *Typho*, and *Nephthe* were not deify'd before the five Days were added to the *Egyptian* Accounts of the Year ; tho' I think it most probable from what is hinted about the Inventions of *Siphoas* or the second *Mercury*, that he began and compleated the whole *System* of this *Theology* ; perhaps he did not begin and perfect it at once, he might be some Years about it, and thereby occasion some of these Gods to be deify'd sooner than others.

IV. After the Heroe Deities were received, a new Set of living Animals were consecrated to them, and Cyphers and *Hieroglyphic* Characters were invented to express their Divinity and Worship. The Bull called *Apis* was made sacred to *Osiris* (*k*), and likewise the Hawk (*l*): The Afs, Crocodile, and Sea-Horse were sacred to *Typho* (*m*): *Anubis* was said to be the Dog-Star, and the Dog was sacred to him (*n*), and a very religious Regard was had to this Animal until *Cambyfes* killed the *Apis* (*o*): After that, some of the Flesh of *Apis* being thrown to the Dogs, and they readily attempting to eat it, they fell under great Censure,

(*k*) Plutarch. de Iside & Osiride. (*l*) Id. ibid. (*m*) Id. ibid.
 (*n*) Id. ibid. (*o*) See Prideaux Connect. Vol. I. B. III.

for desiring to prophane themselves by eating the Flesh of so sacred an Animal (*p*); but this Accident did not happen until about *A. M.* 3480. The Serpent or Dragon was consecrated to *Nephtbe* (*q*), and other suitable Animals to other Gods; and all this seems to have been the Invention of *Taautus*; for so *Philo* represents it, making him the Author of the Divinity of the Serpent (*r*), or Dragon, which was sacred to *Nephtbe*; and also hinting, that he invented the *Hieroglyphic* Characters, which the *Egyptians* were so famous for (*s*), taking his Patterns from the Animals, which had been consecrated to the Luminaries of Heaven: *Philo* does not sufficiently distinguish the first *Hermes* or *Taautus* from the second, but ascribes some Particulars, that were true of the first *Mercury* only, to the Person he speaks of; but what he hints about the sacred Animals and *Hieroglyphics* must be ascribed to the second *Mercury*; for if, as I have formerly observed (*t*), the Religion of the *Egyptians* was not corrupted in the Days of *Abraham*, the first *Taautus* must be dead long before the sacred Animals were appointed, and I may here add, that *Hieroglyphics* were not in use in his Days; for the Pillars upon which he left his

(*p*) Plutarch. ubi sup. (*q*) Id. ibid. (*r*) Τὴν μὲν ἐν Δορύκων ἱερῶν φύσιν καὶ τῶν ὄφρων αὐτὸς ἐξεθείασεν ὁ Τάαυτος, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Φοίνικες τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. Euf. b. Πραρ. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. (*s*) Τάαυτος μιμησάμενος τὸ Οὐρανόν, τῶν θεῶν ὄψεις, κρόνους καὶ Δαγῶντος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐδιδετύπασεν καὶ τὰς ἱερῶν τῶν σοιχείων χαρῶν κλίσην. Id. ibid. (*t*) Vol. I. B. 5.

Memoirs, were inscrib'd not in *Hieroglyphics*, but *ιερογραφικῶν γράμμασι*, in the sacred Letters, in Letters which were capable of being made use of by a *Transtator*, who turned what was written in these Letters out of one Language into another (u). The *Hieroglyphical* Inscriptions of the *Egyptians* are pretty full of the Figures of Birds, Fishes, Beasts and Men, with a few Letters sometimes between them; and this alone is sufficient to hint to us, that they could not come into Use, before the Animals represented in Inscriptions of this Sort, were become by *Allegory* and *Mythology* capable of expressing various Things, by their having been variously used in the Ceremonies of their Religion.

It may perhaps be said that the *Egyptians* had two Sorts of *Hieroglyphics*, as *Porphyrus* (w) has accurately observed, calling the one Sort *Ἱερογλυφικὰ κοινολογέμενα κατὰ μίμησιν*, i. e. *Hieroglyphics* communicating their Meaning to us by an Imitation of the Thing designed; and the other sort, *Συμβολικὰ ἀλληγορούμενα κατὰ τινας Αἰνιγμὰς*, i. e. Figures conveying their Meaning by alluding (x) to some intricate *Mythologies*; and perhaps it may be thought, that this latter Sort of *Hieroglyphics* were probably invented about the Times I am treating of; but that the former were in use long before,

(u) See Vol. I. B. 4. p. 247. (w) In Lib. de Vit. Pythag. p. 12. (x) These Hieroglyphics were something like Pythagoras's Precepts, (they expressed one Thing, but meant another. Plut. lib. de Iside & Osiride, p. 354.

and being nothing else but a simple Representation of Things by making their Pictures or Imitations, might be perhaps the first Letters used by Men. But to this I answer, 1. We have no Reason to think that these *Hieroglyphics* were so ancient as the first Letters. 2. They would be but a very imperfect Character; many, nay most Occurrences could be represented by them but by halves: The *Egyptians* intermingled Letters with their *Hieroglyphics* to fill up and connect Sentences, and to express Actions, and the first Men must have had Letters as well as Pictures, or their Pictures could have hinted only the *Ideas* of visible Objects, but there would have been much wanting in all Inscriptions to give their full and true Meaning. 3. This Picture-Character would have been unintelligible, unless Men could be supposed to delineate the Forms or Pictures of Things, more accurately, than can well be imagined: The first Painters and Figure-drawers performed very rudely, and were frequently obliged to write underneath what their Figures and Pictures were, to enable those that saw them to know what was designed to be represented by them: The *Egyptians* drew the Forms of their sacred Animals but imperfectly even in later Ages, and I cannot doubt, but if we could see what they at first delineated for a Bull, a Dog, a Cat, or a Monkey, it would be difficult to tell which Figure might be this or that, or whether any of their Figures were any of them; and therefore to help the Reader they usually marked

the Sun and Moon or some other Characters, to denote what God the Animal designed was sacred to, and then it was easier to guess without Mistake, what the Picture was, and what might be intended by it. And something like this the Men of the most ancient Times must have done; for they cannot be imagined to be able to picture well enough to make Draughts expressive of their Meaning: They might invent and learn a rude Character much sooner than they could acquire Art enough to draw Pictures, and therefore it is most probable, that such a Character was first invented and made use of. But, 3. *Porphyrus* did not mean by the Expression *κοινολογέμενα κατὰ μίμησιν*, that the Characters he spoke of imitated the Forms or Figures of the Things intended by them; for that was not the *μίμησις*, which the ancient Writers ascribed to Letters. *Socrates* gives us the Opinion of the Ancients upon this Point, namely, that Letters were like the Syllables of which Words were compounded, and expressed an Imitation, for he uses that Word [not of the Figure or Picture; but] of the *εἶσα* or Substance, Power or Meaning of the Thing design'd by them (x). Thus he makes Letters no more the Pictures of Things than the Syllables of Words are: The Ancients were exceedingly *Philosophical* in their Accounts of

(x) Ὁ δὲ τῶν συλλαβῶν τε καὶ γραμμάτων πρὸς εἶσαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπομιμνέμενος ——— τὰτο δ' ἐστὶν ὄνομα. *Plato* in *Cratylus*, or in other Words he says, Δῆλωμα συλλαβῶν καὶ γραμμασι ὄνομα ἐστὶ. *Ibid.*

both Words and Letters : When a Word or a Sound was thought fully to express, according to their Notions, the Thing which it was designed to be the Name of, then they called it the εἰκὼν or Picture of that Thing ; and they apprehended that a Word could not be completely expressive, unless it was compounded of Letters well chosen to give it a Sound suitable to the Nature of the Thing designed to be expressed by it ; and when a Word hit their Fancy intirely in these Respects, then they thought the Sound and Letters of it to express, imitate, or resemble the true Image of the Thing it stood for. All this may be collected from several Passages of *Plato* upon this Subject (y), and in this Sense we must take *Porphyry's* Expression ; and this will lead us to think the Letters he treats of to be the *Egyptian* sacred Letters, as I have formerly hinted from this very Description of them (z). When Language consisted of *Monosyllables* only, a single Stroke, Dash or Letter might be thought as expressive of a single Sound, as various Letters were afterwards thought of various and compounded Words, or of *Poly-syllables* ; and since the μίμησις or Imitation,

(y) Οὐκἔν ὁ μὲν ἀποδιδὼς πάντα καλὰ τὰ γράμματα — ὡπερ ἐν τῷ ζωγραφίμασι — καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἀποδίδωσιν. Ὁ δὲ ἢ περισθεὶς ἢ ἀραιῶν γράμματα, εἰκόνας μὲν ἐργάζεται καὶ ἔτθ, ἀλλὰ πονηρὰς — ὡπερ καὶ Δέκα, ἢ ὅστις βέλει ἀλλθ αἰθμός, εἰάν ἀρέλῃς τὶ ἢ περιθῆς, ἕτερος δὲθὺς γέγονε. — Εἰ μέλλει καλῶς κείθζ τὸ ὄνομα, τὰ περισθῆσα δὲ αὐτῷ γράμματα ἔχειν. See Plat. Cratyl. Edit. Ficini, p. 295, 296, 297, &c. (z) See Vol. I. Book 4. p. 246,

which

which the Ancients ascribed to their Letters, was an Imitation relating to the expressing well the Word they stood for, and not an Imitation of the Form or Shape of the Thing, we must err widely from their Meaning, to imagine their Letters to have been Pictures or *Hieroglyphics*, because they ascribe such a *Mimesis* to them.

V. It was customary in *Egypt*, in the very ancient Times, to call eminent and famous Men by the Names of their Gods; this *Diodorus Siculus* informs us of: After his Account of the *Celestial* Deities, he adds, that they had Men of great Eminence, some of whom were Kings of their Country, and all of them Benefactors to the public by their useful Inventions, and some of these they called by the Name of their celestial Deities (a); and of this Number he reckons the Persons called *Sol*, *Saturnus*, *Rhea*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Vulcanus*, *Vesta*, *Mercurius*; intimating indeed that these were not their *Egyptian* Names, but only equivalent to them. The *Egyptians* in the Beginning of their Idolatry worshipped the Sun and Moon, and in a little time the Elements, the *Vis vivifica* of living Creatures, the Fire, Air, Earth and Water (b); and perhaps the Wind might be the eighth Deity, for they distinguished the Wind and Air from one another, and took them to be two different Things (c); and as the *Assyrians* called their Kings and

(a) Diodor. l. 1. p. 12.
dom. Chap. xiii. Ver. 2.

(b) Diodor. Sic. l. 1.

(c) Wis-

great Men, *Bel, Nebo, Gad, Azar*, after the Names of their Gods, so did the *Egyptians*; and whilst they worshipped only these Deities, they had only the Names and Titles of these to dignify illustrious Men with; but in after-Times, when the Men, who were at first called by the Names of their Gods, came to be deify'd, then the Names of these Men were thought honorary Titles, for those who lived after them. Thus as *Osiris* was called *Sol*, or *Isis Luna* (d), by those who had a Desire to give them the most illustrious Titles and Appellations; so when *Osiris* and *Isis* were reputed Deities, a later Posterity gave their Names to famous Men, who had lived later than they did. And thus the Brother of *Cnaan* or *Canaan*, *i. e. Mizraim*, was called *Osiris* (e). I might add further: As the *Assyrians* called their Kings sometimes by the Names of two or three of their Gods put together, as *Nabonassar*, *Nebuchadnezer* (f); so the *Egyptians* many times gave one and the same Person the Names of several Gods, according as the Circumstances of their Lives gave Occasion; and thus *Diodorus* remarks (g), that the same Person that was called *Isis*, was sometimes called *Juno*, sometimes *Ceres*, and sometimes *Luna*; and *Osiris* was at one time called *Serapis*, at another *Dionysius*, at another, *Pluto*, *Ammon*, *Jupiter* and *Pan*: And as one and the same Person was sometimes called by

(d) Diodor. Sic. l. 1.

(e) Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10.

(f) Vol. 1. B. 5.

(g) Diodor. Sic. Lib. 1. p. 12.

different

different Names, so one and the same Name was frequently given to many different Persons, who lived in different Ages. *Osiris* was not the Name of one Person only, but *Mizraim* was call'd by this Name (*b*), and so were diverse Kings that lived later than he did, amongst the Number of whom we may, I believe, insert *Sesostris*: But we may see the Application of these ancient Names abundantly in one particular Name, which I chuse to instance in, because I have frequent Occasion to mention it: The Reader will find other Names as variously given to different Persons in all Parts of the ancient History. *Chronus* was the Name of the Star called *Saturn*, and most probably some Antediluvian was first called by this Name; afterwards the Father of *Belus*, *Canaan*, *Cush*, and *Mizraim*, i. e. *Moses's Ham* the Son of *Noah*, was called by this Name (*i*). The Son of this *Ham*, and Father of *Taautus*, i. e. *Mizraim* himself, was called *Chronus* (*k*). The Father of *Abraham* was called *Chronus* (*l*), and *Abraham* himself was also thus called (*m*). I might observe the same of *Belus*, *Bacchus*, *Pan*, and of almost every other Name; but abundance of Instances will occur to every one that reads any of the ancient Writers.

VI. The *Egyptians* having first called their Heroes by the Names of their *Sidereal* and *Elementary* Deities, added in Time to the History of the Life and Actions of such Heroes, a *My-*

(*b*) See Vol. I. B. 4. (*i*) See Vol. I. B. 4. p. 204. (*k*) *Ibid.*
 (*l*) See B. 6. Euseb. præp. Evang. l. 1 c. 19. (*m*) *Ibid.*
theological

thological Account of their Philosophical Opinions concerning the Gods, whose Names had been given to such Heroes; and this might be first done by the second *Thyoth* or *Hermes*, and to him must belong what *Philo* in *Eusebius* (a) relates of the Person of his Name; that being famous for his great Parts and Learning, he raised the Style (as I might say) that had been used in subjects of Religion, and instead of a plain way of treating these Points, accommodated to the Capacity of the low and Vulgar People, he introduced a Method more suitable to the Learning that was then in Esteem and Reputation; most probably he did what the same Author mentions the Son of *Thabion* to have practised upon *Sanchoniatho* (b). To plain Narrations of Fact and History, he added *Mythology* and *Philosophy*. He put into a System the *Philosophy* then in Repute, concerning the Stars and Elements; and by inventing such Fables as he thought expressive, he made an History of his *System*, by inserting the several Parts of it amongst the Actions of such Persons as had born the Names of the *Sidereal* or *Elementary* Deities, to whom the respective Parts of his *System* might be applied. I might con-

(a) Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. The Words are Ταύτων Ἰν Αἰγύπτῳ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ὠνομασμένος Ἡρμῆς, σοφία διενεγκὼν — πρῶτος τὰ καὶ πῶς τὴν θεοσέβειαν ἐκ τῆς τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀπειρίας εἰς ἑπσημονικὴν ἐμπειρίαν διέταξεν. (b) Id. Ibid. p. 39.

The Words are Ταῦτα πάντα ὁ Θαβίωνος Παιῖς πρῶτος τῆς ἀπ' αἰῶνος γεγονότων φοινίκων ἱεροφάνης ἀλληγορήσας, τοῖς τε φυσικοῖς καὶ κοσμικοῖς πάθεσιν ἀναμίξας παρέδωκε τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς,

firm all this, from numerous Explications of the *Egyptian* Fables, which *Plutarch* has given us in his Treatise upon *Isis* and *Osiris*. The ancient History of these two Persons was most probably no more than this, which may be collected from *Diodorus's* Account of them (b). *Osiris* married *Isis*, taught Men to live sociably, to plant Trees, and to sow Corn; and he not only taught one Sett or Company of Men, these useful Arts; but he travelled up and down far and near, instructing all that would be advised by him, leaving his Domestic Family or Kingdom to be governed by his Wife *Isis*, and Son *Taautus*, whenever he went from home to instruct the neighbouring Nations, or rather Families. *Osiris*, after several useful and successful Expeditions of this Sort, returned home greatly honoured and esteemed by all that knew him; but upon some Accident or Quarrel, he is said to have been killed by *Typho*. *Isis* raised her Family, fought with *Typho*, got her Husband's Body and buried it: This might be the whole Account they had at first of *Osiris*, and all this might be true of *Mizraim*, the first King of *Egypt*; but then, this *Osiris* having had the Names of several of their Gods given to him in After-Ages, all that was believed of these was added in *Mythology* to his History. Thus *Osiris* having had the Name of the Moon given to him, and it being believed of the Moon, that it compleated its Course in twenty eight Days; and that the

(b) Hist. l. i.

Moon, after the Full, decreases, and is diminished by some Potent Cause for fourteen Days together, they called the Moon *Osiris*, the Cause of its Decrease *Typho*, and they tell this Story; That *Osiris* reigned twenty eight Years, and was killed by *Typho*, who pulled him into fourteen Pieces (c). Sometimes they call the Element of Water by the Name of *Osiris*, and from hence they raise many Fables. *Osiris* is Water, and by consequence Moisture: Heat is called *Apophis*, and said to be the Brother of *Sol*, or nearly related to the Sun or Fire. *Jupiter* is the Cause of all animal or vegetable Life; and the *Mythos* or Fable runs thus: *Apophis* the Brother of *Sol* made War against *Jupiter*, but *Osiris* assisted *Jupiter*; *i. e.* Heat would parch, dry up, and wither every thing living, but that Moisture affords a Supply against it (d). Sometimes *Osiris* is the River *Nile*, his Wife *Isis* is the Land of *Egypt*, which is rendred fruitful by the Overflowings of that River. *Orus* is the legitimate Child of *Osiris* and *Isis*, *i. e.* is the Product of the Land of *Egypt*, caused by the Floods of the River *Nile*: *Typho* is put for Heat, *Nephthe* is the high Lands, which the Floods of *Nile* seldom reach to, and is said to be *Typho's* Wife, because they are commonly parched with Heat. If the Floods of *Nile* happen at any time to reach these high Lands, then there commonly grow upon them some few Water-Plants caused

(c) Plut. Lib. de Iside & Osiride, p. 368.
 Ibid. p. 364.

(d) Plutarch.

by the Inundation, and these they reckon an uncommon Product, and call them *Anubis*; and they hint all this in the following Fable. They say *Osiris* begat of his Wife *Isis* a legitimate Child called *Orus*, and that he committed Adultery with *Nephthe* the Wife of *Typho*, and had by her the Bastard *Anubis* (e). They sometimes carry on this Fable still further; they tell us *Typho* found out the Adultery, killed *Osiris*, pulled his Body in twenty six, sometimes in twenty eight Pieces, put them in a Chest and threw them into the Sea; *i. e.* the heat and warm Weather dried up the Floods of the *Nile*, in 26 or 28 Days, and his Stream was received and swallowed up in the Sea, until the time that the *Nile* flows again: Then they say, *Isis* found the Body of her Husband *Osiris*, conquered *Typho*, *i. e.* the hot and dry Weather; And thus they go on without End of either Fancy or Fable. Sometimes they affirm *Typho* to have been a red Man, and *Osiris* a black one, not intending to describe the Persons of either, but giving Hints of some of their Opinions about the Elements of Fire and Water (f). *Osiris* is sometimes the Moon, *Isis* the Earth, *Orus* the Fruits of the Earth, *Anubis* the Horizon, and *Nephthe* the Parts of the Globe that lye beneath it; and sometimes all these Names are applied to Stars, and the greater Lights of Heaven, and correspondent Fables framed to express what their Philosophy dictated about them. I might en-

(e) Id. ibid.

(f) Plutarch, lib. de Iside & Osiride.

large here very copiously, but I would only give a Specimen of what may be met with, if the Reader thinks fit to pursue this Subject. I am sensible, that such a *Theology* as this must in our Age appear ridiculous and extravagant; but I would remark, that it was instituted by Men who were universally admired in their Days for the greatest Learning; for it was accounted no small Attainment, for a Person to be *learned in the Learning of the Egyptians*; and I might add, upon what *Plato* and *Plutarch* have offered in Favour and Defence of the *Egyptian* Superstitions, that if we consult History, we shall find, that there is nothing so weak, extravagant or ridiculous, but that Men even of the first Parts, and eminent for their natural strength of Understanding, have been deceived to embrace and defend it; and from *Plutarch* it may be abundantly evidenced, that they fell into these Errors, not by paying too great a Deference to Tradition, and pretended Revelation, but even by attempting to set up what they thought a reasonable Scheme of Religion, distinct from, or in opposition to, what Tradition had handed down to them. If we look back and make a fair Enquiry, we must certainly allow, that Reason in these early Times, without the Assistance of Revelation, was not likely to offer any thing but superstitious Trifles; for the Frame and Course of Nature was not sufficiently understood to make Men Masters of true Philosophy. It seems easy to us to demonstrate the Being and Attributes of God by Reason, from the Works of his

Creation; but we understand all the Hints given by the inspired Writers of the *Old Testament*, which are proper to lead us to a right Sense of these Things, much better than any of them were understood by the ancient Philosophers of the Heathen World; and by improving upon these Hints, we are arrived at truer Notions of the Works of God's Hands, than they were Masters of; but until Men were arrived at such a true Philosophy, the only certain way they had to know *the invisible things of God, even his invisible Power and Godhead*, in all Ages *from the Creation of the World*, was *τοῖς ποιήμασι, i. e. by the things which he had done (f)*; and the Heathen Nations were *without Excuse*, because God had sufficiently manifested himself this Way, if instead of seeking after false Philosophy, they would have attended to what he had revealed to them; they might have known *by Faith, that the Worlds were framed by the Word of God, so that the Things which are seen, were not made by those Things which do appear (g)*; i. e. they were the Works not of visible Causes, but of an invisible Agent. But when, instead of adhering to what had been revealed about these Matters, they imagined they might *profess themselves wise enough to find out these Truths in a better manner, by Reason and Philosophy, they became Fools, and changed the Glory of the incorruptible God into an Image made like to corruptible Man, and to Birds, and four-footed*

(f) Rom. i. 20.

(g) Hebrews xi. 3.

Beasts, and creeping Things (b); they took the *Lights of Heaven to be the Gods, which govern the World* (i), and believed them animated by the Spirits of famous Men, and consecrated Birds and Beasts and Reptiles to them, and amassed together Heaps of *Mythology*; concerning which, when I consider so great a Genius as *Plutarch*, gravely pronouncing, that there is nothing in them unreasonable, idle, and superstitious, but that a good and moral, or historical, or philosophical Reason may be given, for every Part of every Fable (k); I cannot but see plainly, that if God had not been pleased to have revealed himself to Men in the first Ages, many thousand of Years would have passed, before Men could have acquired by Reason, such a Knowledge of the Works of God, as to have obtained any just Sentiments of his Being or Worship.

The Writers of Antiquities have made Collections of Images and Pictures of the *Egyptian* Gods, in order to get the best light they could into the ancient Religion of this People, and *F. Montfaucon* has taken great Pains this Way; but if I may have leave to conjecture, (and more than that no one can do on this dark and intricate Subject) I should suspect, that most of the Figures exhibited by the learned Antiquaries for *Egyptian* Deities, were not designed for such by those who made them; most of those, that were designed for Gods,

(b) Rom. i. 23. (i) Wisdom xiii. 1, 2, 3, 4. (k) Plutarch.
lib. de Iside & Osiride. p. 353.

are commonly but ill or falsely explained; and few, very few of them of great Antiquity, the greatest Part being evidently made after the *Greeks* and *Romans* had broke in upon the *Egyptians*. It is indeed true, that the Sculpture in most of the Figures in *Montfaucon's* Collection seems so rude and vulgar, as to intimate them to have been made in the first and most early times of Carving, before that Art was brought to any Neatness or Appearance of Perfection; but the Rudeness of the Sculpture is no Proof of the Antiquity of *Egyptian* Images; for *Plato* expressly tells us, that it was a Rule amongst their Statuaries, to imitate the antique Shapes of the ancient Patterns, and that the Carvers were by Law restrained from all Attempts that looked like Innovation; so that the Art of Carving being thus limited, was never carried to any Perfection; but, as the same Author remarks, their most modern Statues were as ill shaped, as poorly carved, and as uncouth in Figure, as those of the greatest Antiquity (a). But the chief Reason we have to think the Relicks that are now described for Gods of *Egypt*, to be modern, is, that they are most of them of human Shape; and we find by an universal Consent of all good Writers, that the ancient *Egyptian* Images were not of this Sort: As they had sacred Animals dedicated to their several Gods, so the Images of these were their Idols. An Hawk was their ancient Image for *Osiris*, a Sea-Horse

(a) *Plato de Legibus*, l. 2. p. 789.

for *Typho*, a Dog for *Mercury*, a Cat for the Moon, and in the same manner other Images of Animals for other Deities (*b*); and this introduced a Practice Analogous to it, even in their Pictures and Statues of Men. As they represented their Deities by the Figures of such Animals as they imagined to exhibit some Shadows of their divine Qualities or Operations; the Moon by a Cat, because a Cat varies its Eye, in their Opinion, according to the various *Phases* of the Moon; so they pictured or carved Men, in Figures that might represent, not their Visage, Shape, or outward Form, but rather their Qualities or peculiar Actions. Thus a Sword was the known Representation of *Ochus* (*c*), a *Scarabæus* was the Picture of a courageous Warrior (*d*); and we may observe, that the Priests of *Egypt* in *Ptolemy Soter's* Time (*e*), about *A. M.* 3700, were so little acquainted with Sculptures of human Form, that they could make no Conjectures about the *Colossus* which was brought from *Sinope*, but by considering the Figures of the Animals that were annexed to it. *Strabo* expressly tells us, that the *Egyptian* Temples had no Images, or none of human Form, but the Image of some Animal, which represented the Object of their Worship; and he recounts

(*b*) Plutarch. de *Iside & Osiride*. (*c*) "Ουτως ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ τῶν βασιλέων ἔκκειται δῆπερ τὴν ἐσίαν αὐτῶν σημαίνοντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ τρίτον τὴν σκληρότητα καὶ κακίαν ὀργάνῳ φονικῷ παρεκάζοντες. Id. *ibid.* (*d*) Id. *ibid.*
 (*e*) Id. *ibid.*

the several Animals, whose Figures were the respective Idols of particular Cities (*ee*); for some Cities paid their worship before the Images of some Animals, and some before those of others. *Pausanias* says, that *Danaus* dedicated Λύκιον Ἀπόλλωνα, perhaps an Image to *Apollo* in the Shape of a Wolf (*f*). He remarks, that the Statue which was in the Temple of this Deity when he wrote, was not that which *Danaus* had made, but was the Workmanship of a more modern Hand, namely of *Attalus* the *Athenian*. In *Attalus's* Days, the Images of the Gods might be made in the human Form; but it is more agreeable to *Strabo's* Observation, to think that the most ancient *Delubra* had either no Image at all, or the Image of some Beast, for the object of Worship (*g*). The *Israelites*, about *Danaus's* Time, set up a Calf in the Wilderness, and of this sort was most probably the Wooden Statue, which *Danaus* erected to *Apollo*; and perhaps from a Statue of this sort the ancient *Argives* stamp their Coin with a Wolf's Head (*gg*). *F. Montfaucon* has given the Figures of several small *Egyptian* Statues swathed from Head to Foot like Mummies, which discover nothing but their Faces, and sometimes their Hands (*b*); these I think can never be taken for *Egyptian* Deities. *Plutarch* informs us, that

(*ee*) *Strabo* Geograph. l. 17. (f) *Pausan.* in Corinth. l. 2. c. 19. (g) *Strabo*, l. 17. p. 805. (gg) *Marsh.* Can. p. 125. (b) See *Montfaucon.* Antiq. Vol. II. Part 2. B. I. Plate 37. Fig. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. Plate 38. Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6,

they pictured their Judges and Magistrates in this Dress (i), so that these were probably the Images of deceased Persons, that had born those Offices. We have several Representations in the Draughts of the same learned Antiquary, which are said to be *Isis* holding, or giving suck to the Boy *Orus* (k); but it should be remarked, that *Orus* was not represented by the *Egyptians* by the Figure of a new-born Child: For *Plutarch* expressly tells us, that a new-born Child was the *Egyptian* Picture of the Sun's-rising (l); and if so, why may we not imagine, that these Figures were the Monuments of some Eminent Astronomers? They might be represented with the Faces and Breasts of Women, to signify, that the Observations which they had made, had been the Cause of great Plenty. They have commonly some Plant sprouting and flourishing upon their Heads, which probably, if well explained, would instruct us, what Part of *Agriculture* or Planting was improved by the Benefit of their learned Observations. One of them has the Head of a Cow, and a Bird's Head upon that (m); but I should imagine, that we are not to guess from hence, that the *Egyptians* had received the *Greek* Fable about *Io*, as the learned

(i) Lib. de *Iside & Osiride*, p. 355. (k) *Montfaucon*. ubi sup. Plate 36. Fig. 3. Plate 37. Fig. 11. Plate 38. Fig. 9, 10, 11.

(l) Lib. de *Isid. & Osirid.* p. 355. *Orus*, when in later Times Images of an human Form were introduced, was represented by a quite different Figure. Ἐν Κόπῳ τὸ Ἄγαλμα τῆς Ὀρου λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ ἑτέρῃ χειρὶ Τυφῶντος αἰδοῖα κατέχειν. *Plut.* lib. de *Iside & Osiride*, p. 373.

(m) *Montfaucon*. ubi sup. Plate 36. Fig. 3:

Antiquary suggests; but that the Person hereby figured, was so eminent, as that he had the Names of two Deities given to him. As *Daniel* obtained such a Reputation in the Court of *Babylon*, as to have a Name given him, compounded of the Names of two of their Deities, namely *Belteshazzar* (n); so this Person, whoever he was, was so eminent in *Egypt*, as to be called by the Names of the two Deities put together; the Heads of whose sacred Animals were for that Reason put upon his Statue. We meet with several Figures (o), said to be designed for *Harpocrates*. All these Figures are Representations of young Men with their Finger upon their Mouth, as a Token of their Silence; but why may we not suppose these to be Monuments of young *Egyptian* students, who died in their Novitiate, or first Years, whilst Silence, according to the ancient Discipline, was enjoined them? There are a variety of Figures of this sort in various Dresses, and with various Symbols, all which, I imagine, might express the different Attainments and Studies of the Persons represented by them. *Jamblichus* remarks, that *Pythagoras*, when he rejected any of his Scholars, and after the five Years Silence, turned them out of his School, for their Defects and Insufficiency, used to have Statues made for them as if they were dead (p). This perhaps might be

(n) Dan. i. 7. See Vol. I. B. 5. p. 331. (o) Montfauc. Plate 40. Fig. 17, 18; 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. in Plate 41. these Figures are numerous.

