

Observations upon the plagues inflicted upon the Egyptians: in which is shewn the peculiarity of those judgments, and their correspondence with the rites and idolatry of that people. To these is prefixed, a prefatory discourse concerning the Grecian colonies from Egypt / By Jacob Bryant.

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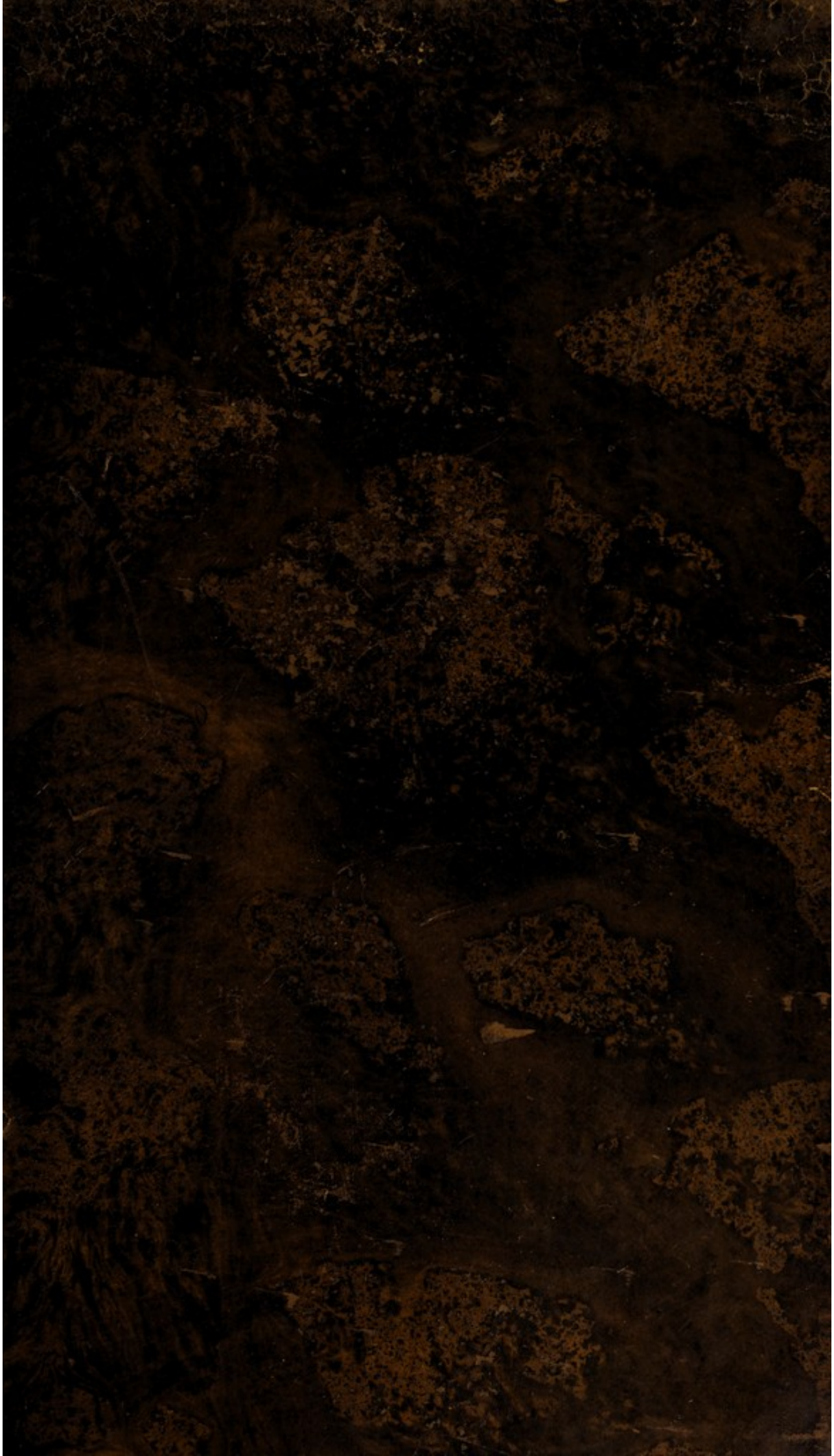
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