(p) Jamblichus de Vita Pythag.

ancient Practice in *Egypt*, where *Pythagoras* long studied; and some of the Images, which go for *Harpocrates*, might be *Egyptian* Students thus dismissed their Schools; and the defect of Symbols and want of Ornament in some of them, may perhaps distinguish those of this sort from the other. *Plutarch* does indeed hint, that in his Times they had human Representations of *Osiris* in every City (*q*), and *Montfaucon* gives us a Figure in some Respects well answering to *Plutarch's* Description of the Statues of *Osiris* (*r*); but if that be a Statue of *Osiris*, it must be a modern one. The Ancient Image of *Osiris* was that of an Hawk (*s*), or he was sometimes represented by the Picture of an Eye and a Scepter (*t*); and until later Times, Images and Representations of him were very rare, and seldom to be met with (*u*), but when he came to be represented in the human Form, Sculptures of him were common (*w*). *Montfaucon* gives us the Figure of an Animal without Ears, which he calls a *Cynocephalus* (*x*), and supposes to be a Representation of *Isis*. *Plutarch* (*y*) tells us, that the *Cretans* anciently pictured *Jupiter* in this manner, and may we not imagine that this Figure was an ancient *Egyptian Jupiter*, and

(*q*) Lib. de *Iside & Osiride*, p. 371. (*r*) *Plutarch's Words are*,
 Πάνταχ' ἢ καὶ ἀνθρωπομορφὸν Ὀσίειδος ἄγαλμα δεικνύσιν
 ἕξοφδιάζον τῷ αἰδοίῳ. (*s*) Id. *ibid.* (*t*) Id. *ibid.*
 (*u*) Id. p. 382. (*w*) Πάνταχ' δεικνύσιν, &c. (*x*) *Antiq*
 Vol. II. Part. 2. Plate 42. Fig. 14. See Chap. xvi. §. 5.
 (*y*) Ἐν Κρήτῃ Διὸς ἡ ἄγαλμα μὴ ἔχον ὠτα. Lib. de *Iside*
 & *Osiride*, p. 381.

that

that the *Cretans* copied after them? I might enlarge upon this Subject, for I cannot help thinking, that even the Animal-Figures, like this Instance I have mentioned, are commonly decyphered amiss; and that if the Learned would review their Accounts and Collections, and take the human Figures for Monuments of famous Men, made after the old *Egyptian* Custom, which, according to *Plutarch*, was to picture not the Man, but his Manners, not his Person, but his Character, Station, and Honours, which he attained to: If the Animal-Figures were reviewed, if the *Egyptian* Astronomy could be examined, and it could be determined what particular Stars they worshipped, and what Birds, Beasts, or Reptiles were dedicated to them, I should imagine, that we might obtain Accounts more serviceable towards illustrating their ancient History, Politics and Religion, than any yet extant. *Eusebius* gives us Hints of some ancient Representations (z); but we find, I think, none, that

(z) Ἐπενόησε τῷ Κρόνω ᾠδύσσιμα βασιλείας, ὄμματα τέσσαρα: ἐκ τῶν ἐμπροσθίων καὶ τῶν ὀπίσθίων μερῶν δύο ἢ ἡσυχῆ μύθηα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πλερὰ τέσσαρα, δύο μὲν ἐπιλάμενα, δύο δὲ ὡς ὑφειμένα. — τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς δεξιῶν δύο ἐκάστω πλερώματα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων. — Κρόνω δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆ κεφαλῆς πλερὰ δύο. — Αἰγύπτιοι Κνήφ ἐπονομάζουσιν, προσιδέασιν αὐτῷ ἱερακῶ κεφαλῶν. — τὸ πρῶτον αὐτοῦ θεότατον [ὄφιν] Ὀφιν ἱερακῶ ἔχων μορφῶν. — Οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν κόσμον γράφουσιν περιφερῆ κύκλον ἀεραδῆ καὶ πυρρῶν χαράσσει καὶ μέσον τεταμένον Ὀφιν ἱερακόμορφον καὶ τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα ὡς τὸ παρ' ἡμῶν Θῆτα: τὸ μὲν κύκλον κόσμον μωυόντες, τὸν δὲ μέσον Ὀφιν σιωεκληκὸν τῆτον ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα σημαίνοντες. *Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. i. c. 10.*

much

much resemble them, in the Collections of our present Antiquaries; and yet the *Hereticks* who lived about *Plutarch's* Time, in the second Century, namely *Basilides*, *Saturninus*, and *Carpocras*, who introduced the *Egyptian* Symbols and Figures into their Religion, formed many, much like those mentioned by *Eusebius*, as may be seen by consulting *Montfaucon's* Plates of the Gems called *Abraxas*. Whether we have now any Copies, or but very few, of the truly ancient *Egyptian* Idols, whether the greatest Part of what are offered to us, be not Copies taken from Schemes and Forms more recent, than even the Times of *Plutarch*, or of *Eusebius*, I intirely submit to the Opinion of the Learned.

F. Montfaucon has given a Draught of a very celebrated Piece of Antiquity called the Table of *Isis*, which was a Table made of Brass, almost four foot long, and of pretty near the same Breadth. The Ground-work was a black Enamel, and it was curiously filled with Silver Plates inlaid, which represented Figures of various Sorts, distinguished into several *Classes* and Copartments, and decyphered by various *Hieroglyphics* interspersed. This Table fell into the Hands of a common Artificer, when the City of *Rome* was taken and plundered by the Army of *Charles V.* about the Year 1527; and it was sold by him to Cardinal *Bembo*, at whose Death it came to the Duke of *Mantua*, and was kept as a valuable Rarity by the Princes of that House, until the Year 1630, when the Town and Palace of
Mantua

Mantua were plundered by the Emperor's General, who carried off an immense Treasure of Curiosities, which the Princes of this House had collected; and amongst the rest this Table of *Isis*, the Original of which having never been found since this time, is supposed to have been broken in Pieces by some Person into whose Hands it might fall; who not understanding what it was, might think the Silver Plates that were inlaid, to be the only valuable Parts of it, and therefore brake it for the sake of them. *Pignorius* gave the World a Draught, and an Account of this Table, in a Book by him published at *Amsterdam A. D.* 1670; and from his Draught *Montfaucon* has taken the Copy, which he has given us. The Table of *Isis* is said to be so called, because it represents the Form and Mysteries of the Goddess *Isis* (a); but it is remarkable, that the very Writers who express the greatest Inclination to represent *Isis* as the chief and principal Goddess, upon Account of representing whom the whole Table was composed, cannot but acknowledge it to contain "all the Divinities of *Egypt* of every Kind, and that it might properly be called a general Table of the Religion and Superstitions of *Egypt*" (b). *F. Montfaucon* acknowledges, that no one can determine, whether this Table represents some History of the *Egyptian* Gods, or some obscure System of the Religion of that Country, or of the Ceremonies of that Re-

(a) Montfauc. Antiq. Vol. I. Part 2, B. 2, c. 1.

(b) Id. ibid
ligion,

ligion, or some moral Instruction, or many of these together. And *Pignorius* was so far from being confident, that he could sufficiently explain this Table, that he confessed, that he did not fully comprehend the Design of it, nor know the certain Signification of its several Parts; that he only pretended to venture to make some Conjectures about it, but that he could not say, that he had hit the Design of the Sculptor; that both these learned Men leave room for any one to conjecture about it as they will, without incurring Censure for differing from them. And if I may take this Liberty, I should imagine, 1. That this Table was not made until after Genuflexion was used in the Worship of the Heathen Deities. This Custom began pretty early; The Worshipers of *Baal*, in the Time of *Abab*, bowed the knees to *Baal* (c), and this Practice of kneeling was used before this Time by the true Worshipers of God. *Solomon* kneeled down upon his Knees, when he prayed at the Dedication of the Temple (d); and this Posture of Worship is mentioned *Psalms* xcvi (e). At what time it was first introduced into the Heathen Worship I cannot say, but we find in the Border round the Table of *Isis*, no less than nineteen Persons in this Posture of Adoration. 2. We find no one Person in this Posture in the Table it self: All the Figures in the Table, are either standing, or sitting, or in a moving Posture. 3. In the Border all the

(c) 1 Kings xix. 18.

(d) Chap. viii. 54. 2 Chron. vi. 13.

(e) Ver. 6.

Images that kneel, are represented as paying their Worship to some Animal-Figure: There is not one Instance or Representation of this Worship paid to an Image of human Form, either on the Border, or in the Table. 4. The several Animals represented in the Border, as receiving Worship from their Adorers, agree very nearly, both in Number and Shape, with the several Animals described by *Strabo*, *Plutarch*, *Eusebius*, and other Writers, to be the Objects of Worship in the several Cities of *Egypt* (*f*). 5. The human Figures in the Table are distinguished by the Animal-Representation of some Deity annexed to, or put over or under them. 6. There are five Figures in the Table of an human Form described in a sitting Posture, and two of them very remarkable, one of which has the Head of an *Ibis*, and the other of an Hawk; but Figures of the same Form are represented in the Border of the Table on their Knees, as worshipping some Animal-Figure placed before them. The human Picture with the Hawk's Head is represented to worship a sort of *Scarabeus*, that with the Head of the *Ibis* is pictured as worshipping the *Apis* or Bull. These are the several Observations, which must occur to any one, who carefully views and compares the several Parts of this Table; and from these Observations it appears most probable, I. That the Border round about the Table exhibits the several

(*f*) *Strabo*. l. 17. *Plut.* lib. de *Isid.* & *Osirid.* *Euseb.* de *Præp. Evang.* in var. loc. *Herodot.* l. 2. &c.

sacred Animals worshipped in *Egypt* when this Table was made, with their respective Priests paying Worship to them. II. The Table itself represents the several Priests of some of these Deities in their several Habits, performing not actual Worship, but some other Offices of their Ministrations. The Animal-Figures annexed to them, point out what particular Gods they were respectively the Priests of; and most probably the *Hieroglyphics* and sacred Letters inscribed to each of them would tell us, if we could read them, what particular Office of their Ministration they are described as performing. III. The Figures delineated in the sitting Posture, (like Figures to which are in the Border represented in Postures of Worship to particular Animals) seem to me to be designed for Monuments of some eminent Priests, who had Images made in Honour of their Memory when dead; which Images might perhaps upon some Occasions be carried in Processions, and are therefore here delineated. The *Ibis* and Hawk's Head, fixed upon the Shoulders of two of them, was according to the ancient Usage of picturing, not the Person of the Men, but the Dignity or Honours they attained to. These two Persons were honoured with the Names of the Gods, whose sacred *Symbols*, or Animal-Figures, were for that Reason put upon them. IV. *F. Montfaucon* wanders unaccountably from the apparent Meaning of this Table, in supposing many of the human Figures to be *Isis* and *Osiris* presenting Goblets, and Birds and Staves to one another,

another, when no ancient Writers hint any sort of Accounts, that they were ever represented as engaged in such trifling Entercourses, and when all those Figures may better be supposed to be different Priests, employed in different Offices and Ministrations of their Religion. V. It does not appear from this Table, that the *Egyptians* worshipped any Idols of human Shape, at the Time when this Table was composed, but rather on the contrary, all the Images herein represented, before which any Persons are described, in Postures of Adoration, being the Figures of Birds, Beasts, or Fishes; this Table seems to have been delineated, before the *Egyptians* worshipped the Images of Men and Women, which was the last and lowest Step of their Idolatry.

From what I have offered about the several Steps, which the *Egyptians* took in the Progress of their Superstitions and Idolatry, it will be easy to determine what their Religion was, when *Cecrops*, *Cadmus*, or *Danaus* left *Egypt*; and consequently what Religion or Deities these Men may be supposed to have introduced into *Greece*. The *Egyptians* had dedicated sacred Animals to their Sidereal Deities, before these Men left them: All their other Innovations were more Modern, and consequently this Practice these Men carried with them into Foreign Countries. The *Greeks*, in the first Days of their Idolatry, worshipped, as the *Egyptians* did, the Sun, Moon and Stars, and Elements (a). In After-Ages they

(a) Plato in *Cratylus*.

worshipped Heroe-Gods, but these not until about the Time of *Homer*. *Herodotus* says expressly, that *Hesiod* and *Homer* introduced these Deities (*b*); I should think them something earlier, but not much. The *Greeks* worshipped their Gods without any Images of any sort, until after *Oenotrus* the Son of *Lycaon* led his Colony into *Italy* (*c*); and agreeably hereto, *Pausanias* remarks of some very ancient *Delubra*, which he saw at *Haliartus* a City of *Bœotia*, that they had no sort of Images (*d*). *Lycaon* the Father of *Oenotrus* was contemporary with *Cecrops*, the first of the Travellers who came to *Greece* from *Egypt* (*e*); and most probably *Danaus*, the last of them, introduced the Image of a Wolf, for the Direction of his Worship to *Apollo Lycius* (*f*); so that from all these Circumstances it is very plain, that the Images of Animals were at first set up as Idols in *Greece*, much about the Time of, and by the Direction of these Men. As the *Israelites* made a Calf in *Horeb* after their Patterns, soon after *Moses* had led them out of *Egypt*, about *A. M.* 2513; so much about this Time the *Greeks* were led into the same sort of Idolatry, by the *Egyptian* Travellers, who came to live amongst them. *Danaus* taught them to worship *Apollo*, *i. e.* the Sun, in the Form of a Wolf, and it is very probable that he gave them the Images of o-

(*b*) *Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 53.*

(*c*) *See Vol. I. Book 5.*

(*d*) *Pausan. in Bœoticis c. 33.*

(*e*) *Pausan. in Arcadicis c. 2.*

(*f*) *Id. in Corinthiacis, c. 19.*

ther Animals for the Worship of other Deities. *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Greeks* anciently made a Bull for the Image of *Bacchus* (g); and the modern Images of their Gods, made after their Heroes were deify'd, and human Forms introduced, have commonly such Symbols of Birds, Beasts, or Fishes annexed, as to hint to us what their sacred Animals were, whose Figures were made use of in their Worship, before they came to be represented by human Images. The Eagle was the Bird of the *Græcian Jupiter*, the Peacock of *Juno*, the Owl of *Minerva*, the Dolphin or Sea-Horse was sacred to *Neptune*, the Ram, the Cock, and other Animals to *Mercury*; and the Images of these and other Animals were undoubtedly made use of at first as Idols in the Worship of the respective Deities they belonged to, instead of Images of those Deities. In later Ages, when the Images of their Gods were made in human Shapes, then the Figures of their sacred Animals were annexed as Symbols; and so we commonly now find them, in the Statues or Draughts we have of these Deities. As true Religion was at first one and the same to all the World, which it certainly would not have been, had it not been at first appointed by positive Directions from God, and express Revelation; so Men in all Nations upon Earth defaced and corrupted this universal Religion, by Steps and Degrees very much the same. Animal-Figures were intro-

(g) *Plutarch. in lib. de Isid. & Osirid. p. 364.*

duced into the Idolatry of most Nations, and I might add inanimate ones too. The *Egyptians* pictured *Osiris* by a Sceptre, the *Greeks* anciently represented *Juno* by the (b) Trunk of a Tree, and *Castor* and *Pollux* by two Cross-Beams; and *Clemens Alexandrinus* remarks from *Varro*, that the ancient *Romans*, before they had learned to give to their Gods human Shapes, worshipped a Spear instead of an Image of *Mars* (i).

It is generally represented, that *Cecrops*, *Cadmus*, and *Danaus*, built Temples in the several Countries that they travell'd to; but this is a Mistake, arising from a careless reading of what the ancient Writers remark of them. The *Latin* Translator of *Diodorus Siculus* says that *Danaus* built a Temple to *Minerva* at *Rhodes*, and that *Cadmus* obliged himself by Vow to build a Temple to *Neptune*; but *Diodorus* himself says no such thing; his Expression is, that they *ἰδρύσαντο ἱερόν*, not built a Temple, but appointed or dedicated a Place of Worship: and thus the Author himself explains it, by telling us how *Cadmus* performed his Vow, *διασωθεὶς ἰδρύσατο τέμενος* (k), upon his being preserved, he set out a Piece of Ground for the Place of the Worship of the God who had preserved him (l): He did something like to what *Jacob* did at *Bethel* (m),

(b) See Vol. I. B. 5. p. 348. (i) Clem. Alex. Cohortar. ad Gentes. p. 41. Edit. Oxon. (k) Diodor. Sic. Lib. 5. p. 329.

(l) The strict and proper Signification of the Word *τέμενος*, derived from *τέμνω*, is, a Part or Portion of Land separated or set apart for some sacred Use. (m) Gen. xxviii.

when he set up the Pillar, and poured Oil upon the Top of it, and made a Vow, that that Place should be God's House: *Jacob* did not design to erect any Building in that Place; but only meant, that he would come to Worship there; which the Ancients in these Days did, not in Temples, but in Groves, or at Altars erected in the open Air, or in Spaces of Ground marked out and enclosed for that Purpose; and of this Sort were the ancient *τεμεῖον* of the Heathens. Temples were far more modern than the Days of *Cecrops*, *Cadmus*, or *Danaus*. *Moses* observes that *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, frequently built Altars where-ever they fixed their Habitations; and agreeable to this ancient Practice, *Eusebius* says of *Cecrops*, that he raised an Altar at *Athens* (n), and we meet with this Practice amongst the first Inhabitants of *Greece*: they are said to have erected these *βῶμοι*, *i. e.* Altars, in all Parts of their Country, as is remarked by *Pausanias*; and I believe I may add that we have not any one Passage in any good Writer of sufficient Authority to induce us to think, that there were any Temples in the World before the *Jewish* Tabernacle was erected, or before it was known that the *Jews* were directed to build a Temple, when they should be settled in the Land of *Canaan*, in the Place which the Lord their God should choose to cause his Name to dwell there (o). We may indeed meet with the Word *Ναός* in *Pausanias*, and in *Homer*,

(n) *Præp. Evang.* l. 10. c. 9. (o) *Deut.* xii. 11.

and in diverse other Writers, and if we always translate that Word *Temple*, as we commonly do, it may mis-lead us to think Temples much more ancient than they really were; but we may remark from *Pausanias* that the Word *Ναός* was at first used as the Word *Beth*, or House, in *Hebrew*, and did not always signify a Structure or a Temple, but only a Place set a-part for God's Worship. Thus *Jacob* called the Place where he lay down to sleep *Beth-el*, or the House of God (*p*), and thus the Temples or *Ναοί* at *Haliartus*, mentioned by *Pausanias*, were open to the Air; they were only Inclosures set a-part for the Worship of their Gods, but they were not covered Buildings or Temples (*q*). When the Heathen Nations first built Temples, they were but small and of mean Figure, probably designed only to defend the Image of their Idol from the Weather, and to lay up the Instruments that were used in the Performance of their Sacrifices: The House of *Dagon* amongst the *Philistins* was, I believe, of this sort (*r*); and thus we are told, that there was a small Temple at *Rome* made in the early Ages for the Reception of the (*s*) *Trojan Penates*: And certainly Temples made no great Figure in *Homer's* Time; for if they had, he would have given us at least one Description of a Temple, in some Part either of the *Iliad* or *Odysssey*. Before *Virgil's* Time

(*p*) Gen. xxviii. 22.

(*q*) Pausan. in *Exoticis*. c. 33.

(*r*) 1 Sam. v. 2.
c. 68,

(*s*) Dionys. Halicarnass. *Antiq. Rom.* l. 1.

they were built with great Pomp and Magnificence, and accordingly he has describ'd *Dido's* building a Temple (*r*) to *Juno* at *Carthage* with all imaginable Elegance. *Homer* would not have lost an Opportunity of exerting his great Genius upon so grand a Subject, if Temples had in his Days made a Figure that could possibly have shined in his Poem: The true Worshippers of God did at first worship in the open Fields, and so did the ancient and first Idolaters: *Abraham* set apart a Place for his private Addresses, He planted a Grove in *Beersheba*, and called there on the Name of the Lord, the everlasting God (*s*); and after this Pattern Groves were much in use in all the idolatrous Nations, and τεμένη Allotments of Ground, or sacred Fields or Enclosures in every Country for the Worship of their several Gods. When the *Jews* were gone out of *Egypt*, and God had appointed them a moveable Temple or Tabernacle, the Heathen Nations imitated this too; and thus we read of a portable Temple or Tabernacle made to *Moloch* (*t*); and when it came to be known, that the *Israelites* were to build an House to their God, when they should be settled in their Land, then the Heathen Nations began to build Houses to their Deities, and *Dagon* the God of the *Philistins* had an House, into which the Ark of God, when it was taken in Battle, was carried in the Days of *Eli* (*u*); but these Houses

(*r*) *Æneid.* 1. (*s*) *Gen.* xxi. 33. (*t*) *Acts* vii. 43.
 (*u*) *1 Samuel* v. 2.

of their Gods were not large until after *Solomon's* Time. After he had built the Temple of *Jerusalem* according to the Pattern which *David* had given him (*w*), foreign Kings by degrees began to copy after him, and endeavoured to build Temples with great Splendor and Magnificence; but when *Solomon* was to build his Temple, it is evident from his own Words, that the Heathen Temples were not near so large and magnificent as his Design. *The House which I build* (said he) *is great; for great is our God above all Gods* (*x*). His Design exceeded all other Plans, as the God he worshipped was superior to the Heathen Idols.

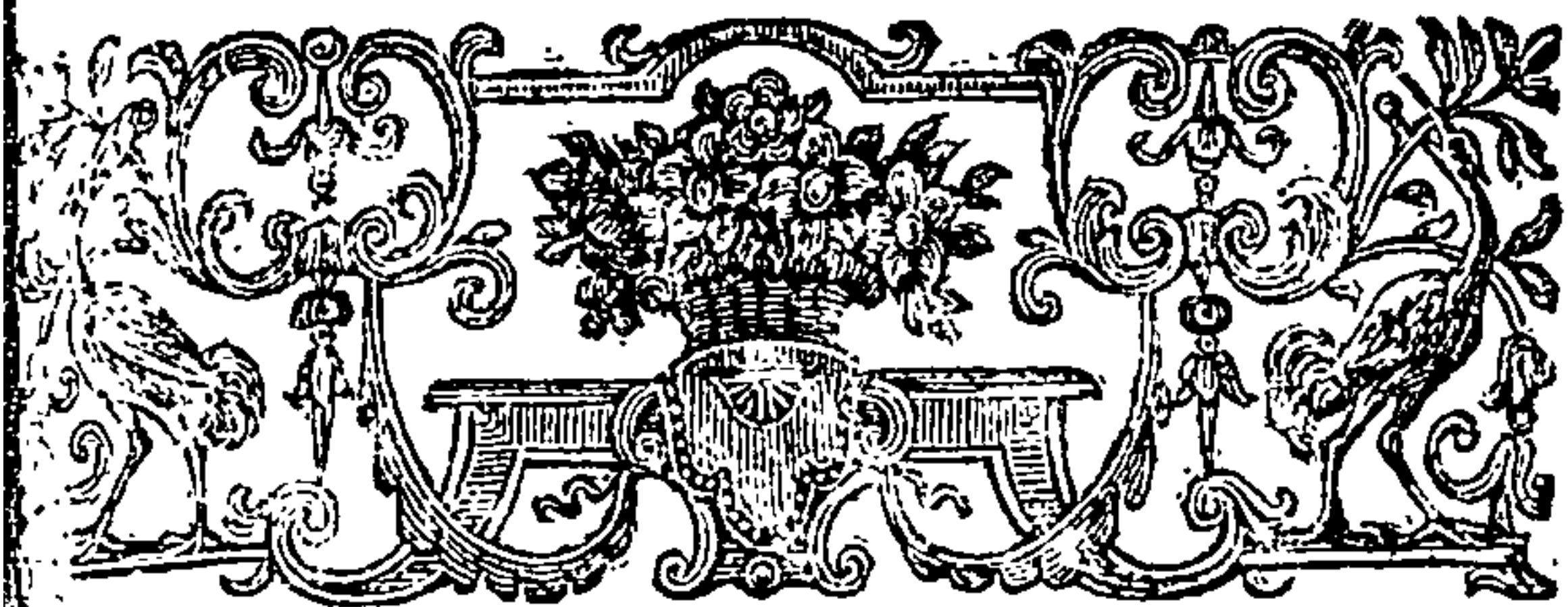
I am sensible that *Dr. Spencer* has endeavoured to prove, that both the *Jewish* Tabernacle and Temples were erected in Imitation of the Places of Worship made use of by the Heathen Nations; but whoever shall take the Pains to consider what this learned Writer has offer'd upon this Subject, will be surprized that he could be satisfied with such slender Proofs in favour of his Opinion: But *Dr. Spencer's* darling *Hypothesis*, of which what he offers about Temples is only a Part, is an unaccountable Mistake for a Writer of so great Learning to fall into; and what he has produced in the several Parts of his laborious Work, will abundantly prove to every one, that will take the Pains duly to weigh and consider the several Texts of Scripture, and Authorities cited

(*w*) *1 Chron.* xxviii. 11, 12.

(*x*) *2 Chron.* ii. 5.

by him, that no Learning can be sufficient to evince, that the *Jewish* Religion was derived from the Customs and Practices of the Heathen Nations; but that on the contrary, most of the Citations upon this Subject will evidence in a much clearer manner, that a great Part of the Heathen Ceremonies and Practices was introduced into their Worship and Religion, in Imitation of what God had by Revelation appointed to his Servants.





The SACRED and PROPHANE

HISTORY

Of the WORLD Connected.

BOOK IX.

WE left the Children of *Israel* under Difficulties in *Egypt*, distressed by all possible Measures the King could take to keep them low: In the time of this Affliction *Moses* was born: His Mother hid him for three Months (a), and when she could not hide him any longer, nor bear the Thoughts of having him thrown into the River; she made a sort of Chest or Basket, put the Infant into it, and set it amongst the Bullrushes near the Bank of

(a) Exodus ii.

the River, and there left it to God's Providence. The King's Daughter came to the River, heard the Child cry, and examined the Basket, and was struck with the Sight of the weeping Infant, and determined to preserve it. *Moses's* Sister stood at some Distance to see what would become of him; and upon the Princess's being inclined to take care of him, she mixed with her Attendants, and offered to procure a fit Nurse for the Child. The Princess liked the Proposal, and the Girl hereupon called *Moses's* own Mother, and the Princess put him out to nurse to her. And thus by a wonderful Providence *Moses* was preserved, and nursed by his own Mother for a time, but afterwards taken to Court, and educated there by the Favour of the Princess as her own Son; instructed in all the Learning of the *Egyptians* (b), and became a Man of great Eminence amongst them; was made General and Leader of their Armies, and fought some Battels with great Conduct and Success (c). The Princess had no Children, nor the King her Father any Male-heir, and it is thought that she adopted *Moses* for her Son, and that her Father designed him to be King of *Egypt* (d); but *Moses* declined this Advancement, as

(b) Acts vii. 22. (c) Josephus Antiq. Jud. l. 2. c. 10.

(d) Josephus relates, that the Princess having no Child adopted *Moses*, and brought him whilst a Child to her Father, and admiring both the Beauty of his Person, and the promising Appearance of a Genius in him, wished he would appoint him to be his Successor, if she should have no Children: That the King hereupon in a pleasant Humour

a Scheme that would deprive him, and his Posterity, of the Blessings which God had promised to the *Hebrew* Nation, who were to be but Strangers in *Egypt* for a time (e). He had a full Belief that God would make good his Promises to them, and *by Faith* he refused to be called the Son of Pharaoh's Daughter (f). Under a full Persuasion of the Certainty of those things, which God had promised, he turned his Eye and Heart from the Crown of *Egypt*, to the Afflictions of his Brethren, and rather wished, that it would please God to have him lead them out of *Egypt* to the promised Land, than to sway the *Egyptian* Scepter. He went amongst them dayly, and viewed their Condition, and upon seeing an *Egyptian* severe with one of them, he killed him (g). The next Day he found two *Hebrews* in Contest with one another, he admonished them to consider that they were Brethren, and would have decided their Quarrel; thinking, that they would consider him as a Person likely to deliver them out of their Bondage (h), and that they would have submitted their Difference to him; but they had no such Thoughts about him: His Arbitration was rejected with

Humour put his Crown upon the Child's Head; and that Moses took it off, and laid it upon the Ground, and there play'd with it, and turned it about with his Feet. One of the Priests, that attended, thought his Actions ominous, and was earnest to have him killed, as a Person that would be fatally mischievous to the Egyptian Crown; but the Princess here again saved him from Destruction, &c. See Josephus Antiq. l. 2. c. 9. (e) Gen. xv. 13. xlv. 4. & l. 24.

(f) Hebrews xi. 24.

(g) Exodus ii. 11, 12. Acts vii. 24.

(h) Ver. 25.

Con-

Contempt, and one of them upbraided him with his killing the *Egyptian* (i). And thus he saw, that the People were not likely to follow his Directions, if he should attempt to contrive their leaving *Egypt*: And he imagined, that his Violence to the *Egyptian* might be known to *Pharaoh*; and he found, that his spending so much of his Time amongst the *Hebrews*, had made his Conduct much suspected, and that the King had determined to put him to Death; so that he thought it prudent to leave *Egypt*, and therefore went to *Midian* to *Jethro*, the Priest and chief Inhabitant of that Country, and lived with him as Keeper of his Flocks, and married one of his Daughters (k). He continued here forty Years. *Jethro* was perhaps descended from *Abraham* by *Keturah* his second Wife (l). *Moses* was forty Years old, when he first thought of relieving the *Israelites* (m), and he was forty Years in *Midian* (n), being eighty Years (o) old when he led the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*; and the Exit of the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt* will appear hereafter to be *A. M.* 2513; so that *Moses* was born *A. M.* 2433.

Josephus relates several particulars of *Moses*, which we find no Hints of in the Books of Scripture: He has a large Account of a War with the *Ethiopians*, in which *Moses* was Commander of the *Egyptian* Armies. He reports

(i) Exodus ii. 14. Acts vii. 27, 28.

(k) Exodus ii. 21.

(l) Josephus Antiq. l. 2. c. 11.

(m) Acts. vii. 23.

(n) Ver. 30.

(o) Exodus vii. 7.

him to have besieged *Saba* the Capital City of *Ethiopia*, and to have taken the City, and married *Tharbis* the King of *Ethiopia's* Daughter (*p*); and very probably this Account of *Josephus* might be one Inducement to our *English* Translators of the Bible to render *Numbers* xii. 1. *And Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses, because of the Ethiopian Woman whom he had married; for he had married an Ethiopian Woman.* *Eusebius* gives an hint about the *Ethiopians*, which favours this *Egyptian* War with them, mentioned by *Josephus*. He says, the *Ethiopians* came and settled in *Egypt* in the time of *Amenophis* (*q*), and he places *Amenophis's* Reign so as to end it about 431 Years after *Abraham's* Birth, *i. e.* *A. M.* 2439; so that according to this Account the *Ethiopians* were a new Set of People, who planted themselves in the Parts adjacent to *Egypt* much about *Moses's* Time; and perhaps they might invade some Part of *Egypt*, or incommode some of the Inhabitants of it, and so occasion the War upon them which *Josephus* mentions. According to *Philostratus* (*r*) there was no such Country as *Ethiopia* beyond *Egypt* until this Migration; These People came, according to *Eusebius*, from the River *Indus* (*s*), and planted themselves in the Parts beyond *Egypt* Southward, and so began the Kingdom, called afterwards the *Ethiopian*. There are many Hints in se-

(*p*) *Josephus* *Antiq.* l. 2. c. 10. (*q*) *Euseb.* in *Chron.* ad *Num.* 402. (*r*) In *Vit.* *Apollon.* *Tyanei.* l. 3. c. 6. (*s*) in *Chron.* ubi sup.

veral ancient Writers; which agree to this Opinion of the *Ethiopians* near to *Egypt* being derived from a People of that Name in the Eastern Countries. *Homer* mentions two *Ethiopian* Nations, one placed in the western Parts, another in the Eastern.

Ἄιδίονάς τ' οἱ δίχθ' ἀδεδάιαται, ἔχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
οἱ μὲν δ' υἱοὶ μένε' Ὑπερίωνος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος. Odyf. l. 1.

Strabo indeed endeavours to shew, that the true Meaning of this Passage is generally mistaken, and that *Homer* did not intend by it, that there were two *Ethiopian* Nations in Parts of the World so distant as *Egypt* and *India* (t); but the Remarks of other Writers do, I think, determine *Homer's* Words to this Sense, more clearly, than *Strabo's* Arguments refute it. *Herodotus* says, that there were two *Ethiopian* Nations, and he places one of them in the Eastern Parts of the World, and reckons them amongst the *Indians*, and the other in the Parts near *Egypt* (u); and *Apollonius* was of the same Opinion, and says, that the *African Ethiopians* came from *India* (w), and he supposes them to be Masters of the ancient *Indian* Learning, brought by their Forefathers from *India* to *Ethiopia* (x). *Eustathius* hints, that the *Ethiopians* came from *India* (y). Thus the *Ethiopians* were a People who wandered from their ancient Habitations, and settled in

(t) See *Strabo* Georg. l. 1. p. 29. l. 2. p. 103. (u) *Herodotus* l. 7. c. 70. (w) *Argonaut.* l. 6. c. 1. c. 4. l. 6. c. 6. (x) *Id.* ib. c. 8. (y) In *Dionys.* p. 35.

the Parts near *Egypt* about the time in which *Moses* lived, and very probably they and the *Egyptians* might have some Contests about settling the Bounds of their Country, so as that *Egypt* might not be invaded by them; and perhaps *Josephus* might have Reason, from ancient Remains, to relate that *Moses* was engaged in accommodating this Affair, tho' it is evident that *Josephus* has added to the Account some Particulars not true. *Saba*, which *Josephus* supposes to be the Capital City of *Ethiopia*, was a City of *Arabia*, and *Moses* did not marry the King of *Ethiopia's* Daughter, as *Josephus* supposes; but it is easy to conjecture how *Josephus* was led into these Mistakes. The LXX in their Translation, which *Josephus* was very fond of, render the Land of *Cush*, as our *English* Translators have done, the Land of *Ethiopia*; and *Josephus* finding that *Saba* was an Head City in the Land of *Cush* or *Arabia*, taking *Cush* according to the LXX to be *Ethiopia*, he supposed *Saba* to be the capital City of that Country, and perhaps finding also that *Moses* married a *Cushite* Woman, (which was indeed true, for he married the Daughter of *Jethro* the *Arabian*) here he mistook again, and translating *Cush* *Ethiopia*, he married *Moses* to *Tarbis* the King of *Ethiopia's* Daughter.

Whilst *Moses* lived in *Midian*, he is supposed to have used the Leisure which he enjoyed there, in writing his Book of *Genesis*, and some Writers say the Book of *Job* also. The Matters treated in both these Books were indeed

indeed extremely proper to be laid before the *Israelites*: For in one of them they might have a full and clear View of the History of the World, so far as they were concerned in it; of the Creation of Mankind; of their own Origin; of the Promises which God had made to their Fathers; so that it would give them the best Account of their Condition and Expectations: And in the other, they might see a very instructive Pattern of Patience and Resignation to the Will of God, in the Life of a virtuous Person, led from a great Share of worldly Prosperity, into the most afflicting Circumstances; and after a due time of Trial, brought back again to greater Prosperity than ever: A Subject very fit to be represented to them, when the *Egyptian* Bondage pressed hard upon them, and they might want, not only to know the good Things which God designed to give them, but to have also some such particular Example as that of *Job*, to remind them to possess their Souls in Patience, until the Time should come, that God should think fit to end their Troubles. But tho' the subject Matters contained in these Books, may very justly be represented to be very suitable to the Circumstances of the *Israelites* in this Juncture, yet I cannot find any other Reason to think that *Moses* wrote the Book of *Job* at all, or that he composed that of *Genesis* at this Time. Some Authors have imagined, that the Book of *Genesis* was composed last of all the five Books of *Moses*; but as this Opinion is mere Conjecture, so, it must be confessed, is all

tha

that can be said about the precise Time of his writing any of them. As to the Book of *Job*; There are many Opinions amongst the Learned about the Writer of it; but none of them so well supported with Arguments, as to leave no room to doubt in our admitting it. What seems most probable, is, that *Job* himself, who could best tell all the Circumstances of his Condition, and of what passed in the Conferences which He had with his Friends, did some time before he died leave a written Account of it; but that the Book of *Job*, which we now have, is not the very Account which was written by *Job*, but that some inspired Writer, who lived later than his Days, composed it, from the Memoirs left by him. The present Book of *Job* is the greatest Part of it written in Verse; and I suppose no one will imagine, that Poetry was attempted so early as the Days of *Job*. Some later Hand must put what *Job* left into the Measure, which was thought suitable to such a Subject; but whether this was done by the Hand of *Moses*, or *Solomon*, or some other of the inspired Writers the *Old Testament*, no one can determine; tho' I should think it seems most probable, that it was not done so early as the Days of *Moses*.

St. *Jerom* informs us (c), that the Verse of the Book of *Job* is *Heroic*. From the beginning of the Book to the third Chapter, he says, is Prose; but from *Job's* Words, *Let the Day*

(c) Præfat. in Lib. *Job*.

*perish wherein I was born, (d) &c. unto these Words, Wherefore I abhor my self, and repent in Dust and Ashes (e) ; are Hexameter Verses, consisting of Dactyls and Spondees, like the Greek Verses of Homer, or the Latin of Virgil. Marianus Victorius, in his Note upon this Passage of St. Jerom, says, that he has examined the Book of Job, and finds St. Jerom's Observation to be true. I have endeavour'd my self to make Trial, but cannot say that I find the Experiment to answer exactly to their Account. I cannot make the Words run into Hexameter Verses only, but should rather think every other Line to be a Pentameter. If the Reader will put the Hebrew words into Latin Characters, making due Allowance for the Difficulty of expressing the Hebrew Sounds in our Letters, he may perhaps admit, that the 3d, 4th, and part of the 5th verse of the iiiid chapter of Job, to the end of these Words, *Let Darkness and the Shadow of Death stain it,* runs, in the following Words, according to the Measure subjoined under them.*

Jobad Jom ivvalæd bo ve ha Lailah Amar

- - - - - v v - v v - -

Carah gaber haijom habua jehi choshek

- v v - - - - v v - v v -

Al jidreshu eloah Mimmal ve al topan alair

- - - v v - - - - - v v - -

Nabrak jegalhu choshek vetzlemarech tesbecor

- v v - v v - - - v v - v v -

(d) Job iii. 3. (e) Chap. xlii. 6.

I cannot be positive, that I have exactly hit the true spelling of the *Hebrew* Words, but I cannot be far from it; and I think that I could so write what follows in the Book of *Job*, as to make it fall into this sort of Verse and Measure; and the Experiment would, I believe, succeed always in like manner, if try'd any where with the Words in this Book, beginning with chap. iii. 3. and ending at chap. xlii. 7. only the several Sentences, which direct us to the several Speakers, such as these; *Moreover the Lord answered Job and said*, chap. xl. 1. *Elihu also proceeded and said*, chap. xxxvi. 1. *Elihu spake moreover and said*, chap. xxxv. 1. *Then Job answered and said*, chap. xxiii. 1. All these, and such other Sentences as these, which occur in many Places, to inform us who is the Speaker, or to connect different Speeches and Argumentations, are in Prose, and not in Verse. At what Time this sort of Verse began is very uncertain, but perhaps not altogether so early as the Days of *Moses*. *Heroic* Verse was wrote with great Exactness in the Times of *Homer*, and the Measure was then adjusted to a greater Strictness, than obtained when this Book of *Job* was composed: For *St. Jerom* very justly remarks, that the Verses in the Book of *Job* do not always consist of *Dactyls* and *Spondees*, but that other Feet frequently occur instead of them; and that we often meet in them a Word of four Syllables (*f*), instead of a *Dactyl* or *Spondee*,

C c 2

Spondee,

(f) Propter Linguæ Idiomata crebro recipiunt alios pedes, non tantum Syllabarum, sed eorundem Temporum. *Hieron. Præfat.*

Spondee, and that the Measure of the Verses frequently differs in the number of the Syllables of the several Feet; but allowing two short Syllables to be equal to one long one, the Sums of the Measure of the Verses are always the same. This Incorrectness of Measure evidently hints this Poem to be much more ancient than *Homer*; for before his Times this Liberty was laid aside. The mixture of the short Verses agrees very well to *Horace's* Observation,

Versibus impariter junctis Querimonia primum (g).

Melancholy Accidents, and unfortunate Calamities, were at first the peculiar Subjects treated of in this sort of Verse; but as we know not who was the Inventor of *Elegiac* Verse (*b*), so we cannot guess from hence at what time to fix the composing this *Elegiac* Poem.

It will perhaps be said, that we are so uncertain about the true Pronunciation of the *Hebrew* Tongue, and that the same *Hebrew* Word may be so differently written in our modern Letters, according to the Fancy of the

in Lib. Job. Ego inveni — esse in Job hexametros Versus ex Spondeo Dactylo & aliis Pedibus, ut Trochæo, Iambo, & Proceleusmatico currentes: non enim Syllabarum, sed Temporum in iis habetur Ratio, ut, scilicet, duæ breves pro unâ Syllabâ longâ ponantur; nam & Proceleusmaticum, hoc est, quatuor breves pro Dactylo, qui ex unâ longâ & duabus brevibus constat, poni omnes sciunt, quod eadem Ratione in Spondeo etiam fit apud Job. Marian. Victor. Not in Prefat. Hieron. in Lib. Job.

(g) Horat. Lib. de Arte Poeticâ.

(b) Quis tamen exiguos Elegos emisit Auctor Grammatici certant, & adhuc sub Judice Lis est. *Id, ibid.*

Writer,

Writer, that it is pretty easy to make an *Hebrew* Sentence fall into any Measure, and bear the Resemblance of any sort of Verse, which we have a mind to call it: But to this I answer, any one that makes the Experiment, will not find this to be true: Let any one try to reduce the Words of the Song of *Moses* (i) to this Measure of the Verse in *Job*, or let him try to reduce the Song of *Deborah* and *Barak* (k), and any Part of *Job*, to one and the same Measure, and he will presently see an irreconcilable Difference in the Structure of the Words and Syllables, sufficient to convince him, that any *Hebrew* Sentence cannot be made appear to be any Verse, according to the Fancy of the Reader. Upon the whole, in the Book of *Job*, the Words do so naturally fall into the Measures I have hinted, and the short Verse does so commonly end a Period in Sense; that, tho' I cannot deny, but that any other Person, who might take a Fancy to write over any number of the Verses in *Job* in our Letters, might probably spell the Words differently, nay, and perhaps sometimes measure the particular Feet of some Verses differently from me; yet still I am apt to think that no one could bring the whole, or a considerable part of the Book, to bear so remarkable an Appearance of this Measure, as it evidently may be made to exhibit, if it really was not a Poem of this Sort; especially when other Parts of the *Hebrew* Scriptures, which are not of this Composure,

(i) Exodus xv. (k) Judges v.

can by no way of Writing be reduced to seem to have such a Resemblance. But however, I can by no means pretend to any thing more than Conjecture upon so nice a Subject. St. *Ferom* has given an Hint ; I have endeavoured to examine how far it may be true. I acknowledge, that many Writers have been of Opinion, that the Book of *Job* is not composed in this sort of Measure, and I must intirely submit their Opinion, St. *Ferom*'s, and what I have ventured to offer, to the Judgment of the Reader.

Moses is by St. *Stephen* said to have been learned in all the Learning of the Egyptians (1). The sacred Writings bear abundant Testimony to the *Egyptian* Learning, both in these and in succeeding Ages. As St. *Stephen* thought it remarkable in *Moses*'s Times ; so we find it was as famous in the Days of *Solomon*, of whom it was said, that his *Wisdom* excelled the *Wisdom* of all the Children of the East-Country, and all the *Wisdom* of *Egypt* (m). Agreeably to which Sentiment of the *Eastern* and *Egyptian* Learning, all the ancient prophane Writers suppose these Countries to have been the Seats of Learning in the early Ages. It may not be improper to inquire what the *Egyptian* Learning in the Days of *Moses* might be. Sir *John Marsham* puts the Question thus, What was this Learning of the *Egyptians*, when the second *Mercury* had not deciphered the Remains of *Thyoth* (n) ? By this Query, this learned Gentleman

(1) Acts vii. 22.
 Can. Chron. p. 137.

(m) 1 Kings iv. 30.

(n) Martham

seems to have been of Opinion, that the *Egyptian* Learning was but in a low State in these Days; and it may be thought very reasonable to imagine, that when the *Pastor-Kings* broke in upon *Egypt*, and having enslaved the Country, forced the Priests to fly into other Nations, as has been said, such a Revolution might probably put a stop to the Progress of their Arts and Learning; but it is not likely, that it should altogether suppress and extirpate them. The Tillage of the Ground made the Study of *Astronomy* absolutely necessary, in order for their knowing from the Lights of Heaven, the Times and Seasons for the several Parts of *Agriculture*; and the Nature of their Country, overflowed yearly by the *Nile*, made it of continual use to them to study Land-measuring, and *Geometry* (o). And tho' several of the Priests might fly from the *Pastors*, upon their invading the Land, yet doubtless they must encourage a great many to stay amongst them for the Public Good, and to cultivate and carry on the *Egyptian* Studies, which foreign Nations had so high an Opinion of, and most probably were not entirely Strangers to. It is not indeed to be supposed, that the *Egyptians* had thus early carried the Study of *Astronomy* or *Geometry* to a great Height: They had observed, as well as they could, the Times of the Rising and Setting

(o) Γεωμετείαν ἢ καὶ Ἀειθρητικῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐκπονῆσιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ποταμὸς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ποικίλως μετασχηματίζων πρὸς τὴν χώραν, πολλὰς καὶ παντοίας ἀμφισβητήσεις ποιεῖ ὡς πρὸς ὄρον τοῖς γετνιῶσι — Diodor. Sic. l. i. p. 51.

of some particular Stars, and they had acquired such a Knowledge of *Geometry*, as gave them the Reputation of being very learned, in Comparison of other Nations who had not proceeded so far as the *Egyptians* in these Studies: But if we consider that the *Egyptians* did not as yet apprehend the Year to consist of more than 360 Days, and that *Thales* was the first who attempted to foretel an Eclipse (*p*), and that both *Thales* and *Pythagoras*, many Ages after these Times, were thought to have made vast Improvements in *Geometry*, beyond all that they had learn'd in *Egypt*; the one by his Invention of the forty seventh Proposition of the first Book of *Euclid*, the other by his finding out how to inscribe a rectangled Triangle within a Circle (*q*); we must think, that neither *Astronomy* nor *Geometry* were as yet carried to any great Perfection. The Distinction which *Plato* made between 'Αστρονόμος and 'Αστρονομία (*r*), may not be improper to be had in Mind, when we treat of these early Astronomers or Geometricians. They compiled Registers of the Appearances of the Stars and Lights of Heaven, took Accounts of the Weather and Seasons that followed their several Observations, recorded the best Times of sowing or reaping this or that Grain; and by the experimental Learning and Observation of many Years, became able *Prognosticators* of the Weather, of the Seasons, and good Directors

(*p*) Laert. in vit. Thalet. Cic. de divin. l. 1. Plin. l. 2. c. 12.
 (*q*) Laert. ubi sup. (*r*) Plat. in Epinomide.

for the Tillage of the Ground (s); and in *Geometry*, they found out Methods of marking out and describing the several Parts of their Country, and probably were exceeding careful in making Draughts of the Flow and Ebb of the River *Nile* every Year; for they formed many Theories and Speculations from their Observations made upon it (t). We may say of their Skill in these Sciences, what *Plutarch* said of *Numa's* Astronomy (u): It was not such as would have been extolled in Ages of greater Learning, but it was considerable for the Times which they lived in. One Part of the *Egyptian* Learning undoubtedly consisted in *Physiology*, or in the Study of the Traditions, which their Learned Men had amassed together, about the Creation of the World. Of these I should imagine the *Egyptians* had a very rich Store (w); and the commenting upon these, and forming Notions of the natural Powers of the several Parts of the Universe, according to their *Maxims*, and way of thinking, was undoubtedly one great Part of that Philosophy, in which their Men of Learning exercised themselves (x). Before *Moses's* Time, the *Egyptian* Astronomy had led them into Idolatry: *Syphis*, of whom I have formerly treated, had taught them to worship the Luminaries of Heaven; and from his Times, a great Part of the *Egyptian* Learning consisted

(s) Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 51.

(t) See Plut. de Isid. & Osirid.

(u) Ἡ δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἄστρον ἡραμάτων πραγματείαν, ἕτε ἀκρίβως ἕτε παντάπασιν ἀθεωρήτως. Plut. in Numâ p. 71.

(w) See

Diod. Sic. l. 1. Pref. to Vol. 1.

(x) Strabo l. 17.

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(u) "Ἡ δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἑρανοῦν πραγματείαν, ἕτε ἀκρίβως ἕτε παντάπασιν ἀθεωρήτως. Plut. in Numâ p. 71.

(w) See

Diod. Sic. l. 1. Pref. to Vol. 1.

(x) Strabo l. 17.

in finding out the Influence, which these Bodies had upon the World. They turned their Learning this way, and formed and fashioned their Religion according to it. *Herodotus* tells us, that the *Egyptians* first found out what Deity presided over each Day of the Week, and every Month of the Year (y). *Clemens Alexandrinus* says, that they introduced the Use of Astrology (z): *Dion Cassius*, that they supposed the seven Planets to govern the Seven Days of the Week (a); and *Cicero*, that by the Observation of the Motion of the Stars, thro' a Series of a prodigious Number of Years, they had got the Art of foretelling things to come, and knowing what Fate any Person was born to (b). *Philastrus Brixienfis* supposes this particular Science to be the Invention of the *Egyptians*, and intimates it to have been begun very early, by his supposing *Hermes* to be the Author of it (c); for the Invention of all Arts and Sciences, which were reputed truly ancient, were ascribed to *Hermes* (d). *Necepsos*, who, according to *Eusebius*, reigned in *Egypt* about the Time that *Tullus Hostilius* governed *Rome*, was a great Improver of the ancient *Egyptian* Magic (e); but it is evident, that the Study and Practice of it began before *Moses's* Time, both in *Egypt*, and in the neighbouring Nations. The Caution

(y) Herodot. l. 2. c. 82. (z) Stromat. l. 1. p. 306.
 (a) Dion Cassius Lib. 36. p. 37. (b) Cic. de Divinat. l. 1. c. 1.
 (c) Hæref. n. iii. See Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 448. (d) Jam-
 blichus de Myster, Ægypt. (e) Ausonius Ep. 19.

which

which *Moses* gave the *Israelites* (*f*) shews evidently, that the Idolatrous Nations then had their Professors of these Arts, known by various Denominations. They had *Diviners, Observers of Times, Enchanters, Witches, Charmers, Consulters with Familiar Spirits, Wizards, Necromancers* (*g*); and *Balaam* was skilful in Inchantments, and may probably be supposed to have built seven Altars according to the *Egyptian* System, which supposed the seven Planets to preside over the seven Days of the Week (*h*). Seven Bullocks and seven Rams might be a proper Offering in his Days to be made to the true God (*i*); but the dividing it upon seven Altars, implies an Offering to more Divinities than one, and seems to have been one of the Practices, by which he went to seek for Inchantments (*k*). We may come up higher, and find earlier mention of these Artificers. *Pharaoh* had his *Wise-men, Sorcerers* and *Magicians* of Egypt, who pretended to work Wonders with their Inchantments (*l*); and Divination was reputed an Art, and a Cup used in the Exercise of it in the Days of *Joseph* (*m*); and in his Time, the Kings of *Egypt* had their Magicians to interpret Dreams (*n*). All these were Arts, that in these Days were studied with great Application in the Idolatrous Nations; and without doubt a great Part of the Learning of the *Egyptians* con-

(*f*) Deut. xviii. 10, 11. (*g*) Ibid. (*h*) Numbers xxiii.
 (*i*) Job xliii. 8. (*k*) Numb. xxiv. 1. (*l*) Exod. vii. viii.
 (*m*) Gen. xli. 5. (*n*) xli. 8.

sifted in the Study of them: And I cannot see why we may not suppose, that *Moses*, as he had an *Egyptian* Education, was according to their course of Discipline instructed in them. *Philo* indeed observes of him, that in all his Studies, he kept his Mind free from every false Byass, and sincerely endeavoured to find out the Truth in all his Inquiries (o). A happy Disposition this, which the most Learned are often very great Strangers to: For it is not Abundance of Litterature which gives this Temper; but it rather arises from a virtuous and undefigning Heart.

Many Writers have imagined the *Magic* of the Heathen World, their Oracles, interpretations of Dreams, Prodigies, Omens and Divinations, to have been caused by a Communication of their Prophets, Priests, and Diviners with evil Spirits. They suppose, that as God was pleased to inspire his true Prophets; to give Signs, and work Wonders, for his Servants; to warn them by Dreams, or to reveal to them his Will: So the Devil, and his Angels, affected to imitate these particular Favours, vouchsafed to good and virtuous Men, and gave Oracles, Omens, Signs, Dreams and Visions, to delude their Superstitious Votaries. When the Heathens came to worship Heroe-

(o) Ἀφιλονείκως τὰς ἕιδας ὑπερβὰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπιζητεῖ, μηδὲν ψεῦδος τῆς Διανοίας αὐτῆς παραδέχεται διαμμένης, ὡς ἔθ' τοῖς αἰρεσιομάχοις. Philo Jud. Lib. 1. de Vita Moſis.

Gods, and to suppose the World to be governed by *Genii*, or Spirits of an higher Nature than Men, but inferior to the Deity; then indeed they ascribed Oracles, Omens, Signs, Dreams, and Visions to the Ministry of such Spirits, intrusted with the Government of this lower World. This Opinion is well expressed by one of *Plutarch's* Disputants (*p*), and it was esteemed to be true by *Plato* and his Followers (*q*); and many of the Fathers of the Christian Church ascribed the Divination of the Heathens to the Assistance of their *Dæmons*; but we have no Reason to think any Opinion of this sort to have obtained in the first Ages of Idolatry, or to have appeared so early as the Times of *Moses*. We meet with no Names of any Heathen Diviners, mentioned in the sacred Writings in these early Days, which imply any Converse with such Spirits. There are indeed two which may seem to imply it; but if we rightly translate the original Words for them, we shall see that they have no such Meaning: We mention *Consulters with Familiar Spirits*, and *Necromancers*, amongst the Heathen Diviners, against whom *Moses* cautioned the *Israelites* (*r*). Our *English* Expression, *Consulter with Familiar Spirits*, seems to signify one that divined by the help of such Spirit; but the

(p) Τὸ μὲν ἐρεσᾶναι τοῖς χρησθεῖοις μὴ θεῶς, οἷς ἀπιλάχθαι ἢ περὶ γλῶ πρροσῆκόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ δαίμονας ὑπέρτασ θεῶν, ἃ δοκεῖ μοι κακῶς ἀξιῶθαι. *Plut. de Orac. Defectu. p. 418.*

(q) *Plato* in *Sympos.* in *Epinomide*; in *Timæo*; in *Phædro*; in *Ione*, &c.

(r) *Deut. xviii. 10, 11.*

Hebrew Words [שאל אוב] Shoel Aobv are two Persons, Shoel is the Consulter, Aobv is the Diviner. Our English Translators have generally missed the true Sense of this Expression. We translate, *A Man or a Woman that hath a familiar Spirit, or that is a Wizard, shall surely be put to Death (s)*; by this Translation *a Man or Woman that had a familiar Spirit*, seems to be one sort of Diviner, as a *Wizard* is another; but the true Translation of the Hebrew Words is as follows. *A Man or a Woman, if there shall have been with them [i. e. if they shall have consulted] an Aobv or an Iiddnoni [i. e. a Python or a Wizard] shall be put to Death*: here the *Aobv* is the Diviner, and does not signify *a familiar Spirit in a Person*, possessing him, as our English Translation seems to intimate: And that the Word *Aobv* is to be taken in this Sense, is abundantly evident from another Passage in this Book of *Leviticus*; the Words are, (t) *Al tiphnu el ha Aobvoth, veel ha Iiddnonim: al tebakkesu letameah bahem. i. e. Ye shall not have regard to the Pythons, or to the Wizards: Ye shall not make Enquiries to the polluting of your selves by them.* Here it is very plain, that *Aobv* does not signify *a Spirit in a Person*, but is one sort of Diviner, of whom the *Israelites* were not to enquire; as *Iiddnoni*, the Word translated *Wi-*

(s) Leviticus xx. 27.

אל תפנו אל האבות ואל הודענים אל תבקשו (s)
 Levit. xix. 31. לטמאה בהם

ward, is another (*u*); and whoever compares our *English* Version of this Verse with the *Hebrew* Words, must see that our Translators wandred from the strict Sense of the original Text, to express their Notion of *familiar Spirits*. I have translated the *Hebrew* Word *Aobu*, *Python*; if it was a Woman diviner, it should be *Pythonissa*; the *Greek* Word is ἐγασειμυθ (w), and that the Diviners of this sort were anciently thought to answer those that consulted them, without the Assistance of any *Dæmon*, or familiar Spirit, is evident from *Plutarch* (x). Our *English* Translators render *Dorejb el ha methim* (y) *Necromancers*, the *Vulgar Latin* translates it *Quærens a mortuis*, the *LXX* ἐπερωτῶν τὰς νεκρῆς. I must acknowledge, that all the Translations, and the *Targum* of *Onkelos*, take the Words in the same Sense, and interpret them to signify Consulters of departed Spirits; and by the *Marginal* Reference in our *English* Bibles, we are directed at this Word to 1 *Sam.* xxviii. 7. as if the Woman at *Endor*, to whom *Saul* went to raise *Samuel*, were a *Dorejb el hamethim*, tho' she is there said to be a *Pythonissa*; and

(u) The *Vulgar Latin*, the *LXX*, the *Targum* of *Onkelos*, the *Samaritan*, *Syriac*, and *Arabic* Versions, render the Passage as I have, and the *Hebrew* Words cannot fairly bear a different Translation.

(w) Verſ. LXX.

(x) Εὐνήδες γὰρ ὄντι καὶ πα-

δικὸν κομιδῆ τὸ ὄνειδος τὸν Θεὸν αὐτὸν, ὡς περ τὰς ἐγασειμύθας, ἀρυκλείτας πάλαι νυνὶ πύθωνας περσαγορεύομεν, ἐνδύομενοι εἰς τὰ σώματα περσιτῶν ἀποθνήσκοντων, &c. *Plut.* de Defectu Orac. p. 414. Vid. *Cic.* de Divin. l. 1. c. 19.

(y) *Deut.* xviii. 11.

the *Python*, or *Pythonissa*, is here in *Deuteronomy* mentioned as a Diviner of a different sort from the *Doresb el hamethim*; or, as we render it, *Necromancer*. The several Translations, which we have of the *Hebrew* Scriptures, as well as the *Targum* of *Onkelos*, were all made much later than the time of deifying the Souls of *Heroes*; and very probably, the prevailing Opinion amongst the Heathens, at the Time of making these Translations being, that such departed Spirits were in this manner propitious unto Men, this might occasion the Translators to think, that the Words might be rendered as they have translated them; but it should have been considered, that the Notion of Heroe-Gods arose later than the Times of *Moses*, and the Words *Doresb el hamethim* may rather signify *one that enquires of the dead Idols*, which the Heathens had set up in the Nations round about the *Israelites*, in Opposition to those, who sought only to the living God. As in After-Ages, the Heathens believed the World to be governed by *Genii*, Heroe-Spirits, or *Dæmons*, by the Appointment of the Deity; so in these earlier, and first Ages of Idolatry, they worshipped only the Lights of Heaven, and the Elements; allowing indeed a supreme Deity, but thinking these all to have Intelligence, and to be appointed by him to govern the World (a). And as when

(a) Mundum ——— habere Mentem, quæ se & ipsum fabricatum sit, & omnia moderetur, moveat, regat: erit persuasum etiam Solem, Lunam, Stellas omnes, Terram, Mare, Deos esse, quæ

the Opinion of *Dæmons*, and Heroe-Spirits prevailed, all Prophecy, Dreams, Prodigies, and Divinations of all sorts were referred to them; so in these earlier Times, before Men had proceeded to set up Heroe-Deities, and to worship *Dæmons*; when the Lights of Heaven, and Elements, were the Objects of their Worship, it was thought reasonable to imagine, that the Sun, Moon, and Stars, by their natural Influence upon the Air, Earth and Water, did frequently cause Vapours and Influences, which might affect the Minds of Persons, who by due Art and Preparation were fit for Divination, so as to enable them to foretel Things to come, to deliver Oracles (*b*); nay, and they thought a proper Discipline might make them capable of working Wonders, or procuring Prodigies (*c*); and all these things they conceived might be done, without the Deity being at all concerned in them (*d*). They did not indeed deny, that God sometimes interposed; they acknowledged him to be the great Author of all Miracles, Signs, Wonders, Dreams, Prophecies and Visions, whenever he thought fit; but they believed also, that they might and would be effected without his Interposi-

quædam animalis Intelligentiâ per omnia ea permeet & transeat.
Cic. Acad. qu. l. 4. c. 37. Consentaneum est in iis Sensum inesse &
 intelligentiam, ex quo efficitur in Deorum numero Astra esse du-
 cenda. *Id. de nat. Deorum. l. 2. c. 15.* (*b*) Plutarch. lib.
 de Defectu Oraculorum. (*c*) Cumque magna vis videretur
 Monstris procurandis in Haruspicum Disciplinâ. *Cic. de Divinat.*
l. c. 2. (*d*) Naturâ significari futura sine Deo possunt.
ibid. c. 6.

tion (e); either from *Fate*, meaning hereby the natural Course of Things, which God had appointed to proceed in the Universe (f); that is, they thought that God had so framed the several Parts of the *mundane* System, that from the Revolution of the heavenly Bodies, and the Temperament and Situation of the Earth, Air and Water; or in general, from the Disposition of the several Parts of the Universe to, and Influence upon one another, Prodigies, Omens, Signs, Dreams, Visions and Oracles, would constantly at the proper Places and Seasons be given, as necessarily as the heavenly Bodies performed their Revolutions; and that Men might by long Observation and Experience, form Rules for the rightly interpreting and understanding of what the Deity had thus appointed to be discovered to them (g); or they said, that

(e) Primùm, ut mihi videtur, a Deo, deinde a Fato, deinde Naturâ vis omnis divinandi, ratioque repetenda est. Id. ibid. c. 55.
 (f) Fatum est non id quod superstitiosè, sed quod Physicè dicitur causa æterna Rerum. Id. ibid. Deum — interdum necessitatem appellant, quia nihil aliter possit, atque ab eo constitutum est. Id. Acad. Quæst. l. 4. c. 44. Τί κωλύσει τῆς τῆ Διὸς ΕΙΜΑΡΜΕΝΗΣ ἢ προνοίας ὑποκρίεσθαι πάντας εἶναι. Plutarch. l. 4. Defect. Orac. p. 426.
 (g) Principio Assyrii Trajectione motusque Stellarum observaverunt, quibus notatis, quid cuique significaretur memoriæ prodiderunt — Chalcæi — diuturnâ observatione siderum scientiam putantur effecisse, ut prædici possent quid cuique eventurum, & quo quisque fato natus esset. Eandem Artem etiam Ægyptiî longinquitate Temporum innumerabiliter pænè seculis consecuti putantur. Cic. de Divin. l. 1. c. 1. Atque hæc, ut ergo arbitror, rerum magis eventis moniti quàm ratione docti probaverunt. Ibid. c. 3. Observata sunt hæc tempore immenso, & in significatione eventûs animadversa & notata; nihil enim autem, quod non longinquitas Temporum excipiente memoriâ prodendisque Monumentis efficere atque assequi possit. Ibid. c. 1. Affert autem Vetustas omnibus in Rebus longinquâ observatione incredibiliter

these things might be effected in a natural Way, *i. e.* by the Use of natural Means proper to produce them. We are told by one of *Plutarch's* Disputants, that the Earth emits Vapours and powerful *Effluvia* of several sorts, and some of such a Nature as to cause Men to divine, if they be in a proper Temper of Mind to be affected by them (*b*); and the *Pythia* at *Delphos* is supposed, in *Cicero* (*i*), to have been inspired from such an Influence of the Earth affecting her. In *Plutarch* it is remarked, that sometimes the natural Temper of the Air did cause in the Prophet, the proper Disposition to receive the *Vaticinal* Influence; at other Times, that the *Vates* did dispose themselves for it, by Drinks and Inebriations (*k*). When the *Vaticinal* Influence operated upon the Mind, by the Conveyance of the Air, without any artificial Assistance, then they said the Vaticination proceeded from Fate, because it proceeded from the natural Course of Things, or Order of Nature, which God had appointed to go on in the Universe; but if a Drink, or any other artificial Means, were used, then they said the Vaticination came *a Naturâ*, or from the Use of Means, which were thought to have a natural Power to produce it. These were the Notions, which Learning and *Science* *falsely so called* introduced into the Heathen

incredibilem Scientiam: quæ potest esse etiam sine motu atque impulsu Deorum, cum quid ex quoque eveniat, & quid quamque Rem significet crebrâ Animadversione perspectum sit. *Ibid.* c. 49.

(*b*) *Plutarch.* de def. Oracul. p. 432. (*i*) *De Divinar.* l. 1. c. 19.

(*k*) *Plutarch.* ubi sup.

World. Their Kings and learned Men did indeed know God, but they did not retain him so strictly in their Knowledge as they ought to have done, but set up other Deities besides, and instead of him. They thought that the Sun, Moon, Stars and Elements, were appointed to govern the World (*l*); and tho' they acknowledged that God might (*m*), upon extraordinary Occasions, work Miracles, reveal his Will by audible Voices, divine Appearances, Dreams or Prophecies; yet they thought also, that, generally speaking, Oracles were given, Prodigies caused, Dreams of Things to come occasioned, in a natural Way, by the Influence or Observation of the Courses of the heavenly Bodies, and by the Operations of the Powers of Nature. And they conceived that their learned Professors, by a deep Study of, and profound Inquiry into natural Knowledge, could make themselves able to work Wonders, obtain Oracles and Omens, and interpret Dreams; and in all these Particulars they thought the Deity not concerned, but that they were mere natural Effects of the Influence of the Elements and Planets, seeming strange and unaccountable to the Vulgar and Unlearned, but fully understood by Persons of Science and Philosophy.

That this was *Pharaoh's* Sense of Things, when *Moses* wrought his Wonders in *Egypt* is remarkably evident from the Use he made

(*l*) Cic. Acad. Quæst. l. 4. c. 34.
l. 1. c. 55.

(*m*) Id. de Divina

of his Magicians upon the Occasion: When *Moses* and *Aaron* came to him to require him in the Name of their God to let the *Israelites* go, he asked them to shew a Miracle, that he might know that they were really sent upon a divine Mission (n): Here he acknowledged, according to what I remarked from *Tully*, that God by an extraordinary Interposition could work Miracles (o); but when *Aaron's* Rod was turned into a Serpent, he sent for his *Sorcerers* and *Magicians*, to see if they could with their Inchantments cause such a Transmutation, and upon finding that they could, he thought it no real Miracle (p), and refus'd to let the People go: In the same manner the *Magicians* brought up Frogs, and from hence *Pharaoh* concluded that the Plague of Frogs did not arise from any extraordinary divine Interposition. The same Observation may be made upon the River's being turned into Blood; but when the *Magicians* tried and could not produce Lice, then they concluded that *This was the Finger of God* (q). Thus the Trial of the *Magicians* Skill was to bring *Moses's* Wonders to the Test, in order to discover whether they were effected by human Art, or by the divine Assistance, and shews evidently, that the prevailing Opinion amongst

(n) Exodus vii. 9, 10. (o) Primùm a Deo vis omnis & divinandi repetenda est Ratio, Cic. ubi sup. (p) See Philo Jud de vitâ Moïsis, l. 1. We may apply here what is said of Pharaoh upon the Rivers being turned into Blood, when he saw the *Magicians* do so with their Inchantments, he did not set his Heart to this Miracle, i. e. he did not regard it. Exodus vii. 23. (q) Chap. viii. 19.

the Learned at this Time was, that Wonders, Prodigies, Divinations, &c. might be procured, as I have remarked, *sine Deo* (r), without the Deity's being concerned in causing them, and that, either *a Fato*, or *a Naturâ* (s); by the Use of natural Means or *Inchantments* to cause them, which Artifices *Pharaoh's* (t) Magicians used to this Purpose; or from the Planetary or Elementary Powers at set Times and critical Junctures of their Influence: And I might, I think, add, that when *Pharaoh* was convinced that *Moses's* Miracles were not wrought by any Magical Arts or Incantations, he still hesitated, whether they might not happen from some Influence of the Planets or Elements, which *Moses*, as a Master of their Learning, might well know the Times of, and thereby be able to denounce what would come in its Place and Season; and in order to take away all Possibility of such Suspicion, *Moses* several Times gave *Pharaoh* Liberty to choose what Time he would have the Plagues removed when he desired it (u), that he might know that God alone was the Author of them, and that they were brought, and by his Power might be removed in any Hour, and at any Season, without regard to the Stars or Elements, their Temper, Influence or Situation. These I think, were the Arts in which the learned Men

(r) Cic. ubi sup. (s) Cic. ubi sup. (t) I should imagine that the Divination by drinking out of a Cup, hinted at Gen. xlv. 5. was of the same Sort with the supposed natural Way of divining by drinking, which is suggested in Plutarch, Lib. de Defect. Orac. ubi sup.
(u) Exodus viii. 9, 10. ix. 5, 18.

of *Egypt* chiefly exercised themselves; and undoubtedly *Moses* had a full Instruction in all Parts of their Learning, tho' as *Philo* remarks of him, he preserved himself from being imposed upon by their Errors and Idolatry; He made himself a compleat Master of every Thing excellent in their Discipline, and rejected what would have corrupted his Religion, under a false Shew of improving his Understanding.

There are other Sciences generally esteemed to have been Parts of the *Egyptian* Learning: One of their most early Kings is suppos'd to have been very famous for his Skill in *Physick*, and to have left considerable Memoirs of his Art for the Instruction of future Ages, and his Remains upon this Subject were carefully preserved along with their most valuable Monuments, and were with the greatest Diligence studied by Posterity (w): We read of the *Egyptian* Physicians in the Days of *Joseph* (x), and *Diodorus* represents them as an Order of Men not only very antient in *Egypt*, but as having a full Employment, in continually giving *Physick* to the People, not to cure, but to prevent their falling into Distempers (y): *Herodotus* says much the same Thing, and represents the antient *Egyptians* as living under a

(w) See Vol. I. B. 4. Syncell. p. 54. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 6. p. 634.

(x) Gen. l. 2.

(y) Τὰς νόσους προκαταλαμβάνοντες θεραπεύουσι τὰ σώματα κλυμοῖς, καὶ τισὶν μοῖς τισὶ καθαρῆσι καὶ νηστείας καὶ ἐμέτοις, ἐνίοτε μὲν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, ἐνίοτε δὲ τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρας ἡμέρας διαλείποντες. Diodor. l. 1. p. 52.

continual Course of Physick, undergoing so rough a *Regimen* for three Days together every Month (*z*), that I cannot but suspect some Mistake both in his and *Diodorus's* Account of them, in this Particular: *Herodotus* allows them to have lived in a favourable Climate, and to have been a healthy People (*a*), which seems hardly consistent with so much medicinal Discipline as he imagined them to go thro' almost without Interruption. The first mention we have of Physicians in the sacred Pages, shews indeed that there was such a Profession in *Egypt* in *Joseph's* Time, and *Jacob* was their Patient (*b*); but their Employment was to embalm him after he was dead; we do not read, that any Care was taken to give him Physick whilst alive; which inclines me to suspect, that the *Egyptians* had no Practice for the Cure of the Diseases of a Sick-Bed, in these Days. We read of no sick Persons in the early Ages: The Diseases of *Egypt*, which the *Israelites* had been afraid of (*c*), (if by these *Moses* meant any other Diseases, than the Boils inflicted upon *Pharaoh* and his (*d*) People) were such as they had no Cure for (*e*), and any other Sickneses were then so little known, that they had no Names (*f*) for them. Men lived temperately in the early Times, their Constitutions were strong and good, and

(z) Συρμαίζουσι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐφεξῆς μὴνός ἐκάστου, ἐπι-
 τωσι διαφόρῳσι τὴν ὑγιάνω. Herodot. l. 2. c. 77. (a) l.
 ibid. (b) Gen. l. 2. (c) Deut. xxviii. 60. (d) Exod. ix.
 (e) Deut. xxviii. 27. (f) ver. 61.

they were rarely sick until Nature was worn out; and Age and Mortality could have no Cure: An early Death was so unusual, that it was generally remarked to be a Punishment for some extraordinary Wickedness (g), and Diseases were thought not to come in the ordinary Course of Nature, but to be inflicted by the Deity for the Correction of some particular Crimes. It is remarkable, that the antient Books of the *Egyptian* Physick were esteemed a Part of their sacred Records, and were always carried about in (h) their Processions by the *Pastophori*, who were an Order of their Priests (i); and the *Egyptians* studied Physick not as an Art by itself, but their *Astronomy*, *Physick* and *Mysteries*, were put all together, as making up but one Science, being separately only Parts of their *Theology* (k); for which Reasons I should imagine, that their ancient Prescriptions, which *Diodorus* and *Herodotus* suppose them so punctual in observing, were not medicinal, but religious Purifications. The Distinction of clean and unclean Beasts was before the Flood (l), and when Men had leave to eat Flesh, they most probably observed that Distinction in their Diet, eating the Flesh of no other living Creatures, than what they offered in Sacrifice, which were the clean

(g) Gen. xxxviii. 8, 10. (h) Clem. Alexandrin. Stromat. l. 6. c. 4. (i) Charemon. apud Porphyg. l. 4. de Abstinen. c. 8. (k) 'Οι Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκ ἰδία μὲν τὰ ἰατρικὰ, ἰδία ὃ τὰ Ἀστρολογικὰ, καὶ τὰ τελεστικὰ, ἀλλὰ ἅμα πάντα συνέταξαν. Scholiast. in Ptol. Tetrabib. vid. Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 41. (l) Vol. I. B. 2.

Beasts and clean Fowls only (*m*); and when the Heathen Nations turned aside to Idolatry, as they altered and corrupted the antient Rites of Sacrificing and Sacrifices, and invented many new ones: so they innovated in their Diet with it: Many new Rites and Sacrifices being introduced into their Religions, new Abstinencies, and Purifications, new Meats and Drinks came along with them, and it was the Physician's Business (he being the religious Minister presiding in these Points) to prescribe upon every Occasion, according to the Rules contained in their sacred Books (*n*). The *Egyptians* were very exact in these Points: *Herodotus* informs us, that they eat no Fish (*o*); but, if we take either the Reasons hinted from *Julian* by Sir *John Marsham* (*p*), or the general one assigned by *Plutarch* (*q*), their refusing this Diet, was not upon Account of Health, but of Religion. In like manner they eat no Beans, for they thought them a Pollution (*r*): And their Rites in Diet were so different from the *Hebrew* Customs, that *the Egyptians might not eat Bread with the Hebrews*, in the Days of *Joseph*, for *that was an Abomination to them* (*s*). It would be endless to recount the many Figments which these Men brought into Religion: The *Astronomers* formed Abun-

(*m*) B. 5. (*n*) Κατὰ νόμον ἔσχερον Diodor. Sic. l. 1.
 (*o*) Lib. 2. c. 37. (*p*) Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 212. (*q*) Plu-
 tarch. Sympos. l. 7. p. 730. his Words are, Ἀγνείας μίση
 δὲ καὶ ἰχθύων. (*r*) Herodot. Lib. 2. c. 37. (*s*) Gen
 xliii. 32.

dance, as I have hinted already, from the Advances made in their Science; and it is easy to conceive, that in studying the Nature of the living Creatures, Fruits and Plants in the World, they might invent as great a Variety of Abstinencies and Religious Diets and Purifications from this Branch of Knowledge, as they did Deities from the other, and fill their sacred *Pharmaceutic* Books, not with *Recipes* for Sickneses and Distempers, but with Meats and Drinks, Unguents, Lotions, and Purgations, proper to be used in the several Services of every Deity, and upon all the Occasions of Religion; and their Monthly Prescriptions might vary as the Stars took their Courses, and as different Deities in their Turns called for the Observance of different Rituals to obtain their Favours. *Pythagoras* was duly prepared with this sort of Physick, before he could be instructed in the *Egyptian* Mysteries; and tho' without doubt he, or the Writers of his Life, refined a little upon the *Egyptian* Doctrines, yet he introduced some Share of this *Pharmacy* into his own School, and dispos'd the Minds of his Scholars for his Instructions by many Mysteries in eating, drinking, and fasting (*t*); and he had particular Preparations of Diet upon extraordinary Acts of Worship (*u*), and had his *Recipes* to cause Divination by both Dreams and Vaticination (*w*); so that we may guess from him in part, what the *Egyptian* Prescriptions in these Points

(*t*) Jamblichus de vitâ Pythag. c. 24. Porphyr. de eâd. 42, 43, 44, 45. (*u*) Id. de eâd. c. 34. (*w*) Jamblich. ubi sup.

were. And as the *Egyptian* Physicians prescribed the true ritual Way of Living, so another Branch of their Profession was to embalm the Bodies of the Dead: All Nations had their Rites for Funerals, and the Persons that directed in these were commonly either some of the Priests, or at least Persons well skilled in Matters of Religion (*x*): The *Egyptian* Rites in this Matter were very numerous and required many Hands to perform them (*y*). *Moses* informs us, that the Physicians embalmed *Jacob* (*z*): Many of them were employed in the Office, and many Days Time was necessary for the Performance (*b*), and different Persons performed different Parts of it, some being concerned in the Care of one Part of the Body, and some of another (*c*); and I imagine this man-

(*x*) Diodorus l. 2. p. 38. (*y*) Id. l. 1. p. 57. (*z*) *Moses* Words are, that *Joseph* commanded his Servants the Physicians. It may be very needless to remark, that these Words cannot imply that the Servants of great Men were their Physicians in these Days, for Physicians were always highly honoured in all civilized States, whether considered as an Order of the Ministers of Religion, as I think they were in these Days, or when they were afterwards consulted in the Cure of those who wanted their Assistance. The Word Servant in Scripture is often used as we use it in English, not always in the literal Sense: Thus *Naaman* called himself the Servant of *El*. *2 Kings* v. and many other Instances might be produced. Perhaps *Joseph*, in the high Dignity which he was advanced to, might, like a lesser Number, have Officers of State, Elders of his House, and the King of *Egypt* himself had, and Persons of the first Rank might not refuse to be his Servants in honourable Posts of this Sort, and he might appoint the embalming his Father to those of his own House only, designing it purely to preserve his Body, in order to carry it into *Canaan*, and not as a religious Ceremony; for which Reason he might desire not to have it publicly embalmed by the whole Body of the *Egyptian* Physicians, with all the Rites of their Religion to be used in publick Performances of this Nature. (*b*) *Gen.* l. 3. (*c*) *Diodorus*. l. 1. p. 58.

ner of Practice occasioned *Herodotus* to hint, that the *Egyptians* had a different Physician for every Distemper (*d*), or rather, as his subsequent Words express, for each different Part of the Body (*e*); for so indeed they had, not to cure the Diseases of it, but to embalm it when dead. These I imagine were the Offices of the *Egyptian* Physicians in the early Days. They were an Order of the Ministers of Religion: The Art of curing Distempers or Diseases was not yet attempted. When Physicians first began to practise the Arts of Healing, cannot certainly be determined; but this, I think, we may be sure of, that they practised only Surgery until after *David's* Time, if we consult the Scripture; and until after *Homer's* Time, if we consult the prophane Writers. In Scripture we have mention of many Persons, that went to proper Places to be cured of their Wounds, in the Books of the *Kings* and *Chronicles*; and in like Manner we read in *Homer* of *Machaon* and other Physicians; but their whole Art consisted in ἰέναι τ' ἐκλάμνειν ἕξι τ' ἠπια φάρμακα πάσσειν (*f*), *extracting Arrows, healing Wounds, and preparing Anodynes*; and therefore *Pliny* says expressly, that the Art of Physick in the *Trojan* Times was only Surgery (*g*): In Cases of Sicknefs, not the Physicians,

(*d*) Herodot. l. 2. c. 84. (*e*) Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν ἰατροὶ κατεπέεσσι, οἱ δὲ κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ ὀδόντων, &c. Id. ibid.

(*f*) Iliad. 11. 515. (*g*) Medicina — Trojanis Temporibus clara — vulnerum tamen duntaxat Remediis. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 29. c. 1.

but

but the Priests, the Prophets, or the *Augurs*, were thought the proper Persons to be consulted in these Days (*b*); for, as *Diodorus* remarks, it was the antient Custom for sick Persons to obtain Health from the Professors of Vaticination (*i*) by their Art, and not by Physick. And this we find was the antient Practice mentioned in the Scriptures: *Jeroboam* sent his Wife to the Prophet, when his Son *Abijah* was sick (*k*). *Abaziah*, when sick, sent to *Baal-zebub* the God of *Ekron* (*l*). The King of *Syria* sent to *Elisha* (*ii*). *Asa* indeed about *A. M.* 3087 (*kk*) sought, when sick, to the Physicians, but it was certainly even then a very novel Practice, and stands condemned as an Impiety (*ll*). In the Days of *Pythagoras*, the Learned began to form Rules of Diet for the Preservation of Health (*m*), and to prescribe in this Point to sick Persons, in order to assist towards their Recovery; and in this, *Strabo* tells us, consisted the Practice of the antient *Indian* Physicians; they endeavoured to cure Distempers by a Diet-Regimen, but they gave no Physick (*n*). *Hippocrates*, who, according to *Dean Prideaux*, lived about the Time of the *Peloponnesian* War (*o*), *i. e.* about *A. M.* 3570 (*p*), raised the Art of Physick to a greater

(*b*) Homer. *Iliad.* i. 62. (i) Ἰατρικὴν ἐπιστήμην, διὰ τὴν μαντικῆς τέχνης γινόμενῃ, δι' ἧς τὸ παλαιὸν σώζεσθαι θεραπείας τυγχάνειν τῶν ἀρρώστων. *Diodorus.* l. 5. p. 235.
 (*k*) 1 Kings xiv. (l) 2 Kings i. 2. (ii) 2 Kings viii. 8.
 (*kk*) *Usher's Annals* (ll) 2 Chron. xvi. 12. (*m*) *Jamblicus de vitâ Pythag.* c. 34. (*n*) *Strabo. Geog.* l. 15. p. 713.
 (*o*) *Prideaux Connect.* Vol. I. p. 569. (*p*) *Usher's Annals.*

Height than his Predecessors could venture to attempt. He first began the Practice of visiting sick-bed Patients, and prescribing Medicines with Success for their Distempers (q). This, I think, was the Progress of Physick down to Times much later than where I am to end my Undertaking; and it must evidently appear from it, that the *Egyptians* could have no such Physicians in the Days of *Moses*, as *Diodorus* and *Herodotus* seem to suppose: It is much more probable, that Ages after these Times, they were like the *Babylonians*, intirely destitute of Persons skilful in curing any Diseases that might happen amongst them (r), and that the best Method they could think of, after consulting their Oracles, was, when any one was sick, they took Care to have as many Persons see and speak to him as possibly could, that if any one who saw the sick Person, had had the like Distemper, he might say what was proper to be done for one in that Condition: And *Strabo* expressly tells us, that this was the antient Practice of the *Egyptians* (s).

Musick is by some thought to be another of the *Egyptian* Sciences, and their famous *Mercury* is said to have invented it. *Diodorus* hints, that he made the Lyre of three Strings in Allusion to the three Seasons of the Year (t), tho' I should think that the Year was hardly as yet so well calculated as to be divided into Seasons (u): However, it is probable that the

(q) Plinii Nat. Hist. l. 29. c. 1. (r) Herodot. l. 1. c. 197.

(s) Strabo Geog. l. 3. p. 155. (t) Diodor. Sic. l. 1. (u) See B. vi
Egyptians

Egyptians had, ere these Days, some rude Way of singing Hymns to their Gods; tho' Musick was not as yet brought to any remarkable Perfection. Men have naturally a Difference in the Tone and Pitch of their Voices, and this might lead them to think of an Instrument of more Strings than one: Perhaps all the Musick as yet aimed at in singing Hymns to the Gods was no more than this, that some of the People recited the Words in an high Tone, others in a low, and others in a Tone or Note between both, according to the different Pitch of the several Voices of the Singers, it being possible to reduce the Voices of all to one or other of these three, and the three-chorded Lyre might be formed

————— *adesse Choris.*

Hor.

to strengthen the several Sounds of the Reciters Voices, without their attempting to make more than one Note from each String. A Trumpet made of a Ram's-Horn could be but a mean Instrument, and this was a musical Instrument in the Days of *Joshua* (*w*), it could be designed to sound but some one Note, and three such Trumpets of different Lengths might serve as the ancient *Tibia* described in *Horace* did, and perform by Blasts what *Mercury's* three-chorded Lyre was designed to do by Strings, namely, to direct the several Pitches of the Reciters Voices, and to join

(w) *Joshua* vi.

and add to the Sound of them ; and I imagine *Musick* was not carried higher than this in these Days.

Philo suggests *Moses* to have learned in *Egypt* the Art of Writing, both in Prose, and in all sorts of Measure or Verse (x) : The best and most judicious Heathen-Writers did indeed judge him to be very skilful in Style and Language : *Longinus* gives him an extraordinary Character, and thought him a great Master of the *Sublime* from his Account of the Creation (y) ; an Observation so just, that one cannot but remark with some Surprize, how much Prejudice may vitiate the Taste and Judgment of a Writer of considerable Abilities, of which *Lucian* is an Instance, who seems to ridicule this very Passage (z) so judiciously admired by *Longinus*. No understanding Reader of *Moses's* Writings can be insensible that he was in truth, what *St. Stephen* styles him, *mighty in Words* (a), even in *Longinus's* Sense ; for numerous Instances may be given of it ; but perhaps no one more sensibly affecting than his Account of *Joseph's* revealing himself to his Brethren, where the Narration, as he has given us it, strikes the Reader with the warmest *Pathos*, which Words

(x) *Phil. Jud. de vitâ Mosis. l. 1.* (y) Ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλίων
 θεομοθέτης ἔχ' ὁ τυχῶν Ἀνὴρ. *Longin. de Sublim. c. 9.*

(z) Λίει τὸ σκότθ, καὶ τῆ ἀκοσμίαν ἀπίλασε λόγῳ μόνῳ
 καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆ, ὡς ὁ βραδύγλωσσθ ἀπεγροφάλοι *Lucian.*
Philopat. p. 1122. (a) *Acts vii. 22.*

can give. There was certainly great Force and Life in the Pen of this Writer ; but I am not apt to think that he acquired these Abilities merely from his *Egyptian* Education any more, than that made him *mighty in Deeds* also, which *St. Stephen* joins to his Power in Words, and in which he was undoubtedly assisted in an extraordinary Manner by the Deity.

As to *Moses* writing sometimes in Verse, *Josephus* says, that his Song after the Deliverance from the *Egyptians* was composed of ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ (b) i. e. say some Interpreters in what we now call *Heroic*, or *Hexameter* Verse, but I should think this was not *Josephus's* meaning; he might perhaps call any Verse *Hexameter*, which consisted of six Feet or twelve Syllables, and give it that Name,

— cum senos redderet iētus. Hor. (c).

If we may take *Josephus* in this Sense, there is little or no Difference between his Opinion and *Scaliger's* (d) about the Verse or Measure of this Hymn. As to the Lines of it being *Heroic* Verse, I think any one upon making Trial of the Words may be sure that they are not. Whether they may not be as *Scaliger* conjectured a Sort of *Iambics*, the Song beginning in Words of this Measure,

(b) Exod. xv. (c) Lib. de Arte Poeticâ. (d) V. Scaligeri Animadversion. in Euseb. Chron. p. 7.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
Ashirah la Jehovah ci gaoh gaah

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Sus verokbo ramah bajam.

Whether the first Verse may not consist of twelve Syllables or six Feet, and be a sort of the *Trimeter* or *Senarian Iambick* Verse; and whether the second Line may not consist of eight Syllables or four Feet and be a Sort of *Dimeter Iambick*, and whether the rest of the Hymn can be conceived to be of this sort of Composition, I must intirely submit to the learned. Verse in *Moses's* Time very probably consisted only in a just Number of Syllables, without any strict Regard to what was afterwards observed, the Quantity of them: A greater Regard was perhaps had to Quantity when the Book of *Job* was composed; but Verse was not then adjusted to that Strictness, which it had in the Times of *Homer*.

From what has been said of the Learning of the *Egyptians*, and of *Moses's* Education and military Skill, he must appear to have been the most proper Person to lead the *Isra-ites* out of *Egypt*, of any that belonged to them; and as he had formerly had an Inclination to attempt it, and had set some Steps towards it; so upon computing the Time they were to be there, and finding it near expired (f), he might consider the wonderful Provi-

(f) Gen. xv. 13, 14, 15, 16.

dence of God in his Preservation, and in so preserving him as to have him so educated, as that at this Time his People had one of their Number well qualified in every Respect to be their Leader: However, in all the Thoughts he might have had of this sort, he found himself disappointed; the People refused to have him to be a Judge and Ruler over them (g); and he saw, that no Scheme could be contrived by human Wisdom, that might promise him Success in endeavouring to deliver them, and therefore he left *Egypt*, and went and married in another Country, and very probably had given over all Thoughts of ever seeing or coming any more to the *Israelites*: But the private Affairs of all considerate Men, do, I believe, afford them many Instances of some Turn of Life brought about by the Direction of Providence in unexpected Events, when they could not be compassed by all the contrived Schemes they could lay for them: And thus it happened in *Moses's* Life in a most extraordinary Manner. *Moses* was taking Care of *Jethro's* Flock, and followed them as they wandered in their Feeding to the Borders of the Desert near to Mount *Horeb*, and he saw before him a Bush on Fire, flaming for a considerable Time, but not in the least consumed or diminished with the Fire: He was very much surprized at it, and stood still to consider the Meaning of it, and whilst he did so

(g) *Exod.* ii. 14. *Acts* vii. 25, 27, 35.

heard a Voice, which declared the Design of God Almighty to deliver the *Israelites* out of *Egypt* by his Hand, and the whole Manner and Method by (*b*) which he would effect it. *Moses* had so intirely laid aside all Thoughts of this Enterprize, and had so little Opinion of his being able to succeed in it, that, tho' he was appointed in an extraordinary manner to undertake it, he very earnestly refused (*i*) it, until he had received many Demonstrations of the miraculous Power with which God designed to assist him in it. Then indeed he went to *Jethro*, and asked him leave to go from him; and upon *Jethro's* dismissing him, he took his Wife and Sons and set out for *Egypt*. *Moses* had, I think, cast away all Thoughts of ever seeing his People more; and probably began to think himself to have no Part or Expectation in the Promises made to *Israel*. He had not circumcised one of his Children; for he did it in this Journey (*k*). *Aaron* by God's Appointment met him in the Wilderness (*l*), and from thence they went together into *Egypt*, and gathered the Elders of the People of *Israel*, and acquainted them with the Business they came about, and shewed them the mighty Works which God had enabled them to perform as Signs that he had sent them (*m*), upon seeing which the People believed that God did indeed now design to visit them.

(*b*) Exod. iii.(*i*) Exod. iii. iv.(*k*) Exod. iv. 25, 26.(*l*) ver. 27.(*m*) ver. 31.

And thus *Moses* and *Aaron* undertook their Expedition into *Egypt*; not rashly, nor upon any contrived Scheme of their own; but at a Time, when neither of them thought of being employed in such a Manner, at a Time when *Moses* had a very great Disinclination to go at all: He was settled in *Midian* well enough to his Satisfaction; thought he should find the People very obstinate and unmanageable; not disposed to believe him, or to be directed by him; and he seems most earnestly to have wished, that it would have pleased God to have permitted him to live quiet and retired in the Land of *Midian*, and to have sent some other Person for the Deliverance of his People (*n*): And when he undertook to carry the Message which God had directed him to go with unto *Pharaoh*, he had perhaps some Doubts, whether the Deliverance of the *Israelites* might not be a Work that would proceed slowly, and require much Time to manage; and therefore upon his being informed that the Men were dead which sought his Life (*o*), he took his Wife and Sons with him as if he designed to go and live in *Egypt* and not like one who expected in a short Time to return with the People, and to serve God in Mount *Horeb* (*p*). Certainly in some Respects his Behaviour was faulty, and as we are informed, that the Anger of the Lord was

(*n*) Exod. iv. 13.

(*o*) Exod. iii. 19.

(*p*) ver. 12.

kindled

kindled against him (q), when he expressed the many Excuses which he made against his being sent to *Egypt*; so we are told after he had began his Journey, that it *came to pass by the way in the Inn, that the Lord met him and sought to kill him* (r). The Account here is exceeding short, but the Circumstances which are hinted are thought to imply, that God was displeas'd at *Moses's* not having circumcised his younger Son: That his Wife *Ziporah* was unwilling to have the Child circumcised (s); that as in the Case of *Balaam*, when *Balaam* went with the Princes of *Moab*, according to the Command which he had received, an Angel oppos'd him in the Way, because he went with a perverse Intention (u); so here, tho' *Moses* began his Journey, yet perhaps he had some Coldness to the Undertaking, or some Thoughts about it which dispos'd him to keep this Child un-circumcised, not suitable to that better Spirit that ever after appeared in all his Conduct, and gain'd him the Testimony of being *faithful to him that appointed him in all his House* (w), in every Part of his Dispensation. It is generally thought, that *Moses* at this Time sent back his Wife and Children to

(q) Exod. iii. 14. (r) ver. 24. Our Translators have here used a very Modern Term, in the Inn. The Hebrew Word [מלון] Malon signifies only where they rested all Night, which most probably was in some Cave, or under some Shade of Trees. (s) ver. 25, 26. See Pool's Synops. Critic. in loc. (u) Numb. xxii. 32.

(w) Heb. iii. 2.

Jethro his Father-in-Law (*x*), and went with *Aaron* only into *Egypt*, according to the Directions which he and *Aaron* had received.

Moses, *Exodus* iii. 13. represents, that when he came unto the *Israelites*, they might ask him what the Name of God was, and desires to be instructed, what to answer to this Question: God had before told him, that he was *the God of his Father; the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob* (*y*); and *Moses* acknowledged himself instructed before he asked this Question, to tell the *Israelites*, that *the God of their Fathers* had sent him (*z*); what need could there possibly be of his either having, or asking any further Information? The *Israelites* knew of and acknowledged but one God. What then could it signify for them to be told, that his Name was *Jehovah, El Shaddai, Elobim, Adonai*, or any other; when by whatever Name he was known, they must consider him as *One and the same, the only God, most high over all the Earth?* The Ancients, both *Jews* and *Heathens*, and afterwards some of the early and learned Writers of the Christian Church, imagined that the Names of Persons and Things were of the greatest Importance to be rightly understood, in order to lead to the truest Knowledge that could be had of their Natures: and they frequently speculated upon

(*x*) See *Exod.* xviii. 2, 3, 4, 5. (*y*) *Exod.* iii. 6. (*z*) ver. 13.

this Subject with so much philosophical Subtlety, that they built upon it many foolish Fancies and ridiculous Errors. The Jewish Rabbins thought the true Knowledge of Names to be a Science, preferable to the Study of the written Law (a), and they entertained many surprizing Fancies about the Word *Jehovah*: One of which was, that it was so wonderfully compounded, that no one but an inspired Person could give it a true Pronunciation (b): *Plotinus* and *Jamblichus* thought some Names to be of so cœlestial a Composure, that the rightly using them could not fail of obtaining Oracles (c); and *Phœbus* and *Pythagoras* are said to have cured Diseases by the Use of such Names (d); and such Opinions as these might have their Admirers in the Days of *Origen*, and some of them seem to have been too easily admitted by him (e): When they began I cannot say, nor whether

(a) Ficini Argument. in Cratyl. Platonis. (b) Id. ibid.
 (c) Ibid. (d) Ibid. (e) Πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπαδόντων
 δαίμονας χρῶν) ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν τῷ ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβρα-
 ἂμ. ——— ἐκ ἐπιστάμων τίς ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀβραῆμ. ——— Ἐβραῖα
 ὀνόματα πολλαχῆ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπαγγελιομένοις ἐνέρ-
 γειαν τινα ἐπέσταν) μαθήμασι ——— ἐὰν τοίνυν διωκ-
 τῶν παρρησιασῆσαι φύσιν ὀνομάτων ἐνεργῶν, ὧν τισὶ χρῶν-
 ται Αἰγυπτίων οἱ σοφοί, ἢ τῶν παρὰ Πέρσας Μάγων οἱ
 λέγιοι, ἢ τῶν παρὰ Ἰνδοῖς φιλοσοφῶν Βραχμᾶνες, ἢ Σα-
 μαναῖοι, καὶ κατὰ κράτος οἰοῖτε γινώμεθα, ὅτι καὶ ἡ κα-
 λυμένη μαγεία ἔχει, ὡς οἶον) οἱ ἀπὸ Ἐπικύρου καὶ Ἀριστοτέ-
 λους, πρᾶγμα ἐστὶν ἀσύστατον πάντη, ἀλλ' ὡς οἱ περὶ ταῦτα
 βιβλιοὶ ἀποδεικνύουσι, σωεσὼς μὲν, λόγος δ' ἔχει σφόδρα ὀλί-
 γοις γνωσκομένης, τότε ἐρεῖται, ὅτι τὸ μὲν Σαβαὼθ ὄνομα,
 καὶ

ther I imagine, that *Naaman* the *Syrian* thought the Name of the God of *Israel* to be powerful in this Manner (f); but certainly it must be a Mistake to think, that *Mercury Trismegistus* was, as *Ficinus* hints (g), of this Opinion for all these Opinions took their Rise in After ages, and began from false Notions, which the Heathens took up about the Reverence paid to, and the Use of the Name *Jehovah* amongst the ancient *Jews*, and *Moses* can in no wise be supposed to have been so absurd, as to have desired to know God's Name, as if the Use of that could have given any extraordinary Powers other than God might give him without his knowing it. It is very evident, that *Abraham* and his Descendants worshipped not only the true and living God, but they invoked him in the Name of the Lord (h), and they worshipped the Lord in whose Name they invoked, so that two Persons were the Objects of their Worship, God, and this Lord: And the Scripture has distinguished these two Persons from one another by this Circumstance; that *God* no Man hath seen at any Time nor can see (i) but the Lord whom *Abraham* and his Descen-

καὶ τὸ Ἄδουαι, καὶ ἄλλα παρ' Ἑβραίοις μὲν πολλῆς σεμνολογίας
 ἠδ' ἀδιδόμους, ἐκ ἐπὶ τῶν τυχόντων καὶ γρηγορῶν καὶ κῆται περὶ
 μάτων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τινὶ θεολογίας ἀπορρήτου, ἀναφερομένης
 εἰς τὸ ὅλον διημιουργόν — ἔτι καὶ τὰ σημαίνοντα καὶ
 τὰ πραγματῶν, ἀλλ' αἱ τῶν φωνῶν ποιότητες καὶ ιδιότητες
 ἔχουσι τι δυνατὸν ἐν αὐταῖς πρὸς τὰδε τινὰ ἢ τὰδε. *See*
Origen. cont. Celsum. l. 1. p. 17, 18, 19, 20. (f) 2 *Kings*
v. 11. (g) *Ubi sup.* (h) *See Book VII.* (i) 1 *Tim. ii.*
 16. *Exod. xxxiii. 20.*

dants worshipped, was the Person who appeared to them (*k*). God did not always reveal his Will by this Lord, but we meet with Instances of Angels commissioned for this Purpose; and therefore I should imagine, that *Moses* by asking in whose Name he was to go, might desire to be informed, whether *the Lord* who appeared to *Abraham*, was to be his mighty Assistant and Protector, or whether some Angel, such as went to *Lot* (*kk*), was to deliver the *Israelites*.

If we take what the Ancients offered about the Science of Names, rejecting the idle and fanciful Superstructures which they built upon it, we may form a further Reason for *Moses's* desiring to be informed what the Name of God was. Men did not, at this Time, know the Works of the Creation well enough to demonstrate from them the Attributes of God; nor could they by Speculation, form proper and just Notions of his Nature. Some indeed, the Philosophers of these Times, thought themselves wise enough to attempt these Subjects; but what was the Success? *professing themselves Wise, they became Fools, and changed the Glory of the uncorruptible God* (*l*). There was not a sufficient Foundation of a true Knowledge of the Heavens, Elements, and of the Frame of the Universe then laid, for Men to build upon, so as to attain from the Study of them, suitable and proper Notions of the Deity: And hence

(*k*) Gen. xii. 11.(*kk*) Chap. xix.(*l*) Rom. i. 22, 23.

it came to pass, that the Builders of these Ages, having bad Materials to work with, composed weak and indefensible Systems of Theology. When they had speculated upon *the Fire*, or *the Wind*, *the swift Air*, or *the Circle of the Stars*, *the violent Water*, or *the Lights of Heaven*, not forming true Notions of their Natures; they were either *delighted with their Beauty*, or *astonished at their Power*, and framing very high but false Estimates of them, they lost the Knowledge of the Workmaster; and took the Parts of his Workmanship to be God. And some Error of this sort, or Errors as pernicious as these, *Moses* himself might have fallen into, if he had endeavoured to have formed his Notions of God, either from the *Egyptian* Learning, or from any Learning at this Time in the World. Faith, or a Belief of what God had revealed (//), was the only Principle upon which he could hope rightly to know God; and this was the Principle, which *Moses* here desired to go upon. For as the Revelation which God had made of himself, was as yet but short, so *Moses*, by desiring to know God's Name, desired that he might have some Revelation of his Nature and Attributes made to him. We do not find that the Ancients gave their Names arbitrarily, and without Reason; but when *Cain*, *Seth*, *Noah*, *Peleg*, or when *Jacob's* Children were to be named, Reasons were given for the particular

(//) Heb. xi. 3, 6.

Names they were to be called by (*m*); and we find some Names in Scripture given by God himself, and these Names are always expressive of the Nature or Circumstances of the Person they belong to; thus *Adam* was so called, because he was taken out of the Ground. God called *Abram Abraham*, because he designed to make him a Father of many Nations (*n*); and Men endeavoured in the naming Persons, even from the Beginning, to give Names thus expressive, as well as human Wisdom would enable them to do it. Thus *Adam* called his Wife *Woman*, expressing thereby her Origin, because she was taken out of Man (*o*), and afterwards he called her *Eve*, because she was the Mother of all living (*p*); and we find that the *Egyptians* were curious in Attempts to name Persons in this manner, even before *Moses's* Days. For we read, that *Pharaoh*, upon *Joseph's* interpreting his Dreams, called him *Zaphnath-paaneah*, *i. e.* a Discoverer of Things hidden (*q*); and this Notion of Names was held by the *Israelites*, who thought a Person rightly named, when his Name expressed his Nature; for thus *Abigail* speaks to *David* about *Nabal* her Husband; *As his Name is, so is he; Nabal is his Name, and Folly is with him* (*r*). *Plato* observes, that the Names of Heroes, or famous Men, cannot always be ex-

(*m*) Gen. iv. 1. & 25. v. 29. xvii. 5. See Gen. xxxii. 28, &c. iii. 20. (*n*) Chap. viii. 25. & xxx. (*o*) Gen. ii. 23. (*p*) Chap. (q) Chap. xli. 45. (*r*) 1 Sam. xxv. 25.

pressive;

pressive; but that we may often be deceived if we guess at the Characters of Persons by their Names, because he says, Men receive their Names according to those of their Ancestors, or their Friends express their good Wishes to them in naming them, calling them by such Names as may intimate what the Persons so named may prove to be (s); so that a dissolute and wicked Man may be named *Theophilus* by his Parents, who wish to have another sort of Person: A weak and insufficient Prince may be called *Menelaus* by those who name him, in Hopes that he may be a great Defender of his People, tho' he does not afterwards prove to be so. And he represents *Socrates* in some Doubts about the Names which were given to their Gods; because, as he expresses it, they were not the true and real Names of the Gods, by which they would call themselves, but only such as Men had framed from their Opinions and Apprehensions of the Deities to whom they gave them (t); and he adds, that we should pray to the Gods to enable us to call them by their true Names, for that without this, we cannot form any well-grounded Speculations of their Natures (u).

(s) Plato in *Cratylus*, p. 273.

(t) Ὅτι περὶ θεῶν ἔστιν ἴσμεν, ἔτε περὶ αὐτῶν, ἔτε περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἅτλα πρὸς ἑαυτὸς καλεῖσι. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐκείνοι γε τὰληθῆ καλεῖσι. Id. ibid. p. 276.

(u) Δάτερθ δ' αὐ τρέπος ἔρθότητός ὄσθ ἡμῖν εὐχεσθ οἴτινές τε κὲ ὀπόθεν χάρσιν ὀνομαζόμενοι, ταῦτα κὲ ἡμῶς αὐτῶς καλεῖ, ὡς ἄλλο μηδὲν εἰδότας. Id. ibid.

This was *Plato's* Opinion, after he had well weighed all the Learning which had been in the World; and I cannot but think it to agree with *Moses's* Sentiments upon this Subject. *Moses* thought, that when he was to go to the *Israelites*, to bring them out of *Egypt*, and to tell them that their God had appointed him and them to serve him in Mount *Horeb*, they might ask him, whether he knew what a Being their God was, and how he expected to be served by them. This Question he could not pretend to answer, unless God thought fit by Revelation to enable him (*w*); and therefore he desired to be informed, as far as God might think fit to discover it, what Name God would call himself by, knowing that by obtaining this, He might form just Notions of his Nature and Worship. That this was *Moses's* Design in asking for the Name of God, might be confirmed from several Passages of Scripture: When *Moses* desired to see God's Glory, he obtained that *the Name* of the Lord should be proclaimed before him, and the proclaiming his Name manifested to him that he was *Je-*
hovah, El, merciful and gracious, long suffer-
ing, and abundant in Goodness and Truth, keep-
ing Mercy for thousands, forgiving Iniquity and
Transgression and Sin, and that will by no means
clear the guilty, visiting the Iniquity of the Fa-
thers upon the Children, and upon the Children's
Children, unto the third and fourth Genera-

(w) See Exodus x. 26.

tion (x). Thus, the Name, or Names, which God thought fit to give himself, were understood to be Appellations, that might discover his Attributes: And when God was declared to be a *Jealous God*, his Name was said to be *Jealous* (y). In the same style and manner of speaking, *Isaiab* prophesying what the *Messiah* should be, declares his Name to be *Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace* (z). And the Name of the same Person was *Emmanuel*, because *He was God with us* (a), and *Jesus*, because he was to *save his People from their Sins* (b). Thus I think, it must be plain, that the Design of *Moses*, in asking God's Name, was to obtain himself an Information, 1. Who the Person was that was to be their Deliverer; for we find this he particularly enquired after (c). And, 2. What the Nature and Attributes of that Person were, in order to know what Duties he would expect from them, and how they were to serve him.

In the Answer, which God thought fit to give to *Moses's* Question, he declared himself to be I AM THAT I AM, and bad *Moses* call his Name I AM, and say I AM hath sent me unto you (d). Moreover he added, that he was *the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob* (e). In those last Words

(x) Exodus xxxiii. 18, 19. xxxiv. 5, 6, 7.

(z) *Isaiab* ix. 6.

(c) Exodus xxxiii. 12.

(a) *Matt.* i. 23.

(d) *Chap.* iii. 14.

(y) *Ver.* 14.

(b) *Ver.* 21.

(e) *Ver.* 15.

He declares himself to be the Person, who had appeared to *Abraham*, and had made the Promise to him and his Seed (*f*); and had made the Covenant with him (*g*); and was worshiped by him and his Descendants *Isaac* and *Jacob* (*h*): And in the former Words, He intimates his Essential Divinity, expressing himself to be I AM, or I AM THAT I AM, (*i*) *i. e. independent, immutable, self-existent.* That the Name here declared to belong to the God of *Abraham* is of this Signification, is uncontestably proved by the most celebrated Writers, to whose Reasonings upon this Subject, as I cannot pretend to add either Strength or Perspicuity more than they have given them, so I shall only refer the Reader to them (*k*). But as there is a Passage in a most excellent Heathen Writer, which tho' very apposite, yet as not offering it self in a Controversy between Christian Writers, has not, that I know of, been taken notice of, I would produce that, because it may shew what an acute and judicious Heathen would have concluded from this Name of God here revealed to *Moses*. We are informed that there was an ancient Inscription in the Temple at *Delphos*, over the Place where the Image of *Apollo* was erected, consisting of these Letters EI. And *Plutarch* introduces his Disputants querying, what might be

(f) Gen. xii. 7.

(g) Chap. xiii.

(h) Chap. xii. 7, 8,

xiii. 18. xxvi. 24, 25. & xxxii. 9.

(i) Exodus iii. 14.

(k) See Waterland's *Vindication*, &c. Qu. III.

the true Signification of it; at length *Ammonius* to whom he assigns the whole strength of the Argumentation, concludes, that the Word *EI* was the most perfect Title they could give the Deity (l); that it signifies *THOU ART* and expresses the Divine Essential Being; importing, that tho' our Being is precarious, fluctuating, dependent, subject to Mutation, and temporary; so that it would be improper to say to any of us, in the strict and absolute Sense *εἶ* or *THOU ART*; yet we may with great Propriety give the Deity this Appellation, because God is independent, uncreated, immutable, eternal, always and every where the same, and therefore *HE* only can be said absolutely *TO BE*. *Plutarch* would have called this Being τὸ ὄντως ὄν, *Plato* would have named him τὸ ὄν, which he would have explained to signify εἶσα, implying Him to be essentially or self-existent (m).

In the sixth Chapter of *Exodus*, we have a further Account of God's revealing himself to

(l) Ἡμεῖς ὃ ἀμειβόμενοι τὸν Θεὸν *ΕΙ* φησὶν, ὡς ἀληθῆ ἀφάδῃ καὶ μόνῳ μόνῳ προσήκασαν τῷ τῷ εἶναι προσαγγράσειν ἀποδιδόντες. ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ὄντως τῷ εἶναι μέτεσθαι εἶδέν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα θνητὴ φύσις ἐν μέσῳ γενέσεως καὶ φθίσεως γενομένη φάσμα παρέχει καὶ δόκησιν ἀμυδρῶν καὶ ἀβέβαια αὐτῆς. — ἀλλ' ὅστιν ὁ Θεὸς χρῆ φάναι, καὶ ἔστι κατ' εἶδός τε χεῖνον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα, ἢ ἀκίνητον, καὶ ἀχρονον ἀνέγκλητον, καὶ ἔτι πρῶτον εἶδέν ὅστιν, εἶδ' ὕστερον, εἶδ' ἐν νεώτερον ἀλλ' εἰς ὃν ἐνὶ τῷ νυκτὶ τὸ αἰεὶ πεπλήρωκε, καὶ μόνον ὅτι τὸ κατὰ τῷ ὄντως ὄν, εἰ γεγονὸς, εἶδ' ἐσόμενον, εἶδ' ἀρξάμενον εἶδ' ἐπαισόμενον. Vid. *Plutarch*. Lib. *Ei* apud *Delphos*

p. 392, 393.

(m) *Plat.* in *Cratyl.* p. 289.

Moses by the Name *JEHOVAH*, a Word of much the same Import with I AM, or I AM THAT I AM; and we are there told, that the Lord was not known to *Abraham*, to *Isaac*, or to *Jacob*, by this Name *JEHOVAH*, but by the Name of God Almighty, or *El-Shaddai*. This must seem to be the plain Meaning of the Words (*n*), and in this Sense I thought my self obliged to take them (*o*), until I should come to examine this Subject more at large here in its proper Place. The Name *Jehovah* was, I believe, known to be the Name of the supreme God, in the early Ages, in all Nations. The Person, who here spoke unto *Moses*, and declared himself to be the Person who appeared to *Abraham*, to *Isaac*, and to *Jacob*, is no where particularly mentioned in the Book of *Genesis* before the Flood, or after the Flood, before the Birth of *Abraham*. But tho' this Person did reveal himself to *Abraham*, to *Isaac*, and to *Jacob*, by the Name of *El-Shaddai*, or God Almighty (*p*); yet it is most evident from some very express Passages in the Book of *Genesis*, that they all knew him by the Name of *Jehovah* also; and therefore if we explain this Passage in *Exodus* to signify, that He was not known until *Moses's* Time by the Name *Jehovah*, we shall make it directly contradict some very clear and express Passages of the History of the precedent Times.

(*n*) ושמך יהוה לא כודעתו להם ver. 3.

(*o*) Book VI.

(*p*) Gen. xvii: 1. See xxviii. 3. & xxxv. 11.

I. The Name *Jehovah* was known to be the Name of the supreme God, in all Nations in the early Times. *Ficinus* remarked, that all the several Nations of the World had a Name for the supreme Deity, consisting of four Letters only (*q*). This I think was true at first in a different Sense from that in which *Ficinus* took it; for I question not but they used the very same Word, until the Language of different Nations came to have a more intimate Disagreement, than the Confusion at *Babel* at first caused (*r*). When the Corruptions of Religion grew to be many, and very considerable, Men found different Names for their Gods according to their different Fancies and Imaginations about them (*s*); but whilst they adhered to the Knowledge and Worship of the one true God, who had revealed himself to their Fathers, there was no Room for them to invent other Names to express his Nature or Divinity by, than those by which he had revealed himself to them; and accordingly, we find the Word *Jehovah* used in the earliest Days, for it occurs above thirty times in the Book of *Genesis* before the Flood; so we meet

(*q*) Ficini Argument. ad Platon. Cratyl. *The Word Jehovah, by the Insertion of the Vowels in our Language requires it to be written with seven Letters, is wrote in Hebrew with four only, thus, יהוה i. J h v h, and is therefore called the Tetragrammaton, or four-letter Name of God.* (*r*) See Book II. p. 139. Book III. p. 147.

(*s*) Plato supposes that the Greeks formed the Word *Θεοι* from the Verb *Θεω*, observing the Stars and Lights of Heaven, which they took to be Gods, to run their several Courses, and therefore called them *Θεοι*. See Plat. in Cratyl. p. 273.

with many Instances of the supreme God called by this Name, in different Countries, where the particular Revelations (*t*) made to *Abraham* and his Descendants were not known, or not embraced as part of their Religion. The King of *Sodom* knew the most high God by the Name of *Jehovah*, for he admitted *Abraham's* giving him this Appellation (*u*); and *Lot* knew God by the Name of *Jehovah* (*x*); and so, I should imagine, did the Men of *Sodom*; for tho' they thought *Lot's* Account of God's Design to destroy their City, to be but a romantic Imagination of his, yet they are not represented not to know the *Lord*, as *Pharaoh* was afterwards (*y*), tho' they were exceedingly wicked and abominable in their Lives. *Abimelech* King of the *Philistines* knew *Jehovah*, and was his Servant in *Abraham's* Time (*z*); for the Fear of God was then in that Kingdom, tho' *Abraham* had entertained without just Grounds a bad Opinion of *Abimelech* and his Subjects; and we find *Jehovah* mentioned here by the King, in the Days of *Isaac* (*a*). God was known by this Name in the Family of *Bethuel* in *Mesopotamia*, when *Abraham* sent thither (*b*); and afterwards in *Jacob's* Days, *Laban* knew God by this Name (*c*); tho' it is remarkable, that he did not use the Word entirely in the same sense as *Jacob* did; for *Laban* meant by it the

(*t*) See Book V. p. 287. (*u*) Gen. xiv. 22. (*x*) Ibid. xix. 14.
 (*y*) Exod. v. 2. (*z*) Gen. xx. 11. & 18.
 (*a*) Ibid. xxvi. 28. (*b*) Ibid. xxiv. 31, 50. (*c*) Ibid. xxx. 27.

God of *Abraham* and the God of *Nabor*, the God of their Father, but *Jacob* swore by the *Fear of his Father Isaac (d)*; i. e. *Laban* meant by *Jehovah*, the supreme true and living God which the Fathers of *Abraham*, and *Abraham* had worshipped, before he received further Revelations, than were imparted to the rest of Mankind, and before he built an Altar to the Lord, who had appeared to him. After this *Abraham* and his Posterity determined that this Lord also should be their God (e), and they invoked God in the Name of this Lord (f). God was known by the Name of *Jehovah* to *Job* the *Arabian (g)*; but it was not the Lord, who appeared unto *Abraham*, whom he knew by this Name; but rather God, whom no Man hath seen at any time (h). *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*, in *Moses's* Time, is said not to know *Jehovah (i)*; and indeed, Corruptions in Religion began in *Egypt* very early, and were arrived at a very great Height e're these Days; but still, it may be queried, whether *Pharaoh* was really ignorant, that *Jehovah* was the Name of the supreme Deity, or whether he only did not know the God of the *Hebrews (j)* by this Title. God's Judgments were executed upon *Egypt*, not to convince *Pharaoh* and his People, that *Jehovah* was the Supreme God; but to make them know, that the God of the

(d) Gen. xxxi. 53.

(e) Ibid. xxviii. 21.

(f) S.

Vol. I. B. 5.

(g) Job 1. 21.

(h) See Job ix. 11.

(i) Exodus v. 2.

(k) Ver. 1. & 3.

Hebrews was *Jehovah* (l). The *Moabites* knew the Supreme God by this Name (m), tho' they were greatly corrupted with Idolatry (n); and we have a Hint from *Philo-Biblius*, which seems to intimate, that the God of the *Phœnicians* was anciently called by this Name, if we may suppose that *Jervo* or *Jao* may be a Corruption of it; for it is said, that *Hierombalus*, who supplied *Sanchoniatho* with Materials for his *Phœnician* History, was Priest of the God *Jervo* (o). But we have a very remarkable Instance, of the Word *Jehovah* used by an Heathen for the Name of the Supreme Deity, in contradistinction to the God of the *Hebrews*, in Times very late, even in the Days of *Hezekiah* (p). *Rabshekah*, who well understood the *Hebrew* Language, in delivering his Master the King of *Assyria's* Message, which he expressed in the *Hebrew* Tongue (q), professed, that he was not come up against *Jerusalem* without the Lord [i. e. *Jehovah*] to destroy it, for that the Lord said unto him, Go up against this Land and destroy it (r). That *Rabshekah*, by the Lord, or *Jehovah* here did not mean the God of the *Jews*, tho' at the same Time he knew that they called their God by this Name, is evident, from his very plainly distinguishing them one from the other. He asserts that he had an Order from *Jehovah*, (i. e. he meant

(l) Exodus vii. 5. & xiv. 18.

(m) Numb. xxiv. 17.

(n) Ibid. xxv. 2, 3.

(o) Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 9.

(p) 2 Kings xviii.

(q) Ver. 26.

(r) Ver. 25.

from the Supreme God) to destroy *Jerusalem* but as to the God whom the *Jews* called *Jehovah*, and whom *Rabshekah* styled *the Lord their God* (s), he observes, 1. That He would not assist them if he could, for that *Hezekiah* had provoked him (t). 2. That He could not preserve them if He would; for that none of the Gods of the Nations had been able to deliver their Favourites out of his Master's Hand (u). The Gods of *Hamath*, of *Arpad*, and of *Sepharvaim*, had not been able to deliver *Samaria*; and He thought all Hopes of Preservation from the God of the *Jews* would be alike vain. 3. That *Rabshekah* really thought the God of the *Jews* to be only an inferior Deity, or God of a Country, is evident from the Opinion which the *Assyrians* had of him: They thought him the God of the Land of the *Jews* (w), and appointed a Priest to teach the People, which they had planted in *Samaria*, the Manner of the God of the Land, that He might not slay them with Lions. Thus the *Greeks* in *Homer* thought it necessary to appease *Apollo*, that He might not destroy them with a Pestilence; or rather I might instance from *Xenophon*, who represents *Cyrus* taking particular Care to render the Θεοὶ πατρίων, or Gods of the Countries which he warred against, propitious to him (y). Such a God as one of these *Rabshekah* thought the God of *Israel*. For, 4. It is plain

(s) 2 Kings xviii. 22.
(w) Chap. xvii. 24—28.

(t) Ibid.

(u) Ver. 33, 34, 35.

(y) Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 3.

that He did not think him to be the Deity, or *the Lord*, without whom he affirmed, that He was not come up against *Jerusalem*; for *Hezekiah* remonstrated, that he had reproached the living God (z), and prayed that God would save them; that, says he, *all the Kingdoms of the Earth may know, that thou art the Lord God, even thou only (a)*. When *Rabshekar* had professed, that he was not come up *without the Lord* against them, and that *the Lord* had said unto him, Go up against this Land and destroy it; if by *the Lord*, he had here intended the God of the *Jews*, what Reason could there be to accuse him of reproaching this God? but *Hezekiah's* Charge against him is well grounded, and pertinent to his whole Speech and Behaviour, if we take him by *the Lord* to mean not the God of the *Jews*, but the supreme Deity in Opposition to him: For herein consisted his Blasphemy, that he thought the God whom *Hezekiah* called *the Lord*, not to be the supreme Deity, but only a God of a Nation, such a Deity as the God of *Hamath*, of *Arpad*, and of *Sepharvaim*, who in truth were no Gods; and what *Hezekiah* prayed for was, that the God of the *Jews* would, in Opposition to these blasphemous Sentiments, shew, that He was *the Lord God, even He only*, and that there could not be any divine Commission to hurt those who were under his Protection. The Heathens even in the later Days of their

(z) 2 Kings xix. 4.

(a) Ver. 19.

Idolatry were not so gross in their Notions, but that they believed, that there was but one supreme God. They did indeed worship a multitude of Deities, but they supposed all but one to be subordinate Divinities. They had always a Notion of one Deity superior to all the Powers of Heaven, and all the other Deities were conceived to have different Offices or Ministrations under him, being appointed to preside over Elements, over Cities, over Countries, and to dispense Victory to Armies, Health, Life, and other Blessings to their Favourites if permitted by the supreme Power. *Hesiod* supposes one God to be the Father of the other Deities;

— θεῶν πατέρ' ἡδὲ καὶ ἄνδρῶν (b)

and *Homer* in many Passages in the *Iliad*, represents one supreme Deity presiding over all the rest (c); and the most celebrated of their Philosophers always endeavoured to assert this Theology (d), and this was undoubtedly *Rab*

(b) *Hesiod. Theogon.* (c) *Vid. Iliad. 7. ver. 202. 8. ver. 5—28, &c. See Virg. Æn. 2. ver. 777.*

— non hæc sine NUMINE Divûm
Eveniunt; non te hinc comitem asportare Creûsam
Fas: haud ille finit superi regnator Olympi.

Jupiter is here supposed to be the Numen Divûm, and his Will to be the Fas, or Fate, which no one might contradict: Fatum est, Cicero, non id quod superstiosè sed quod Physi:è dicitur æterna Rerum. de Divin. l. 1. c. 55. Deum — interdum Necessitatem appellant, quia nihil aliter possit atque ab eo constitutum. Id. Academ. Quæst. l. 4. c. 44. (d) Cic. in Lib. de Naturæ Deorum. in Acad. Quæst. l. 1. c. 7. Ibid. c. 34. Plat. de Legib. l. 1. in Phileb. in Cratyl. &c. Aristot. l. de mundo. c. 6. Plutarch. Placit. Philos. l. 1. Id. in Lib. de EI apud Delphos. p. 391.

Shekabi

Sekab's Opinion; and as the supreme Deity had in Time different Names in different Languages, so *Rabsbekab* thought *Jehovah* to be the proper *Hebrew* Name for him.

II. We have no Reason to imagine, that the Patriarchs, who lived before the Days of *Abraham*, knew *the Lord who appeared unto Abraham*, and who spoke unto *Moses (e)*, by the Name *Jehovah*. If we consider the History of the Bible, we may find just Reason to remark of the several Revelations recorded in it, that they all tend, with a surprizing Harmony and Consistency, to confirm and illustrate one uniform Scheme of Providence, which was gradually opened thro' a long Succession of Ages, until *in the Fulness of Time Christ was manifested in the Flesh*, and *the Will, Counsel or Design, bidden Wisdom or Purpose of God (f)*, which was ordained before the *World (g)*, but not fully revealed to the former Ages and Generations, came at length to be made manifest to those who embraced the Gospel (*h*); but the further we look backwards we find a lesser Discovery of this intended Scheme, tho' we have plain Intimations of some Part of it in every Age from the Foundation of the World. *Adam* and *Eve* had a Revelation made to them of a Person to come for the great and universal Benefit of Mankind (*i*), and the whole System of Worship by way of Sacrifice practised in the very first A-

(e) Exod. vi. 2, 3.

(f) See Vol. I. B. 5. p. 285.

(g) 1 Cor. ii. 7.

(h) Coloss. i. 26.

(i) See Vol. I. B. 5.

p. 286.

ges, appears most reasonably to have been founded upon the Design of the true Propitiation which was to be made by *Christ* for the Sins of the World (*k*); but we read of no divine Appearance to any Person before the Day of *Abraham*: He was the first who built an *Altar* to, and worshipped *the Lord* who appeared to him (*l*). *Adam* heard the Voice of God many Times (*m*); God spoke to *Cain* (*n*), to *Noah* (*o*), and probably to many others of the *Antediluvians*; but it is no where intimate that *the Lord* appeared unto any one Person, until we are told that he appeared unto *Abraham* (*p*), and then it is observed as what had not been before practised, that *Abraham* built an *Altar* unto *the Lord* who appeared to him (*q*); so that *Abraham* seems to have been the first Person who knew or worshipped *the Lord*. Mankind, before he had received fresh and further Revelations than had been made to the World, worshipped *Jehovah* *Elohim* the true and living God; but they worshipped God whom no Man had ever seen nor could see, and whom *Job* therefore believed to be invisible (*r*); but the Descendants of *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, and their Children, worshipped not only the invisible God, but *the Lord* also, and this *Lord* appeared to *Moses*, and declared himself to be the God of their Fathers, who had appeared unto divers of them.

(*k*) B. 2. p. 84. (*l*) Gen. xii. 7. (*m*) Gen. ii. 16. 18.
 iii. 8, 9, &c. (*n*) iv. 9, 15. (*o*) vi. 13. vii. 1. viii. 15.
 ix. 1, 8, 12, 17. (*p*) xii. 7. (*q*) Ibid. (*r*) Job ix. 11.
 and

and who purposed by his Hand to deliver the Israelites. This was the Person who was to be *Jacob's God (s)*, and whom he called *the Fear of his Father Isaac*, and whom he distinguished from the *God of Abraham, the God of Nabor, the God of their Father, i. e.* from the God whom they worshipped before this Lord had revealed himself to them. In all the several Passages where the Word *Jehovah* occurs before the Lord's appearing unto *Abraham (t)*, which are near forty, I am not sensible that there are any, where the Word necessarily refers to *the Lord who appeared to Abraham*; and it is evident that the *Antediluvians* used the Words *Jehovah* or *Elohim* as equivalent Terms, taking them both for Names of the one true and living God. Thus *Eve*, when upon the Birth of *Cain* she said that she had gotten a Man from [*Jehovah*] *the Lord (u)*, meant exactly the same by the Term *Jehovah*, as she did by *Elohim*, when at the Birth of *Seth* she said that [*Elohim*] *God had appointed her another (w)*. And thus likewise it was remarked, that in *Enos's* Days Men were called by the Name of [*Jehovah*] *the Lord (x)*; by which Expression was meant, that they obtained the Name, which we find afterwards given them, and were called *the Sons [ha Elohim] of God (y)*. *Elohim* and *Jehovah* were the Names of the God of Heaven, and God was generally called in the History of these Times by both

(s) Gen. xxviii. 20. (t) Gen. xii. 7. (u) iv. 1. (w) ver. 25.
 (x) ver. 26. See Vol. I. B. 1. p. 42. (y) vi. 2.

these Names put together, *Jehovah Elohim*, or as we render them in *English*, the LORD GOD (z).

III. The Lord, who appeared unto *Abraham*, unto *Isaac*, and unto *Jacob*, did indeed many Times reveal himself to them by the Name of *El Shaddai*, or as *Moses* expresses it he appeared unto them by the Name (a) of God Almighty; but it is evident, that by his Name *Jehovah* he was also known unto them. When *Abram* was ninety Years old and nine, the LORD [*Jehovah*] appeared to *Abram*, and said unto him, I am the Almighty God [*El Shaddai*] (b). In this Passage is related that *Jehovah* appeared unto *Abraham*, this is *Moses's* Narration of the Fact, and it may be observed, that he might here as an Historian knowing the Person who appeared to have Right to the Name *Jehovah*, call him by that Name, tho' it is evident, that God who appeared here did not call himself in this Place *Jehovah*, but said to *Abraham* I am [*El Shaddai*] the Almighty God, and by that Name only was here known unto him: In the same Manner it is remarkable, that this Person manifested himself to *Isaac* and his Descendants by this particular Name of God Almighty. The God who appeared unto *Jacob* said unto him I am God Almighty (c); and this *El Shaddai*

(z) Gen. ii. 4, 7, 8, 9, 15, &c. iii. 8, 9, 13, 14, 21, &c. and thus ix. 26. (a) Exodus vi. 3. (b) Gen. xvii. 1.

(c) Gen. xxxv. 11.

God Almighty, was the Person whom *Jacob* prayed to be with his Sons when he sent them to *Egypt* (d), and whom he reminded them to have appeared to him at *Luz* in *Canaan* (e), and whom he particularly calls the God of *Joseph's* Father, in his Blessing him at his Death (f); so that what *Moses* records, that this their God was known to them by his Name of *God Almighty*, is abundantly clear from these and many other Passages which might be cited. But that this Lord was also known to them by the Name *Jehovah*, seems apparent from the following Passages amongst others. *Abraham* called the Place where he went to offer *Isaac* (g) *Jehovah-jireh*, which I imagine he would not have done, if he had not known the Lord by this Name of *Jehovah* at that Time: *Abraham's* Servant called the God of his Master *Abraham*, *Jehovah* (h); but *Gen.* xxviii. 13. is very full and express. *Jacob*, in the Vision there recorded, saw the Lord standing before him, and the Lord said, *I am the Lord God*, or rather, *I am Jehovah the God of Abraham thy Father, and the God of Isaac* (i). Here the Lord very expressly revealed himself to *Jacob* by his Name *Jehovah*, and accordingly *Jacob* hereupon resolved that *this*

(d) *Gen.* xliii. 14.(e) *xlvi.* 3.(f) *xlix.* 25.(g) *xxi.* 14.(h) *xxiv.* 12, 26, 40.(i) See *xxxv.* 1.

where *Jacob* was directed to God who appeared to him at *Bethel*, i. e. the Place where he saw this Vision. And *Jacob* himself says, that *God Almighty* appeared here unto him. See *Gen.* xlvi. 3.

Lord should be his God (*k*), and in pursuance of this Resolution, he was reminded afterwards to build an Altar as *Abraham* had done not unto God, whom no Man hath seen at any Time, nor can see; but unto God, who had appeared to him (*l*): It is therefore evidently clear that God, who spoke unto *Moses*, and declared himself to have appeared unto *Abraham*, unto *Isaac*, and unto *Jacob*, was known unto them by his Name *Jehovah*, and therefore our *English* Translation of the latter Part of the Verse of the sixth Chapter of *Exodus*, in the Words, *but by my Name Jehovah was I not known unto them*, is undoubtedly a faulty Translation, not rightly expressing what *Moses* intended in this Place. The best and most accurate Writers have remarked upon this Place that the latter Part of the Verse should be read interrogatively, thus; *By my Name Jehovah was I not known unto them?* If we take the Sentence interrogatively, every one will see that it plainly intimates, that the Lord had revealed himself to them by this Name, which is agreeable to *Moses's* Account of *Abraham's*, *Isaac's*, and *Jacob's* Knowledge and Worship of the Deity: But to take the Words without the Interrogation, and suppose them to intend that the Lord who appeared to *Abraham*, was not known to him, to *Isaac* and to *Jacob*, by his Name *Jehovah*, cannot be reconciled

(*k*) Gen. xxviii. 21. (*l*) xxxv. 1.

Some very exprefs Passages in the Book of *Genesis*.

In the LXX Version, the Words are agreeable to our *English* Translation, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα με Κύριος ἐκ ἐδήλωσα αὐτοῖς, but it has been observed by the Learned, that some of the *Greek* Writers read the Words καὶ τὸ ὄνομα με Κύριος ἐδήλωσα αὐτοῖς that is; *my Name Jehovah I made known unto them*; which Interpretation is favoured by the *Arabick* Version. The Words of *Moses* may indeed be supposed to hint, that the Lord, who appeared unto *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and to *Moses*, was not known by the Name *Jehovah*, before *Abraham's* Days, and this I think agrees with the Book of *Genesis*; for we no where find him mentioned, before he appeared unto *Abraham*, and before *Abraham* built an Altar unto the LORD, who appeared to him (n).

I am sensible I have been very large in this Digression upon the Name of God: I was willing to be as particular as might be, because I would observe from the whole what occurs about it, that it is remarkable from the Writings of *Moses*, that there were two different and distinct Persons known and worshipped by the Faithful from the Days of *Abraham*; God whom no Man hath seen at any Time, and the Lord who at divers Times appeared to them. The Lord who appeared to them, is allowed

(n) Gen. xii. 7.

by the best (o) and most judicious Writers, have been the same divine Person, who afterwards took upon him the Seed of Abraham, and was made Man, and dwelt amongst the Jews and accordingly the Prophet *Zechariah* call this Person, whom the Jews were to pierce *Jehovah* (p); And therefore, since according to *Plutarch's* Sense and Interpretation of the *Delphian* EI, this divine Person could not justly have been called *Jehovah*, if he had not been truly and essentially God; since according to *Plato's* Account of the ancient Opinions about Names, no Person could have Name given from Heaven but what truly agreed to, and expressed his Nature and Person (q); since we must conclude from *Isaiab*, that God would not give his Name and Glory another (r); since according to what may be inferred from the Words of the inspired Writer of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, we ought to think this divine Person so much better than the Angels, as he hath obtained a more excellent Name than they (s): It must appear, (the Person being many Times called by the Name of *Jehovah* in the Old Testament) that we have, if we duly attend to them, great and weighty Proofs of the true and essential Deity of our blessed Saviour in the Old Testament whatever some very learned and considerable Writers have hinted to the contrary. I need

(o) See Vol. I. B. 5. p. 292.
Cratylo.

(r) *Isaiab* xlii. 8.

(p) *Zech.* xii.
(s) *Hebrews* i. 4.

(q)

not before I leave this Subject remark, that neither *Abraham* nor his Children ran into the Errors of Polytheism; for tho' it appears, that they acknowledged more Persons than one to have a Right to the essential Name of God, yet their Belief was, that *the Lord their God* was One [*Jehovah*] LORD (*t*): God, whom no Man hath seen at any Time, nor can see, and the LORD, who appeared unto *Abraham*, were not supposed to be one and the same Person; but as they were called by one and the same Name, by a Name which could not be given to another, so they were believed to be of one Nature, they were one Being, in a Word, as is expressed *Deuter. vi. 4.* they were one *Jehovah*, tho' revealed to be more Persons than one (*u*).

When *Moses* and *Aaron* were come to *Egypt*; after they had conversed with the Elders of the Children of *Israel*, they went to *Pharaoh*, and delivered their Message, according to the Orders which God had given them, requiring the King to give the *Israelites* leave to go three Days Journey into the Wilderness, to perform a Sacrifice unto the Lord their God. *Pharaoh*, as he was satisfied with the Benefit of his own Religion, did not see that there was any Necessity for such a Sacrifice as they spake of, and therefore answered that he knew of no such God as the God of *Israel* (*b*).

(*t*) *Deuter. vi. 4.* (*u*) See *Dr. Waterland's Defence, &c.*
 p. III. (*a*) *Exodus v. 3.* (*b*) ver. 2.

He thought that they might serve the God where they were, and resolved not to suffer them to go out of the Land. He suspected that they had a Design of revolting from his Service, and had been laying Schemes to get out of his Dominions ; an Argument to him that they had too much Leisure, and he thought he should effectually check their indulging themselves in Contrivances of this sort, if he took Care to leave them fewer vacant Hours and therefore he ordered greater Tasks and more Work to be enjoined them (c). He reprimanded *Moses* and *Aaron* for going among the People, and interrupting them in their Employments, and ordered his Task-Master to be more strict with them, and to press them to harder Labour (d) ; so that the People began to be greatly discouraged, and to wish that *Moses* and *Aaron* had never come among them (e).

A few Days passed, and *Moses* and *Aaron* came again unto *Pharaoh*, and repeated the Demand, which they had before made, for his dismissing the *Israelites* (f). Hereupon *Pharaoh* desired them to shew him some Miracle, to induce him to believe that they were indeed sent by the God they spake of. *Moses* ordered *Aaron* to cast the Rod, which he had in his Hand, upon the Ground ; *Aaron* did so, and the Rod was immediately changed into

(c) Exodus v. 6.

(d) ver. 17.

(e) ver. 21.

(f) Chap. vii. 10.

Serpent. *Pharaoh* was surprized at this Transmutation, but he called together his learned Men, the Magicians and Sorcerers of *Egypt*, and ordered them to try if they could not by their Arts and Sciences cause such a Transmutation. They attempted and succeeded, changed their Rods (*ff*) into Serpents as *Aaron* had done; so that *Pharaoh* did not think this a true Miracle, but only an Effect, which might be produced by a Man who had studied the secret Powers of Nature. As it pleased God to permit the Magicians so far to succeed as to delude *Pharaoh*; so at the same Time, God, who never tempts or ensnares any Man into Evil (*g*), did by a remarkable Circumstance in this Miracle give the King sufficient Reason to have considered it more seriously: *Aaron's* Rod swallowed up all the Rods of the Magicians; but *Pharaoh's* Heart was averse to the Thoughts of parting with the *Israelites*, and so he did not let this Circumstance make a due Impression upon his Mind.

I have already hinted, that *Pharaoh's* Design in opposing his Magicians to *Moses*, was to see whether the Wonders which *Moses* wrought were the Effect of the Art of Man, of the Powers of Nature, or the *Finger of God*. *Philo Judæus* (*b*) and *Josephus* (*i*), do both set this Transaction in the same Light. I am sensible it may seem possible to represent it

(*ff*) Chap. vii. 12.
in *Mosis*, l. 1. p. 616.

(*g*) James i. 13, 14.

(*b*) *Philo de*

(*i*) *Joseph. Antiq. Jud.* l. 2. c. 13.

otherwise : It may perhaps be said, that *Pharaoh* never questioned, but that the Wonders which *Moses* did were real Miracles wrought by the Power of the God which sent him, and that he employed his Magicians, not in order to judge whether *Moses's* Works were real Miracles or no, but to see whether his own Priests could not, by the Help and Assistance of the *Egyptian* Gods, do as great Miracles as *Moses* did by the Power of the God of *Israel*, that he might know whether the God of *Israel* could really compel him to dismiss his People or whether he might not hope to be protected in keeping them by the Power of his own Gods, in Opposition to the Threatnings of the God of *Israel*. But this Supposition is not to be supported by any true Accounts of the Heathen Theology, nor can it agree with *Moses's* Representation of the Magicians using their Inchantments, and the Confession they made when they could not succeed in the Use of them.

It cannot be thought, that *Pharaoh* employed his Magicians to vie with *Moses* in working Miracles, in order to determine whether the Gods of *Egypt* were as powerful to protect him, as the God of *Israel* was to afflict him ; for it was not the Custom of the Heathens to endeavour to support themselves by the Favour of one God against the express and known Demands of another ; but their Belief was, that when the supreme Deity determined

to afflict them, no other God could help them against his Determinations, and that every or any God had full Power to distress them, unless they took Care, when required, to make Atonement for any Trespases or Commissions against him. *Rabshekah* (k) believed, that when he was come up against *Jerusalem*, not without the Lord (*non sine Numine Divinum*, *Virgil* would have expressed) that no God could be able to deliver the Jews out of his Hand: And thus *Homer* represents *Hector* delivered up to the Fury of *Achilles*: When *Jupiter* determined that he should be killed, then *Phæbus* left him (l); no Deity any longer interposed in his Behalf: And *Virgil* gives up *Turnus* to *Æneas* in the same Manner (m). And as they thought no God able to deliver any Favourite from the Fate appointed by the supreme Deity; so we do not find Instances, which intimate, that when any God threatned to afflict them, that they thought they could support themselves against divine Vengeance, by seeking the more immediate Favour of some other God. When *Calchas* had informed the *Greeks*, that *Apollo* had sent the Pestilence among them, for neglecting his Priest and Favourite, the *Greeks* did not endeavour to fly to *Jupiter*, or to some other God, to be protected against *Apollo's* Anger; but they im-

(k) 2 Kings xviii.

(l) Iliad. 22.

(m) Æneid. 12.

mediately took the best Care they could to appease *Apollo* (n). And thus, when the *Assyrians* thought the People, whom they had planted in *Samaria*, to have Lions sent amongst them by the God of the Country into which they had removed them, they did not think it sufficient to endeavour to procure them Protection against this strange God, whose Manner they did not know, by setting up the Worship of their own Gods; but the King of *Assyria* thought fit to command, that they should carry thither one of the Priests, whom they had brought from thence, that he might go and dwell there, and teach the People the Manner of the God of the Land (o). When *Cyrus* invaded *Assyria*, he made Libations, to render the Soil propitious to him; then he sacrificed to the Gods and Heroes of the *Assyrian* Nation; then to *Jupiter Patrius*; and it is remarked, that if there appeared to him to be any other God, he took care not to neglect him (p). This was the Pagan Practice, and it could have been to no Purpose for *Pharaoh* to have employed his *Magicians* to try to work Miracles as *Moses* did, if he had thought them assisted by a divine Power in working them; for it had been no Detection of *Moses's* not being sent from God, that when he had wrought a Miracle to confirm his Mission, a Person, who

(n) Homer. Il. 1.
Cyropæd. l. 3.

(o) 2 Kings xvii.

(p) Xenoph.

by the same, or a like divine Power, could work the same Miracle, had been opposed to him. This could not have proved either of the Persons not to have wrought a true Miracle; for each of them must have known and confessed that they had either of them wrought a true Miracle by divine Assistance. It is nowhere suggested, that the Gods of *Egypt* commanded *Pharaoh* to keep the *Israelites*, nor can it be conceived that *Pharaoh* could desire his Priests to try to work Miracles, to know whether this was their Will or no; for supposing him to think that *Moses* had been able by the Power of one Deity to work a Miracle to demand their Dismission, it is impossible to think he or his People could be so absurd as to imagine, that the Gods would work Miracles in Defiance of, and Opposition to one another. In this Case had he thought *Moses* had wrought a true Miracle, he would have believed that some Deity had really sent him, and tho' this Deity was not an *Egyptian* God, yet when convinced that he really was a God; like *Cyrus*, when he had appeased the several Gods he knew of, if he found that there was any other Deity, which he had hitherto been a Stranger to, he would not have neglected him: But *Pharaoh* doubted whether *Moses* really wrought a Miracle or no: The Learned in *Egypt* thought, that Miracles, Prodigies, and Omens, were given by the *Planetary* and *Elementary* Influences, and that Students deeply versed in the Mysteries of Nature, could
cause

cause them by Arts and Incantations. *Pharaoh* thought his *Magicians* to be great Masters of these Arts, and that therefore, if they could perform what *Moses* did, that then *Moses* was only such a one as they, and endeavoured to delude him, by artificial Wonders instead of real Miracles. And this is abundantly confirmed to be the Fact, by the Account which *Moses* gave of the *Magicians* using their Incantments, and of the Confession extorted from them, when they could not succeed in the Use of them.

When the *Magicians* of *Egypt* endeavoured with their Incantments to produce Lice, and could not do it, the Confession which they made hereupon was, not that they were overpowered by the God of *Israel*; not that he assisted his Servants beyond what their Gods did them; but [אֶצְבַּע אֱלֹהִים הוּא] *Atsban Elobim Houa*. This is the Finger of God (q). The *Targum* of *Onkelos* renders it, This Plague comes from God. The *Arabick* Version expresses it, A Sign of this Nature is of God. So that this appears evidently to have been what *Pharaoh* endeavoured fully to convince himself of; Whether the Works which *Moses* performed were artificial, or whether they were the Finger of God; and when the *Magicians* had answered him this Question, we find that he made no further use of them: Whereas, had the Question been, whether

(q) Exodus viii. 19.

the God of *Israel* or the Gods of *Egypt* were the most able to assist their Servants, *Pharaoh* might have doubted, whether the Want of Success in the Experiment was not more owing to some Defect in the Magicians Inchantments, than in the Power of the Gods: He would have thought, that the Magicians had made improper Applications to obtain the Favour of the Gods, and that, according to the Notions which prevailed when *Balaam* was desired to curse the *Israelites* (r), tho' some Inchantments or Religious Arts of Address might not obtain the divine Favour, yet others might (s); and the being disappointed in one Trial, would rather have argued a Defect in the Priest or Magician's Attempts to make the Gods propitious, than want of Power in their Gods to assist them. But the Inquiry was evidently not of this Nature: All that *Pharaoh* wanted to be informed of was, whether *Moses* was a Magician; or was really sent by the God, which he spoke of, and he expected to be convinced of this, by examining whether his Wonders were such as the Magicians by their Arts could perform or no.

There are several Queries which may be very justly made upon *Pharaoh's* employing his Magicians to attempt to work the Wonders which *Moses* performed. It may be asked, Was there really any Knowledge of.

(r) Numbers xxiii.

(s) xxiv. 1.

the Powers of Nature, or *Arcana* of Art, by which Magicians, without the miraculous Assistance of the Deity, could perform such Operations as *Pharaoh* here employed his wife Men and Sorcerers to attempt? Did the *Egyptian* Magicians really perform those Wonders, in which they are recorded to have imitated *Moses*? How could *Pharaoh* think or imagine, that they could possibly perform them? or How could they themselves be so weak as to attempt them? or How came they to have Success in some Instances, wherein they tried and performed Wonders like what *Moses* had done? But to all these Queries it is not difficult to find a just and sufficient Answer.

I. Was there really any Knowledge of the Powers of Nature, or any Secrets of Art, by which Magicians might be able to do such Wonders as *Moses* performed before *Pharaoh*, without their having an extraordinary and divine Assistance? It is easy to return an Answer to this Question. The Knowledge of natural Causes and Effects is so clear in this Age, by the Light which has been introduced by Experiment and Philosophy, that we may positively say, that no Effects like what these Men pretended to accomplish by Sorcery and Inchantment, can be artificially produced by any or all the Powers of Nature. No Art, no Study of occult Sciences, can enable a Man really to change a Rod or Stick of Wood into a living Serpent: There are no Inchantments

ments sufficient to enable us to make a living Frog, or to strike our Neighbour with a Disease or Boil, or to inflict any Vengeance of this sort upon him. There never were the Instances which are pretended to, of Things of this Nature effected by Arts of this sort. How the Magicians of *Egypt* performed their Wonders before *Pharaoh*, shall be by and by mentioned; and in the same Manner in which we account for them, we may account for all other wonderful and supernatural Works, represented to have been effected by any Heathen Magicians in the sacred Pages. As to many Accounts of such Facts which are mentioned in prophane Historians, we may venture to assert, that they were never really done as they represent them, but that they are generally some of the Scripture Miracles falsely reported, or attributed to Persons who were never concerned in them, or Accounts of Facts which were never done at all. *Julian*, the Son of *Theurgus*, is said to have caused the Heaven to be black with Clouds, and a vast Shower to fall with terrible Thunders and Lightning, *σφοδρα τιμι*, by some magick Art, but others think that *Arnuphis* the *Egyptian* Philosopher performed this Miracle (*t*): Such as this are the Relations of the Heathen Wonders: no Certainty of the Performer of them, and nothing but a vague and undetermined Conjecture how they could be performed. This Fact may as well be ascribed

(*t*) Suidas in Voc. *Ἰερατερός*.

to *Arnuphis* as to *Julian*, and was certainly true of neither; being probably the Account of *Elijah's* obtaining Rain in the Time of (*u*) *Abab*, falsely ascribed to one or other of the Heathens, in order to raise the Credit of the Heathen Learning. But it will be asked,

II. Did the *Egyptian* Magicians really perform those Wonders which are ascribed to them? Some learned Writers have imagined that there was not any real Transmutation when the Rods of the *Egyptian* Magicians were pretended to be turned into Serpents (*w*); and that they did not really turn Water into Blood (*x*), or produce Frogs (*y*), or exhibit any real Miracle in their Opposition to *Moses*; but that they either played their Part as Juglers, pretending to do what they really did not do; or that some *Dæmons* assisted them, and by their Power over the Air, enabled them to deceive the Sight of the Beholders, and to cause *Phantoms*, or delusive Appearances of what was really not done tho' it seemed to be performed in the Sight of *Pharaoh*, and those who were present with him. Many of the Fathers of the Christian Church are cited as Abettors of this Opinion (*z*), and *Josephus* is said to favour it (*a*); but certainly we have little Reason to admit it. As to the Magicians imposing upon *Pharaoh*

(*u*) 1 Kings xviii.

(*w*) Exodus vii.

(*x*) Ver. 21

(*y*) Chap. viii. 7.

(*z*) See Pool's Synops. Crit. in loc.

(*a*) Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. 2. c. 13.

by Artifice and Pretence, I cannot see how they could possibly do it, without giving *Moses* and *Aaron* an Opportunity of detecting the Cheat, and exposing them to *Pharaoh*, and his People. *Elijah* found it no great Difficulty to detect the false Pretences of the Priests of *Baal*, when they pretended by Prayer to bring Fire from Heaven, but could not really obtain it (b). In the same Manner *Moses* would, without doubt, have brought the Artifices of the *Egyptian* Magicians to a Trial, which would have detected the Cheat, if the Wonders, which they pretended to perform, had been only pretended, and not really performed by them. And as to their being able to exhibit Appearances of Serpents, Frogs, and Blood, when no such Things really were in Being, but only appeared to be, by the Air being so directed by the Agency of Beings which had Power over it, as to affect *Pharaoh* and his Subjects in such a manner, as to cause them to think they saw the *Magicians* Rods turned into Serpents, Frogs produced, and Water converted into Blood, when none of these Things were really done: To this I answer, that to argue in this manner, is indeed to be unwilling to allow the *Egyptian* Magicians to be able to perform a true Miracle, and yet at the same time it supposes them to have performed Wonders, of which we can give as little Account as of a Miracle. Let any one

(b) 1 Kings xviii.

try to give a satisfactory Account, how an Magician could, by a Power over the Air either by himself, or by the Assistance of *Dæmon*, represent to the naked View of the Beholders, in Opposition to a true Miracle Serpents, Frogs, and Water converted into Blood; nay, and so represent them, as that the fictitious Appearances should not be distinguishable from the real, but should bear to be seen with them at one and the same Time, the same Light, in the same View (for so the Rods of the Magicians turned into Serpents certainly were, when *Aaron's* Rod swallowed up their Rods) (c); I say, let any one try to give a reasonable Account of this Fancy, and he will quickly see, that he may more reasonably suppose the Magicians able to perform true and real Transmutation, than to ascribe to them such imaginary Powers as this Supposition requires; and which, if they could be conceived, can tend only to destroy the Certainty of all Appearances whatever. The Account which *Moses* gave of the Miracles performed by himself and *Aaron*, and of what the Magicians performed by their Incantations, does not hint any Difference as to the Reality of the Performances of either of them, and undoubtedly the Rods of the Magicians were truly and really turned to Serpents, as well as the Rod of *Aaron*, and were truly and really swallowed up by *Aaron*.

(c) Exodus vii. 12.

Rod. The Frogs which the Magicians produced, were true real living Frogs, as well as those produced by *Moses*; and the Magicians certainly turned Water into Blood, truly and really as *Moses* himself did. There can be nothing offered from the Sacred History, to suppose the one Appearances more real than the other; and if a Believer of Revelation will argue the Magicians Performances to be only *Phantasms*, or Deceptions of the Sight of the Beholders; why may not an Unbeliever with equal Assurance argue, all that *Moses* did to be of the same sort? Nothing but the most extravagant *Scepticism* can be built upon so wild a Supposition. But,

III. If there were no secret Arts, no occult Sciences, by the Study of which the *Egyptian* Magicians might think themselves able to perform these Wonders; how could *Pharaoh* imagine, that his Magicians could perform them, or how could they themselves be so weak, or so vain, as to attempt them? I answer. We read of no Miracles of this sort ever performed in the World before this Time. God had discovered his Will to Mankind by Revelation in all Ages. In the first and most early Times by Voices or Dreams: From *Abraham's* Time the Lord appeared frequently to his Servants. But no such Wonders as were done in *Egypt*, in the Sight of *Pharaoh*, are recorded to have ever been performed in the World before, so that they were a new Thing, undoubtedly surprising to all that saw them. And accordingly

we find, that *Moses*, when he saw the Bush on Fire, and not consumed, was amazed and turned aside to see *this great Sight*, *whilst the Bush was not burnt* (a): And when God turned his Rod into a Serpent, *Moses* was terrified, and fled from it (b). God had not yet enabled any Person to work Wonders as *Moses* and *Aaron* did in *Egypt*; and therefore *Pharaoh*, upon seeing these Things performed might well inquire whether his Magicians could do such Things as these; and the Magicians might without Absurdity try whether they could or no. God had before this Time frequently revealed himself to his Servants by Dreams, by Voices, by sending Angels, or by appearing to them. And the World in general was in these Days full of Belief of the Truth of such Revelations, until, as human Learning increased, the conceit of *Science* falsely called seduced the Learned to think themselves able, by Philosophy and Speculation, to delineate a Religion of Nature sufficient to render Revelation unnecessary and superfluous. The *Egyptians* began early, and had proceeded far in this false way of Thinking: Instead of one God, and one Lord, whom *Abraham* and his Descendants worshipped, they corrupted their Faith very near as early as *Abraham's* Day (f); and admitted, that there was indeed a supreme Deity, presiding over the Universe

(a) Exodus iii. 3.
Vol. II. B. 7.

(b) iv. 3.

(f) See Vol. I. B. 6.

(for this I think the Heathens never really denied, tho' the Gröfsness of *Polytheism*, which Time introduced, greatly obscured their Knowledge of even this Truth) but they imagined they had Reason to think, that the Planets and Elements were Gods also (*g*), and governed the World by their Influence, tho' subject to the Fate (*b*), Will or Direction of the supreme God. And as to what was generally believed of Dreams, Visions, and Revelations, which had been made to Men, the Learned in these Times thought as freely about them, as our modern Querists. The Belief of them was of Service to the Legislators, who knew how to make them a State-Engine to govern their People by (*i*); but they thought themselves wise enough to know, that they were occasioned *sine Deo*, in a natural Way, by the Planetary and Elementary Influences; and that they were made a Part of their Religion, only

(*g*) Mundum — habere mentem, quæ & se, & ipsum fabricatum sit, & omnia moderetur, moveat, regat: erit persuasum etiam Solem, Lunam, Stellas omnes, Terram, Mare Deos esse —

Cic. (*b*) Τί κωλύσει τῆς τῆς Διὸς ΕΙΜΑΡΜΕΝΗΣ ἐπιτύχουσας πάντας εἶναι. Plut. L. de defect Orac. p. 426. Fatum est non id quod superstitiosè sed quod Physicè dicitur Causa æterna Rerum. Cic. Deum Necessitatem appellant, quia nihil aliter possit atque ab eo constitutum sit.

(*i*) Ονειρήματα ἢ φάσματα, ἢ τοιούτον ἄλλον ὄσκον περιστάμενοι — ὁ πολιτικοῖς μὲν ἀνδράσι, ἢ πρὸς αὐθάδη ἢ ἀκόλαστον ὄχλον παρακασμένοις ζῆν, ἢ ἀχρηστον ἰσῶς εἶναι, ὡσπερ ἐκ χαλινοῦ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἀνίστασθαι ἢ μεταστῆναι τῶς πολλὰς — Plut. L. de Socratis Genio. p. 580.

for the Utility of their popular Influence (k) and for Reasons of State, for the Government of Kingdoms (l). Hitherto the *Egyptians* had proceeded; and had *Moses* come to them, and could only have assured them, that he had received a Command from God in a Dream, or by a Vision, or by a Voice, or any other Revelation, neither *Pharaoh*, nor his Wife Men would have regarded him at all, but have concluded, that some natural Prodigy had happened; for such they would most probably have imagined the Bush on Fire to be, and have supposed that *Moses* had made a political use of it; and for this Reason *Pharaoh* bad him shew a Miracle; knowing, that if the Deity really sent him, he could give this Proof of it. Hereupon God enabled *Moses* to work several very extraordinary Signs and Wonders, such as had never been seen or heard of in the World before: Upon seeing which, *Pharaoh* very naturally consulted his *Magi*, and they tried all the mystical Operations, and examined all the Schemes, which their Systems of Science furnished, to see whether these Things could be done or accounted for by any natural In-

(k) Non enim sumus ii nos Augures, qui Avium, reliquorum signorum Observatione futura dicamus: ——— errabat enim multis in Rebus Antiquitas, quam vel usu jam vel doctrinâ vel Veritate immutatam videmus; retinetur autem & ad opinionem Veritatis, & ad magnas utilitates Reipublicæ Mos, Religio, Disciplina, Juris Augurum, Collegii Autoritas. *Cicer. de Divinat.* l. 2. c. 33.

(l) Existimo Jus Augurum, etsi Divinationis Opinione Principium constitutum sit; tamen postea Reipublicæ Causâ conservatum ac contentum. *Cic. de Divinat.* l. 2. c. 35.

fluences, or human Learning; and after several Trials acknowledged that they could not, but that they were the Effect of an omnipotent Hand, *the Finger of God* (m). But

IV. If the *Egyptian* Magicians had no mystical Arts, by the Use of which they could really turn their Rods into Serpents, produce Frogs, and change Water into Blood; how came they to succeed in these Attempts which they made in Opposition to *Moses*? We have no Reason to think that the King knew the Works which he employed his Magicians to try to perform, to be within the Reach of any Art they were Masters of, because he ordered them to try to perform them; rather on the contrary, He ordered them to try to perform them, that he might know whether Art could effect them or no, or whether they were indeed true Miracles. Kings were wont in all extraordinary Cases, where any thing happened which was thought ominous or surprizing, to send for their Priests and learned Professors, and to order them to answer the Difficulties that perplexed them. And tho' much was pretended to, yet they had not yet advanced so far in the true Knowledge of Nature, but that Kings sometimes thought they might require of their *Magi* Things impossible. We have an Instance of this in the Book of *Daniel* (n). *Nebuchadnezzar* dreamed a Dream and forgot it; and required his *Magi*, not only to

(m) Exodus viii. 19.

(n) Daniel ii.

tell him the Meaning of his Dream, but to find out what his Dream was; and tho' the *Chaldeans* answered him, that *no Man upon Earth could do it*, and that *no King, Lord or Ruler had ever asked such a Thing of any Magician, Astrologer or Chaldean*; yet the King was so resolutely set upon compelling them to use their utmost Endeavours, that he *resolved*, and *commanded to destroy all the Magi, or Wise Men of Babylon*. In these Cases, the *Magi* might try all possible Experiments, tho' they had no Reason to hope for Success from them.

2. It does not appear from the Magicians here trying their Experiments, and succeeding in them, that they thought at first that their Arts would be effectual, and that they should be able to perform such Works as *Moses* and *Aaron* had done. The Priests of *Baal*, in the Time of *Elijah* (o), had no Reason to think, that the Invocations of their God, or the cutting themselves with Knives and Lancers, would produce the Fire from Heaven to consume their Sacrifice; but yet they tried all the Artifices they could think of from Morning until Evening. So here the *Egyptians* had no Reason to think their Incantations would produce Serpents; but they would try all Experiments, in order to judge further of the Matter; and upon their attempting, God was pleased in some Cases to give an unexpected Success to their Endeavours, in order to serve and carry on his

(o) 1 Kings xviii.

own Purposes and Designs by it. For, 3. The Success they had was certainly unexpected, as evidently appears by their not being able to follow *Moses* in all his Miracles. They produced Serpents and Frogs, and converted Water into Blood, but when they attempted to produce the Lice, they could not do it. It is here evident, that the Magicians did not know the Extent of their Powers, if they can be conceived to have had any; for they attempted to equal *Moses* in all his Performances, but upon Trial they found they could do some, but in others, tho' not a whit more difficult, they could not obtain any Success at all. Had they had any effectual Rules of Art or Science to work by, they would at first, without Trial, have known what to attempt, and what not; but in Truth, they had no Arts to perform any thing of this sort. In some Instances, God was pleased to give a Success which they little expected, to their Endeavours, and which they were so far from resting satisfied with, that they took the first Opportunity that was given them, when their Attempts failed, to acknowledge that *Moses* was certainly assisted by the divine Power.

Moses and *Aaron* went the third time to *Pharaoh*, and urged again the Demand they had made for his dismissing the *Israelites*; and as a further Sign, that God had really sent them, upon *Aaron's* stretching out his Hand, and touching the Waters of the River with his Rod, all the Waters in the Land of *Egypt*

were turned into Blood, and continued so for seven Days, so that the Fish died, and the *Egyptians* could get no Water to drink (s); but *Pharaoh* finding that his Magicians could turn Water into Blood, was not convinced by this Miracle, and so refused to part with the *Israelites*.

Some time after *Moses* and *Aaron* came again to him, requiring the Dismission of the People, and withal assuring him, that if he did not grant it, they should bring a great Plague of Frogs upon all the Land; and in order hereto, *Moses* directed *Aaron* to stretch his Rod again over the Waters, upon doing which there came up abundance of Frogs, so as to cover the Land of Egypt, and to swarm in the

(s) Exodus vii. 15 — 25. *Pharaoh is here mentioned to go down in the Morning to the River. It is probable, that the Egyptians accounted it a necessary Part of Religion to purify themselves every Morning, by washing in the River. Virgil represents Æneas as thinking such a Purification necessary, before he might touch the Trojan sacra, having polluted himself in Battel; He says to his Father Anchises,*

Tu, Genitor, cape sacra manu, patriosque Penates;
Me, bello e tanto digressum, & cæde recenti,
Attrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo
Abluero.

Virgil. Æn. 2. v. 717.

but the Egyptians used these Purifications twice every Day, says Herodotus, δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἑκάστης, καὶ δὲ ἑκάστης νυκτὸς. Lib. 2. c. 37. Chæremón says, thrice every Day [ἀπελύνει ψυχρῶ ἀπὸ τε κοίτης, καὶ πρὸ δείπνου, καὶ πρὸς ὕπνου. ap. Porphyr. περὶ ἀποχ. l. 4. § 7.] when they came from Bed in the Morning, just before Dinner, and at Night when they went to sleep. Moses was here directed to go to Pharaoh in the Morning, at his going out to the Water; so that Pharaoh was here going to perform the Morning Purification.

Houses,

Houses, Bed-chambers, upon the Beds, in the Ovens, and kneading Troughs of the *Egyptians* (*t*); but here it also happened that the Magicians also produced Frogs, so that *Pharaoh* was not much influenced by this Miracle (*u*).

There were several other Miracles wrought by *Moses* and *Aaron* in *Egypt* after the same manner. The Swarms of Lice (*w*); the Murrain upon the *Egyptian* Cattle (*x*); the Plague of the Flies (*xx*); the Boils inflicted upon not only the *Egyptian* People, but upon the Magicians also (*y*); the terrible Rain and Hail and Fire mingled with Hail (*z*); the Plague of the Locusts (*a*), and the (*aa*) Darknes for three Days; all these Things being caused at the Word of *Moses*, exceedingly perplexed the King. He found that all the Powers, Art, and Learning of his Magicians could not perform these Miracles; nay, upon attempting one of them, they themselves confessed to him, that it was done by the Finger of God (*b*); and in the Plague of the Boils, the Magicians themselves were afflicted (*bb*), and *could not stand before Moses, because of the Boil; for the Boil was upon the Magicians, and all the Egyptians.* The King's Heart was several times almost overcome: He offered the *Israelites* leave to sacrifice to the Lord their God, provided they

(*t*) Exodus viii. 3 — 6.

(*u*) Ver. 7.

(*w*) Ver. 16.

(*x*) ix. 3, 7.

(*xx*) viii. 21.

(*y*) ix. 9 — 12.

(*z*) Ver. 18.

(*a*) x. 4.

(*aa*) Ver. 21.

(*b*) viii. 19.

(*bb*) ix. 11.

would

would do it in *Egypt*; (c) but to this *Moses* answered, that their Religion was so different from the *Egyptian*, that were they to perform the Offices of it in *Egypt*, the People would be so offended as to rise against them and stone them (d). Afterwards *Pharaoh* would have permitted them to go out of *Egypt*, provided the adult Persons only would go, and that they would leave their Children behind them as Pledges of their Return (e); but upon *Moses's* insisting to have the People go, *with their young and with their old, with their Sons and with their Daughters, with their Flocks and with their Herds*; *Pharaoh* was incensed against him, and having severely threatned him, ordered him to be turned out of his Presence (f). Afterwards, *Pharaoh* was willing that all the People should go, only that they should let their Flocks and their Herds be stayed (g); very probably knowing, that they could not go far without Sustenance, and that if they left all their Flocks, and their Herds, they must soon return again; for what Nation would receive or maintain with their own Product and Provisions so numerous a People? or how or where could they subsist, if their Flocks and Herds were left behind them? So that the Leave of departing, which *Pharaoh* offered, would soon have been of no Service; and therefore *Moses* rejected it, and required that their *Cattle also*

(c) Exodus viii. 25.

(d) Ver. 26.

(e) x. 11.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Ver. 24.

should

should go with them, and not an Hoof be left behind (b): But upon *Moses's* requiring this, *Pharaoh* grew exceeding angry, and charged him to get him away, and never attempt to see him more; for that if he did, he would certainly put him to Death (i).

Thus was this unhappy Prince, by the Obstinacy of his Heart carried on, thro' many great Misfortunes to himself and People, at length to his Ruin. He had, all along sufficient Means of Conviction. When his Magicians Rods were turned into Serpents, and *Aaron's* Rod swallowed up their Rods, how would a Circumstance, far less remarkable and extraordinary, have moved him, if what *Moses* required had not been disagreeable to him? In several of the Plagues, that were inflicted upon him and his People, *Pharaoh* was compelled to make Application to *Moses*, to intreat the Lord his God to remove the Evil (k); and in others, the King himself was nice and exact in inquiring, whether the *Israelites* did suffer in them with his People or no; and found, upon Examination, that God had distinguished the *Israelites* from the *Egyptians*, and that they were not partakers in (l) the remarkable Calamities inflicted upon the Land. I might add the particular Confession of the Magicians, that *Moses's* Works were *the Finger of God* (l); and observe how the Magicians themselves

(b) Exodus x. 25. (i) Ver. 28. (k) viii. 8, 29. ix. 28.

& x. 17: (ll) viii. 21. ix. 7, 26. & x. 23. (l) viii. 19.

suffered

suffered in the Plague of the Boils; and how *Moses* was able, at any Time or Hour, to obtain from God a Removal of the Plagues, upon *Pharaoh's* Address for it. How could the King, if he attended at all to these Circumstances, not be intirely convinced by them? and yet I do not see that we have any Reason to think that He fully believed that *Moses* was really and truly sent from God to him upon the Message which he had delivered. There were many of the Servants of *Pharaoh*, that regarded not the Word of the Lord, but left their Servants and Cattle in the Field, when *Moses* had threatned the Rain and Fire, and Hail to destroy them (*m*). Undoubtedly, after all that had been done before this, these Men did not believe, that any such Storm would happen; and after this, and after the inflicting another Plague, the *Egyptians* only thought *Moses* to be a Snare to them (*n*); a Snare which *Pharaoh* seemed to think he might perhaps free his People from, if He put him to Death (*o*). All the Effect which *Moses's* Miracles seem to have had was, not that the Power of God was at last revered, or acknowledged by *Pharaoh* or his People; but *the Man Moses* was very great in the Land of Egypt, in the Sight of *Pharaoh's* Servants, and in the Sight of the People (*p*); they admired the Man as far Superior to their own Magicians; but what he had done had

(*m*) Exodus ix. 21.

(*n*) x. 7.

(*o*) Ver. 28.

(*p*) Exodus xi. 3.

no true Influence for the End for which it was intended. For we may reasonably suppose, that when *Pharaoh*, and his Army pursued the *Israelites* to the red Sea, tho' they were terribly struck at first at the Death of their First-born, and therefore had dismissed them; yet when they came to consider more at Leisure what they had done, it is probable they believed at last, that they had been imposed upon more by the Art of *Moses*, than any true and real Power of God, exerted for the Deliverance of his People, and for that Reason they went after them to retake them, or to revenge themselves upon them. I am sensible it may be asked, How could Men of common Sense and Understanding be so wonderfully absurd? But I answer; Sense and Understanding are not the only Requisites to make Men judge rightly of even clear and very evident Truths. The inspired Writer most justly advises, to *take heed of an evil Heart of Unbelief* (q); *Out of the Heart are the Issues of Life* (r). Our Passions and Affections have a very powerful Influence over us; and where they are not carefully managed and governed, it is amazing to see how the slightest Evasions will pass for most weighty and conclusive Arguments; and how the brightest and most apparent Evidences of Truths, will be thought to be of little Moment even to Persons of the greatest Sense and Sagacity in other Matters, where their In-

(q) Hebrews iii. 12.

(r) Proverbs iv. 23.

terest or their Humours do not contradict the Truths which are offered to them. *Pharaoh's* Fault was in his Heart; and that made him unfortunate in the Use of his Understanding. The *Israelites* were numerous and serviceable Slaves, and it was a terrible Shock and Diminution to his Wealth and Grandeur to dismiss them; and not being able to reconcile his Inclinations to the Thoughts of parting with them, the vague and ill-grounded Learning of the Times he lived in, was thought to afford Arguments sufficient to take off the Force of all the Miracles, that were offered to induce him to it. It is no very hard matter to judge of Truth; if we are but sincerely disposed to embrace it; *If any Man will do God's Will, He will know of the Doctrine, whether it be of God (s).* A common Capacity, and an ordinary Share of Understanding, will afford Light enough, if evil Passions do not make *the Light that is in us* to become *Darkness*; but if our Heart is not duly disposed to embrace the Truth, *neither may we be persuaded*, by the greatest Arguments and Demonstrations that can be offered for it, even tho' we have uncommon Abilities to judge of, and understand the Force of what is represented to us.

Some Writers have imagined, that the Incompliance of *Pharaoh*, was an effect of Temper produced in him by God himself. They en-

(s) John vii. 17.

deavour to support their Opinion by the many Expressions of *Moses*, that God hardened *Pharaoh's* Heart (*t*); and by *St. Paul's* seeming to represent, from what is recorded by *Moses*, that God raised up *Pharaoh* on purpose to make him a terrible Example of his Power and Vengeance to the whole World (*u*). But,

1. God is said in Scripture to do many Things, which are permitted by him to come to pass in the ordinary and common Course of Things; according to which manner of Expression, God may be said *to harden Pharaoh's Heart*, only because he did not interpose, but suffered him to be carried on by the bent of his own Passions to that inflexible Obstinacy which proved his Ruin. And in this Sense, perhaps, we may interpret the Words of *St. Paul* (*w*), *Therefore bath He Mercy on whom He will have Mercy, and whom He will he hardeneth.* God had not so much Mercy upon *Pharaoh* as to prevent his being hardened; and therefore in this Sense is said to have hardened him. 2. It is plain, that *Moses*, unto whom God used these Expressions about *Pharaoh*, understood them in this Sense, from many Parts of his Behaviour to him; and especially from his earnestly intreating him to be persuaded, and to let the People go. If *Moses* had known, or thought, that God had doom'd *Pharaoh* to unavoidable Ruin, what Room or Opportunity

(*t*) Exodus iv. 21. vii. 3. ix. 12. x. 1, 20, 27. xi. 10,

kc.

(*u*) Rom. ix. 17.

(*w*) Ver. 18.

could

could there be for to endeavour to persuade him to avoid it? But that *Moses* attempted, with all possible Application, to make an Impression upon *Pharaoh* for his Good, is very evident from the following Passage, which if rightly translated would be very clear and expressive. *And Moses said unto Pharaoh, Glory over me, when shall I intreat for thee and for thy Servants——?* (x) The translating the Hebrew Words *hithpaar gnalai*, *glory over me*, makes the Sense of the Place very obscure; the true rendering the Words would be, *Do me Glory or Honour, i. e. believe me*, which will be to my Honour in the Sight of the People; and the whole of what passed between *Pharaoh* and *Moses* at this Time, if rightly translated, is to this Purpose. “ Then *Pharaoh* “ called for *Moses* and *Aaron*, and said: In- “ treat the LORD, that He may take away “ the Frogs from me——, and I will let the “ People go, that they may do Sacrifice unto “ the LORD. And *Moses* said, do me the “ Honour to believe me, when I shall intreat “ for thee, and for thy Servants.—— And “ *Pharaoh* said to-morrow I will. And *Moses* “ said, Be it according to thy Word (y). *Moses* here made a very earnest Address to *Pharaoh*, to induce him to be persuaded to part with the People, which he certainly would not have done, if he had thought that *Pharaoh* could no ways avoid not being persuaded, but

(x) Exodus viii. 9.

(y) Ver. 8, 9, 10.

that God himself prevented his Compliance, on purpose to bring him to Ruin. But I might observe, that *Moses* frequently expresses it, that *Pharaoh* hardened his own Heart (z), and not that God hardened it; so that the two Expressions, God hardened *Pharaoh's* Heart, and *Pharaoh* hardened his own Heart, are *Synonymous*, and mean the one no more than the other; unless perhaps it may be said, that as it is agreeable to the *Hebrew Idiom*, to call very high Hills, *the Hills of God* (a), or very flourishing Trees, *the Trees of the Lord* (b); so in the same manner of speaking, it might be said, that *the Lord hardened Pharaoh's Heart*, to express, that it was exceedingly, and beyond measure obdurate. 3. The Expression cited by *St. Paul* from *Moses*, *For this Cause have I raised thee up, that I might shew my Power in thee* — does not support the Sense, which these Expositors would put upon it. The *Hebrew Word Hagnemadtika*, does not signify *I have raised thee up*, or brought thee into Being, but, *I have made thee to stand or continue*: The *LXX* translate the Place very justly, ἐνεκεν τούτων διετηρήσθης *For this Cause Thou hast been preserved* (c); For the Words of *Moses* were not designed to express to *Pharaoh*, that he was born or created on purpose to be

(z) Exodus vii. 13, 22. viii. 15, 19, 32. & ix. 7, 34.

(a) Psalm lxxviii. 15.

(b) Psalm civ. 16.

(c) Most of

the Versions express the true meaning of this Place better than our English Translation. Onkelos renders it; Verum propter hoc sustinui te. The Arabic expresses it; Propter rem hanc te reservavi.

brought to Ruin; but the Reason for saying the Words, and the true Meaning of them is this: *Moses* had wrought several Miracles before *Pharaoh*, but they had had no Effect upon him. Hereupon *Moses* delivered to him a severer Message, threatening, that God would send all his Plagues upon his Heart, and upon his Servants, and upon his People, to smite him with Pestilence, and to cut him off from the Earth; and indeed [continues He, speaking still in the Name of God] for this Cause have I preserved thee hitherto, to shew in thee my Power; *i. e.* I had cut thee off sooner for thy Obstinacy, but that I intended to make my Power over thee more conspicuous; so that the Words only signify, that *Pharaoh* was hitherto preserved by the Forbearance of God, to be a more remarkable Example; not that He was born to be brought to Ruin.

Moses, by Command from God, went once more to *Pharaoh*. The King had charged him never to see his Face more, upon Pain of Death (*d*); and *Moses* had purposed to have so much Regard to his own Safety, as never to attempt it (*e*); but upon God's specially commanding him to go, He was not afraid; knowing, that He that sent him could abundantly protect him. *Moses* now delivered to *Pharaoh*, the severest Message He had ever brought him; and represented to him, that

(*d*) Exodus x. 28.

(*e*) Ver. 29.

at (f) Midnight God would strike dead the first-born of every Family throughout all the Land of *Egypt*; and that there should hereupon be such a Dread and Terror upon all the *Egyptians*, that they should come to him in the most submissive manner, and beg of him to lead the People out of the Land; and after that, said he, I shall go. *Pharaoh* was in a great Rage at *Moses* speaking thus to him; but *Moses* not desiring to stay only to incense and provoke him, turned away and left him.

It is surprizing, that not only our *English*, but all the Versions, represent *Moses* to be the Person here said to be in a great Anger. The Vulgar *Latin* is very faulty; we there find the Place rendred, *Exiit a Pharaone iratus nimis*: "He went out from *Pharaoh* too much angry (g). All the other Versions represent him as exceedingly incensed against the King; but how can we suppose

(f) This Message was delivered to *Pharaoh*, after the *Israelites* had made Preparations for eating the *Passover*, some time in the Day before they left *Egypt*. (g) The Critics imagine the Latin Word *nimis* to be Synonymous to *valdè*, and to signifie very much or exceedingly; but I should think, that where it seems to be thus used, it always implies some Excess: thus; *Non nimis me delectarunt Litteræ illius*. *Cic.* His Letters delighted me not very much. I should translate it not over much. *Fundam tibi nunc nimis vellem dari*. *Ter.* I would very fain that you had a Sling. I think it might be translated, I am over-earnest in wishing you a Sling, i. e. more earnest than I need to be. For it was the Flatterer's excess of Care that wished the Soldier this Instrument; and by the Word *nimis*, he seems nicely to hint that his Valour did not need it. See *Eunuch*. Act. 4. Scene 7.

this of *Moses*, who was very meek, above all the Men, which were upon the Face of the Earth? Besides that, it is hard to imagine he should carry himself so void of that Regard and Respect, which he could not but think it his Duty to pay, in his Behaviour to the King of *Egypt* in his own Kingdom. Some of the Commentators insinuate, that *Moses* was thus exceeding angry, and incensed against *Pharaoh*, because *He was made a God unto Pharaoh* (b). But how absurd must it be to imagine, that *Moses* should receive any Character from the Deity, that would justify him in Rudeness and Misbehaviour to a Ruler of a Kingdom? Certainly it was not *Moses* here, but *Pharaoh* who was in the Passion. *Moses* undoubtedly delivered his Message with all the Weight and Authority which the divine Commission he had received required; and yet at the same time behaved himself with all the Regard and Respect that was due unto the King; and when he had delivered what he had to say, *Ietzea menim Pharaoh bechari Aph*: The Words, *bechari Aph*, in a Fury of Anger, belong to *Pharaoh*, and not to *Moses*; and the Place ought to be translated, *He went out from Pharaoh who was in a furious Anger*.

God had before this instructed *Moses* and *Aaron*, to direct the People to prepare the Passover (i), the getting all things ready for which

(b) Exodus vii. 1. (i) The 1st Verse of Chap. xii. does not imply that the Lord spake to *Moses* about the Passover after he came from

which took up near four Days; for they were to begin on the tenth (k) Day of the Month *Abib*, and to kill the Lamb on the fourteenth Day in the Evening (l); and accordingly on the fourteenth of *Abib* in the Night (m) the *Israelites* eat the first Passover, and at Midnight they heard a great Cry and Confusion amongst the *Egyptians*; for *Pharaoh* and his Princes, and his People, found that there was one Person dead, and that the First-born, without any Exception or Difference in any one Family, in every House of the *Egyptians*. They came immediately to *Moses* and *Aaron* in a great Fright, and Terror, and desired them to get the People together, and to take their Flocks and their Herds, and all that belonged to them, and be gone, and the *Egyptians* were urgent upon the People, that they might send them out of the Land in haste, for they said, *We be all dead Men* (n). Hereupon *Moses* took the Bones of *Joseph*, which his Brethren had sworn to him should be carried with them out of *Egypt*; and the *Israelites* began to journey in the Morning, and on the Morrow, after the Passover, on the

from Pharaoh, for these Directions were given before he went; for he went to Pharaoh the Day on which he told him, that at Midnight God would slay the First-born, namely on the fourteenth of the Month *Abib*, but these Directions were given before the tenth Day: For on that Day they began to prepare for the Passover. So that the former Part of this Chapter, is an Account of some Particulars that had passed, but were not related historically in their Place. (k) Exodus xii. 3.

(l) ver. 6. (m) ver. 7. (n) ver. 33.

fifteenth Day of the Month, they travelled from *Rameses* to *Succoth* (o), about ten or twelve Miles. Here they made a Stop, reviewed their Company, and found that they were six hundred thousand besides Children (p). In this manner the *Israelites* were brought out of *Egypt*; a Transaction so wonderful and extraordinary, that the Heathen Historians could not avoid taking some Notice of it. *Justin*, the *Epitomizer* of *Trogus Pompeius*, gives us Hints of it, in his Account of the History of the *Jewish* Nation (q). He tells us, that some time after the Birth of *Moses*,

“ The *Egyptians* had the Leprosy amongst
 “ them; that upon consulting their Oracle
 “ for a Cure, they were directed to send away
 “ all the infected Persons out of the Land,
 “ under the Conduct of *Moses*. *Moses* un-
 “ dertook the Command of them, and at his
 “ leaving *Egypt* stole away the *Egyptian*
 “ *Sacra*. The *Egyptians* pursued them in
 “ order to recover their *Sacra*, but were
 “ compelled by Storms to return Home again.
 “ *Moses* in seven Days passed the Desert of *A-*
 “ *rabia*, and brought the People to *Sinai*.”

This Account is indeed short, imperfect, and full of Mistakes; but so are the Heathen Accounts of the *Jews* and their Affairs. If the Reader peruses the whole of what *Justin* says of the *Jews*, he will see that his Account of

(o) Numbers xxxiii. 3.
 Hist. Lib. xxxvi. cap. 2.

(p) Exodus xii. 37.

(q) Justin.

them is all of a piece, and that he had made no true Inquiry into their History; however, after all the Mistakes, which either the Misrepresentation of the *Egyptian* Writers might cause, or the Carelessness and want of Examination of other Historians occasion, thus much we may conclude from *Justin* to be on all Hands agreed; that the *Jews* were sent out of *Egypt* under the Conduct of *Moses*, that the *Egyptians* might get free from Plagues inflicted upon them by the divine Hand; and that after they were dismissed the *Egyptians* pursued them, but were disappointed in their Pursuit, not by Force of Arms, but by Obstructions from Providence, in the Direction of Storms and Weather to defeat them. *Justin* hints so many Points, that are so near the Truth, in the several Parts of the *Jewish* History, that I imagine, if due Pains had been taken to examine, he would have given a truer Account of this, and all the other Particulars which he has hinted about them, and their Affairs.

Justin relates, that the *Jews* at their Departure stole the *Egyptian* *Sacra*: We say, they borrowed of the *Egyptians* Jewels of Silver, and Jewels of Gold, and Raiment (r). If they borrowed them, we cannot say that they had any Design of returning them again; and therefore the Injustice may be thought the same as if they stole them. Some modern

(r) Exodus xii. 35.

Writers have taken the greatest Liberty of ridiculing this Particular, and are pleased in thinking that it affords them a considerable Objection against the sacred Scriptures: For they insinuate with more than ordinary Assurance, that no one can, consistently with plain and common Honesty, which all Men know too well to be deceived in, suppose God Almighty to direct, or order the *Israelites* to borrow in this Manner. “ The Wit of
 “ the best Poet is not sufficient to reconcile
 “ us to the Retreat of a *Moses* by the Affi-
 “ stance of an *Egyptian Loan*”; said Lord *Shaftsbury*, amongst other things, which he thought might bear hard against the Morality of the sacred History (s). Some very judicious Writers have endeavoured to justify the *Israelites* borrowing of the *Egyptians*; but I shall not offer any of their Arguments, because I cannot find, that the sacred Text does in the least hint, that they borrowed, or attempted to borrow any thing of them. The *Hebrew* Word which our Translators have rendred *borrow* is *Shaal* (t), which does not signify to *borrow*, but to *ask one to give*. It is the very Word used *Psalms* ii. 8. [*Shaal-ve Ettenab*] *Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, and the uttermost Parts of the Earth for thy Possession*: and the Fact was this: God had told *Moses*, that the *Israelites* should not go out of *Egypt* empty,

(s) *Characteristics* Vol. 1, p. 358.
 22. and xii. 35.

(t) See both *Exodus* iii.

but that every Woman should *ask* her Neighbour, and the Person she lived with, to give her Jewels and Raiment, and that he would dispose the *Egyptians* to give them (*u*); and thus when they were leaving *Egypt*, the Children of *Israel* asked the *Egyptians* for Jewels of Silver, and Jewels of Gold, and Raiment, And the Lord gave the People Favour in the sight of the *Egyptians*, so that they gave them what they asked for, so freely as to impoverish themselves by making Presents to them. *Josephus* represents this Fact agreeably to the true Sense of the sacred Text. He says, that the *Egyptians* [δῶροις τε τὰς Ἑβραίους ἐτίμων· οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τάχιστον ἔξελθεῖν· οἱ δὲ κατὰ γατριακὴν πρὸς αὐτὰς συνήθειαν] made the *Hebrews* considerable Presents; and that some did so, in order to induce them to go the sooner away from them; others out of Respect to, and upon Account of the Acquaintance they had had with them (*w*).

The *Exit* of the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, was four hundred and thirty Years after *Abraham's* first coming into *Canaan*: Now *Abraham* came into *Canaan* A. M. 2083 (*x*), so that counting four hundred and thirty Years forward from that Year, we shall fix the *Exit* A. M. 2513, and that is the Year in which it was accomplished. Our *English* Translators have rendred the

(*u*) Exodus iii. (*w*) *Josephus*. Antiq. Jud. Lib. 2. c. 14.

(*x*) See Vol. I, Book 5. p. 275.

xiiith Chapter of *Exodus*, Verse 40, very justly; *Now the Sojourning of the Children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty Years.* The interlinear Translation of the *Hebrew Bible*, and the *Vulgar Latin Version*, do both misrepresent the true Sense of the Place, by rendring it to this Effect; *Now the inhabiting of the Children of Israel, whereby they inhabited in Egypt, were four hundred and thirty Years.* The Children of *Israel* did not live in *Egypt* four hundred and thirty Years; for they came into *Egypt* with *Jacob A. M. 2298* (y), and they went out of *Egypt A. M. 2513*, so that they lived in *Egypt* but two hundred and fifteen Years; and therefore the Sojourning of the Children of *Israel* must not be limited to their living in *Egypt* only, but taken in a more general Sense, and extended to the Time of their living in *Canaan*; for the four hundred and thirty Years here mentioned, begin from *Abraham's* first coming into *Canaan*. The *Samaritan Text* has the Verse thus, *Now the Inhabiting of the Children of Israel, and their Fathers, whereby they inhabited in the Land of Canaan, and in the Land of Egypt, were four hundred and thirty Years.* The most learned *Dean Prideaux* observes, “ that the Additions
 “ herein do manifestly mend the Text, and
 “ make it more clear and intelligible, and

(y) See Vol. II. Book 7. p. 186.

“ add nothing to the *Hebrew* Copy, but
 “ what must be understood by the Reader
 “ to make out the Sense thereof” (z); and
 therefore, why may we not suppose that the
 ancient *Hebrew* Text was in this Verse the
 same with the present *Samaritan*, and that
 the Words, which the *Samaritan* Text now
 has in this Place more than the *Hebrew*,
 have been dropped by some Transcribers?
Josephus fixes the Time of the *Israelites* De-
 parture out of *Egypt* very exactly. He says,
 it was four hundred and thirty Years after
Abraham's coming into *Canaan*, and two hun-
 dred and fifteen Years after *Jacob's* coming
 into *Egypt* (a), both which Accounts sup-
 pose it *A. M.* 2513, the Year abovemention-
 ed. If the *Pastors* came into *Egypt* *A. M.*
 2420, as I have supposed, then the *Exit* of
 the *Israelites* will be ninety three Years af-
 ter the Beginning of the Reign of *Salatis*,
 who was the first of the *Pastor-Kings*; and
 according to Sir *John Marsham's* Table of
 these Kings, *Apachnas* was King of *Egypt* at
 this Time.

From the Time, that the Children of *Is-
 rael* were arrived at *Succoth*, to their getting
 over the Red Sea into *Midian*, it does not
 appear that *Moses* led them one Step by his
 own Conduct or Contrivance. They removed
 from *Succoth* to *Etham*, a Town near the

(z) *Pri leaux Connect.* Vol. 2. Part I. Book 6. p. 602.

(a) *Joseph. Antiq. Jud. Lib. 2. c. 15.*

Border of the Wilderness of *Arabia*; from thence they moved back into the mountainous Parts of *Egypt*, on the West Side of the Red Sea, and encamped near to *Pihabiroth*, between *Migdol* and the Sea. According to *Moses's* Narration of their Movements, it was in no wise left to his Conduct where to lead the People. *When Pharaoh had let the People go, God led them not through the way of the Land of the Philistins, although that was near, lest they should repent when they saw War, and return to Egypt; but God led them about through the Way of the Wilderness of the Red Sea, and the Lord went before them by Day in a Pillar of a Cloud to lead them the Way, and by Night in a Pillar of Fire, to give them Light, to go by Day and Night. And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, speak unto the Children of Israel that they turn and encamp before Pihabiroth, between Migdol and the Sea, over against Baalzephon, before it shall ye encamp by the Sea (b).* Our very learned Countryman *Sir Walter Raleigh*, represents the Conduct of *Moses* in this March of the *Israelites*, as in some measure the Effect of his own Prudence and Skill in the Art of War; and he gives some Reasons to shew how *Moses* performed in the several Stations of this March, the Part of a very able Commander. I cannot pretend to judge of the Rea-

(b) Exodus xiii. 17---22. xiv. 1, 2.

sons of War suggested by him ; but I should imagine, that Sir *Walter Raleigh's* great Military Skill, might lead him to draw an ingenious Scheme here for *Moses*, where we have no Reason to think that *Moses* laid any Scheme at all. It is indeed probable, that Reason might suggest to *Moses*, that it could be in no wise proper to lead his People directly through *Philistia* to *Canaan*. His People, tho' very numerous, were a mixed Multitude, not used to, and altogether undisciplined for War ; and the *Philistines* were a strong and valiant People, and could not well be thought willing to suffer six hundred thousand Persons to enter their Country. Discretion and Prudence therefore might suggest to him, that it would be more proper to lead them about by the Wilderness of *Arabia*, and to retire with them to *Midian*, where he was sure he should be well received by *Jethro* the Ruler there, and there to form them, for what Undertakings it might please God to design them ; and all this may be consistent with the *Hebrew* Expression of God's leading them, who is often said to do several Things, by permitting them to be done by the Conduct of the Persons employed to do them. But tho' all this might reasonably be supposed, yet, as I said, the Journeying of the *Israelites* from *Succoth* to the Red-Sea, was evidently conducted by God's immediate Direction. For 1. If *Moses* designed to carry the People to *Jethro's* Country, he had a much nearer Way from
Etham,

Etham, through the Wilderness of *Sinai*, than to lead the People into the mountainous and rocky Country, on the *Egyptian* Borders of the Red-Sea, out of which he could not expect to find any Passage into *Midian*, without coming back to *Etham* again. 2. As far as I am able to judge, this had been a much safer, as well as a much nearer Way. When *Pharaoh* heard that the People had taken this Rout, he immediately concluded that he could easily destroy them; for he said, *they were entangled in the Land*, shut up in the rocky and unpassable Parts of a wild and uncultivated Country (c). I cannot possibly see, why *Moses* should lead them so much out of their Way, and into such a disadvantageous Country, but upon the View of the miraculous Deliverance which God designed them at the Red-Sea. But 3. It is evident, that from *Suc-coth* to the Red-Sea the *Israelites* travelled under the especial Guidance of Heaven; for the Pillar of the Cloud, and of Fire, which went before them, directed them where to go. *Moses* had no room left him to chuse the Way, for *the Lord went before them by Day in a Pillar of a Cloud, to lead them in the Way, and by Night in a Pillar of Fire to give them Light: to go by Day and Night. He took not away the Pillar of the Cloud by Day, nor the Pillar of Fire by Night from before the People* (d). *Moses* had only to observe the

(c) Exodus xiv. 3.

(d) Chap. xiii. 21, 22.

Guidance of this glorious and miraculous Direction, and to follow as that led him from *Succoth* to *Etham*, to *Pihabiroth* between *Migdol* and *Baalzephon*, and to the Sea.

After the *Israclites* were gone out of *Egypt*, *Pharaoh* repented of his having given them Leave to depart, especially upon its being remonstrated to him that the People *were fled* (e); that they were not gone a few Days Journey merely to serve the Lord their God, but that they designed never to return to him any more. The Loss of so many Slaves was a very sensible Diminution of his Grandeur as well as Wealth, and the Manner in which they were extorted from him, inglorious both to him and his Kingdom; and the hearing, that *Moses* had led them into a Part of the Country, where he thought it would be easy to distress them, made him resolve to follow them, and to try if possible to redress his Losses, or revenge himself upon them. He therefore immediately summoned together his Forces, and with a numerous (f) Army pursued the *Israclites*, and overtook them at their encamping near the Red-Sea (g). At the Approach of *Pharaoh*, the *Israclites* were afraid; they gave over their Lives for lost, and were ready to mutiny a-

(e) Chap. xiv. 5. (f) Josephus says, that *Pharaoh's Army* with which he pursued the *Israclites*, consisted of 600 Chariots, 50000 Horse, and 200000 Foot Soldiers. *Antiq. Jud. Lib. 2. c. 15.*

(g) Exodus xiv.

gainst *Moses* for bringing them out of *Egypt* (b): But *Moses* exhorted the People to fear nothing, assuring them, that they should not be exposed to the Difficulty of a Battle, but that they should see the *Salvation of God*: that God would give them a miraculous Deliverance, and destroy all the *Egyptians* that pursued them (i). It was Night when *Moses* thus spake to them, and soon after He had done speaking, the wonderful Appearance of the Pillar of Fire, and of the Cloud, which went before them to direct their Journey, removed and placed it self between them and the *Egyptians*, with its shining or bright Side towards the *Israelites*, and with its dark or cloudy Side towards the *Egyptians*; so that the *Israelites* had Light to be moving forwards towards the Sea, and the *Egyptians* not being able so well to see their Way, could not follow so fast as to get up with them (k). When the *Israelites* were come to the Sea, they made a Stop for some Hours. *Moses* held up his Hand over the Sea, and God was pleased by a mighty Wind to divide the Waters and to make a space of dry Ground from one side of the Sea to the other, for the *Israelites* to pass over. Hereupon *Moses* and *Aaron* led the Way (l), and the *Israelites* followed them into

(b) Exodus xiv. 11. (i) Ver. 13. (k) Ver. 19, 20.
 (l) Some of the Hebrew Writers represent, that when *Moses* had divided the Sea, the Jews were afraid to attempt to go over it, but that

into the midst of the Sea; and the Waters stood on Heaps on each Side of them, and were as a Wall to them on their right Hand, and on their Left, all the Way they passed. The *Egyptians* came on after them, and it being Night, and they not having the Light of the Pillar, which guided the *Israelites*, finding themselves upon dry Ground, all the Way they pursued, might perhaps not at all suspect that they were off the Shore; for I imagine, that if they had seen the miraculous Heaps of Waters on each Side the *Israelites*, they would not so eagerly have ventured still to press after a People saved by so great a Miracle. When the *Israelites* were got safe on the Land over the Sea, towards Morning, *the Lord* looked from the Pillar of Fire, and of the Cloud upon the *Egyptians*, and troubled their Host, and took off their Chariot Wheels, that they drave them heavily (m). The *Egyptians* began to find their Passage not so easy; the Waters began to come upon them, and their Chariot Wheels to sink and stick fast in the

the Head of the Tribe of Judah led the Way, and that as a Reward for the Courage of this Tribe in this Attempt, they were appointed to march foremost in all the future Journeyings of the Israelites; but the Psalmist seems to hint that Moses and Aaron went before the Israelites into the Sea, Psalm lxxvii. and this Fiction about the Tribe of Judah has no better Foundation than the numerous other Fancies of these Writers, one of which relating to this Passage over the Red-Sea is wonderfully extravagant. They say that God in dividing the Waters, made twelve different Paths, that each Tribe might have a Path to it self; but Conceits of this sort want no Refutation. (m) Exodus xiv. 25.

muddy Bottom of the Sea, so that they could get no further, and *Moses* at the Command of God stretched forth his Hand over the Sea; the *Egyptians* began now at Day-break to see where they were, and to fear their Ruin, they turned back as fast as they could, and endeavoured to get back to Shore; but the Waters came upon them in their full Strength, and overwhelmed them. And thus *Pharaoh* and his whole Army were lost in the Red-Sea.

Some Writers have imagined, that there might be no real Miracle in this Passage of the *Israelites* over the Red-Sea. *Moses* was a great Master of all Science and Learning, and had lived in *Midian*, a Country near the Borders of this Sea, forty Years. He had had Time and Abilities, whilst he kept the Flocks of *Jethro* in this Country, to observe with great Accuracy the Ebb and Flow of it. The Red-Sea at its Northern End divides itself into two Branches, one of which, namely that over which *Moses* led the *Israelites*, from *Toro*, where the two Arms divide, up to the Shore upon the Wilderness of *Etham*, is about thirty Leagues or ninety Miles in Length: At *Toro* this Sea is about three Leagues or nine Miles over, and it continues of much about the same Breadth for twenty Six Leagues or seventy eight Miles upwards, from thence for about two Leagues it is three Miles over, and so it continues up to the Land's End for about six Miles, three or four Miles over all the Way. The adjacent Places, *Migdol*,
Piba-

Pihabiroth, and *Baalzephon*, direct us whereabouts the *Israelites* passed over this Sea, namely over this narrow Arm, and not above six Miles from the Land's End; and it may be said, that the Flux and Reflux of the Sea may perhaps cover, and leave dry every Tide a Tract of Land, from the Place where *Moses* passed over the *Israelites*, up to the Wilderness of *Etham*, as the Ebb and Flow of the Sea does all the Wash, on the Borders of *Lincolnshire* in our Country; and if so, *Moses* might easily by his Knowledge of the Tides, contrive to lead the People round about amongst the Mountains, so as to bring them to the Sea, and pass them over at low Water; and the *Egyptians*, who pursuing them came later, might at first enter the Wash safely as they did, but at Midway, they might find the Waters in their Flow, loosening the Sands, and preventing their going further. Hereupon they turned back, but it was too late; for the Flood came to its Height before they could reach the Shore. *Artapanus* in *Eusebius* (n) informs us, that the Inhabitants of *Memphis* related this Transaction in this Manner: And it may perhaps be thought that *Josephus* favoured this Account, and therefore compared the Passage of the *Israelites* over

(n) Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 27. Artapanus's Words are
 Μεμφίτας μὲν λέγειν, ἔμπειρον ὄντα τὸν Μωϋσέον τῆς χώρας
 τῆς ἄμπατιν τηρήσαντα διὰ ξηρῆς τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ πλῆθος
 περιῶσαι.

the Red-Sea, to *Alexander's* over the Sea of *Pamphylia* (o). I have given this Cavil all the Weight and Strength it can be capable of; let us now see how it may be refuted. And I would observe,

I. That the Passage of *Alexander the Great* over the Sea of *Pamphylia*, bears no manner of Resemblance to this of the *Israelites* over the Red-Sea. *Alexander* was to march from *Phaselis*, a Sea Port, to *Perga*, an Inland City of *Pamphylia*. The Country near *Phaselis* upon the Shore of the *Pamphylian* Sea was mountainous and rocky, and he could not find a Passage for his Army without taking a great Compass round the Mountains, or attempting to go over the Strand between the Rocks and the Sea. *Arrian* observes, that there was no passing here, unless when the Wind blew from the North (p). A Wind from this Quarter, was so directed as to keep back the Tide from flowing so far up the Shore as the Southern Winds would drive it and therefore *Alexander* perceiving just at this Juncture, that there was a violent North Wind, laid hold of the Opportunity, and sent some of his Army over the Mountains, but went himself with the rest of his Forces along the Shore. It is evident that there was no Miracle, unless we call the Wind's blowing opportunely for *Alexander's* Purpose

(o) Joseph. Antiq. l. 2. c. 16.
Alex. lib. 1.

(p) Arrian. de Exped.

Miracle; and *Plutarch* justly remarks, that *Alexander* himself thought, there was nothing extraordinary in this his Passage (q); and it was certainly very injudicious in *Josephus*, to seem to compare this Passage to that of the *Israelites*, when they are not in any one Respect like to one another. The *Israelites* crossed over a Sea, where no Historian ever mentions any Persons but they, to have ever found a Passage. *Alexander* only marched upon the Shore of the Sea of *Pamphylia*, where the Historians, who most magnified the Providence that protected him, do allow, that any one may go at any Time when the same Wind blows, which favoured him. It does not appear from any Historian, that the Red-Sea ebbs backward as far as where the *Israelites* passed over, so as to leave a large Tract of Sand dry in the Recess of every Tide six or seven Miles in Length, and three or four Miles over. No one but the *Israelites* ever travelled over dry Land in this Place, and therefore undoubtedly, here is no dry Land, unless when God by an extraordinary Miracle, was pleased to make it so.

But, II. If the Passage of *Moses* and the *Israelites* over the Red-Sea, was upon a Recess of the Tide, then all the Particulars in *Moses's* Account of this Affair are False.

- i. There needed no Cloud and Pillar of Fire

(q) *Plut.* in *Alexand.* p. 674.

to direct the Journey of the *Israelites* to the Red-Sea; for they were upon this Supposition conducted thither by the Contrivance of *Moses*, who thought, that by his Skill in the Flux and Reflux of the Sea, He could better escape from *Pharaoh* there, than in any other Place. 2. *Moses* represents, that the Waters were divided and stood on Heaps on both sides of the *Israelites*, and were a *Wall to them on their right Hand and on their Left*; but this could not be true if here was only an Ebb or Reflux of the Tide. For if the Tide was driven back by the strongest Wind, the Waters could stand on Heaps on one side only, namely to Sea; the Land side would be intirely drained, the Water being driven by the Wind down the Channel. 3. *Moses* represents, that God caused a strong East Wind to blow in order to divide the Waters, and this indeed is a proper Wind, to have by God Almighty's Direction such an Effect as he ascribes to it; but if a Reflux of the Tide had been the only Thing here caused, an East Wind had not been proper to cause it. The Red-Sea runs up from the Ocean towards the North-West, and therefore a North, or North-West Wind would have had the only proper Direction to have driven back the Tide, if that had been what was done in this Matter. An East Wind blows cross this Sea, and the Effect of it must be to drive the Waters partly up to the Lands End, and partly down to the Ocean,

Ocean, so as to divide the Waters, as *Moses* relates, and not to cause a great Ebb of Tide, and the blowing of such a Wind as this, with a Force sufficient to cause so extraordinary an Effect for the opening the *Israelites* so unexpected and unheard-of a Passage thro' the midst of a Sea, must be looked upon as a miraculous Interposition of God's Power for their Preservation.

III. As to what *Artapanus* suggests, that the *Egyptians* who lived at *Memphis* related, that *Moses* conducted the *Israelites* over the Red-Sea, by his Skill in the Tides, there is no Regard due to this Fiction, especially if we consider, that the wise and learned Part of the *Egyptians* rejected it. For the same Author testifies (r), that the Priests of *Helio-*
polis

(r) Euseb. Præp. Evang. ubi sup. The Words are: Ἡλιοπολίτας ὃ λέγειν, ἐπικαταδραμεῖν τὸν Βασιλέα μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως, ἀμὰ καὶ τοῖς καθιερωμένοις ζώοις, διὰ τὸ τὴν ὑπαρξίν τῆς Ἰουδαίας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων χρησαμένους διακομίζεν· τῷ δὲ Μωϋσῶ θείαν φωνὴν γενέσθαι, πατάξαι τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Ράβδου· τὸν δὲ Μωϋσῶν ἀκέσαντα, ἐπιθίγειν τῆς Ράβδου τῷ ὕδατος, καὶ ἔτω τὸ μὲν νᾶμα διασῆναι, τὴν δὲ δυνάμιν [some Word, perhaps παραχῆσαι, seems here to be omitted in the Text] διὰ ξηρῶν ὁδῶν πορεύεσθαι. σωεμβάσιον δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ διωκόντων, φησὶ πῦρ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ ἔμπεδον ἐκλάμψαι, τὴν δὲ θάλασσαν πάλιν τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπικλύσαι τῆς Αἰγυπτίους ὑπὸ τε τῆς πύρης, καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος πάντας διαφθαρεῖν. This Account of the Memphites is remarkably agreeable to Moses's. It indeed hints, that there were some Lightnings, which Moses has not expressly mentioned, but perhaps it may be conjectured from Psalm lxxvii. 16 — 20. that there were Lightnings

polis related the Affair quite otherwise. Their Account agrees with that of *Moses*: The *Heliopolitans* were always esteemed to be the wisest and most learned of all the *Egyptians* (s); and if *Moses's* Authority, or the faithfulness of his Narration could be questioned, this Agreement of the *Heliopolitans* with him, would be of far more Weight with all reasonable Enquirers to confirm his Account, than what is suggested from the *Memphites* can be of to impair the Credit of it.

We have brought the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, over the Red Sea into the Wilderness, the Period which I designed for this Volume. The Reader cannot but observe from the whole of it, that from the Creation to this Time, God had been pleased in fundry Manners to reveal himself to Mankind, in order to plant his true Religion in the World; and yet notwithstanding all that had been done, this Religion was at this Time well nigh perished from off the Face of the Earth. Every Nation under Heaven, that were of Eminence or Figure, were lost to all Sense of the true God, and were far gone into the Errors of Idolatry. The Apostle seems to hint, that the Defection was caused, by their not *liking to retain God in their Knowledge* (t). But why should Men not like

contributing to the Overthrow of the Egyptians in the Red Sea, and very probably there were anciently many true Relations of this Fact, besides that of Moses, from some of which the Memphites might deduce their Narration.

(s) Herodotus Lib. 2. c. 3.

(t) Rom. i. 28.

to retain the Knowledge of God! I can think of no sufficient Answer to this Question, suitable to the Circumstances of these Ages, unless I may offer what follows. God had given exceeding great Promises to *Abraham* and his Posterity; that he would *make of him a great Nation; make his Name great*, and that in him, or in his Seed all the Families of the Earth should be blessed (u); that he would give him northward and southward, eastward and westward all the Land, which he then saw in the Length and in the Breadth of it, from the River *Euphrates unto the River of Egypt* (w); That he would make him a Father of many Nations, that he would raise Nations from him, and that Kings should come out of him (x). God protected him, where-ever he lived, in so signal a manner, that whenever he was in Danger of suffering Injury, his Adversaries were prevented from hurting him (y). His Son *Ismael* was to be made a Nation, because he was his Seed (z); nay, twelve Princes were to descend from him (a), and the Seed of *Abraham* was to possess the Gate of his Enemies (b). Most of these Promises were repeated to *Isaac* (c), and afterwards to *Jacob* (d), and the remarkable Favours designed this Family, were not bestowed upon them in private, so as to be little

(u) Gen. xii. (w) Chap. xiii. 14, 15, 16, 17. & xv. 18.
 (x) Gen. xvii. 4, 5, 6. (y) Gen. xx. 3. (z) Gen. xxi. 13.
 (a) Chap. xvii. 20. (b) Chap. xxii. 17. (c) Chap. xxvi. 4,
 & 24. (d) Chap. xxviii. 13, 14, 15.

known to the World; but *when they were but a few, even a few, and Strangers in the Land where they sojourned, they went from Nation to Nation, and from one Kingdom to another People, and God suffered no Man to do them wrong, but reprov'd even Kings for their Sakes* (e). The Name of *Abraham* was eminently famous in most Nations of the then inhabited World; and I cannot but think it probable, that the Kings of many Countries might greatly mistake the Design of God to him and his Descendants, as the *Jews* themselves afterwards did, when they came to have a nearer Expectation of their *Messiah*, and imagined that He was to be a mighty temporal Prince to subdue all their Enemies. In this manner the early Kings might misinterpret the Promises to *Abraham*, and think that in Time his Descendants were to cover the Face of the Earth, and to be the Governors of all Nations. I cannot say whether the *Hittites* might not in some measure be of this Opinion, when they styled *Abraham* [*Nesi Elohim*] (f), βασιλεὺς παρὰ θεῶν say the LXX, i. e. a Prince from or appointed by God; and perhaps *Abimelech* might apprehend that *Abraham's* Posterity would in Time become the Possessors of his Country; and being willing to put off the Evil for at least three Generations, he made a League with him, and obtained a Promise, that he would not afflict his People, during his Time, nor in

(e) Psalm. cv. 12, 13, 14.

(f) Gen. xxiii. 6.

the Days of his Son, or his Son's Son (g). Thus the Promises, and the Prophecies to *Abraham* and his Children, might be thought to run contrary to the Views and Interests of the Kings and Heads of Nations; and they might therefore think it good Policy to divert their People from attending too much to them: And for this End, they being in their Kingdoms the chief Directors in Religion, they might, upon the Foundation of Litterature, and human Science, form such Schemes of Augury, Astrology, Vaticination, Omens, Prodigies and Inchantments, as the Magicians of *Egypt* became famous for, in order to make Religion more subservient to their Interests; and in these they proceeded from one Step to another, in what they undoubtedly thought to be the Result of rational Inquiry; until in *Moses's* Time the Rulers of the *Egyptian* Nation, who were then the most learned Body in the World, *beguiled by the Deceit of vain Philosophy*, and too *politically* engaged to attend duly to any Arguments that might convince them of their Errors, were arrived at so intrepid an Infidelity, that the greatest Miracles had no Effect upon them. I am sensible that these Points have been set in a different Light by some Writers, but perhaps there may be Reason to re-examine them. The Pagan Divinations, Arts of Prophecy, and all their Sorceries and Inchantments, as well as their Idolatry and

(g) Gen. xxi. 23.

Worship of false Gods were founded, not upon Superstition, but upon Learning and philosophical Study; not upon too great a Belief of and Adherence to Revelation, but upon a pretended Knowledge of the Powers of Nature. Their great and learned Men erred in these Points, not for want of *Free-thinking*, such as they called so; but their Opinions upon these Subjects were in direct Opposition to the true Revelations which had been made to the World, and might be called the *Deism* of these Ages; for such certainly was the Religion of the governing and learned Part of the Heathen World in these Times. The unlearned Populace indeed in all Kingdoms adhered, as they thought, to Revelation; but they were imposed upon, and received the political Institutions of their Rulers, invented by the Assistance of Art and Learning, instead of the Dictates of true Revelation. In this Manner I could account for the Beginning of the Heathen Idolatries in many Nations. They took their first Rise from the Governors of Kingdoms having too great a Dependance upon humane Learning, and entertaining a Conceit, that what they thought to be the Religion, which Nature dictated, would free them from some imaginary Subjections, which they apprehended revealed Religion to be calculated to bring them under. Length of Time, Advance of *Science falsely* so called, and political Views, had carried on these Errors to a great Height, when God was pleased in a most miraculous manner

manner to deliver his People from the *Egyptian* Bondage; to re-establish true Religion amongst them, and to put the Priesthood into different Hands, from those which had hitherto been appointed to exercise the Offices of it. But the pursuing these Subjects, must belong to the subsequent Parts of this Undertaking.

The End of the Second Volume.



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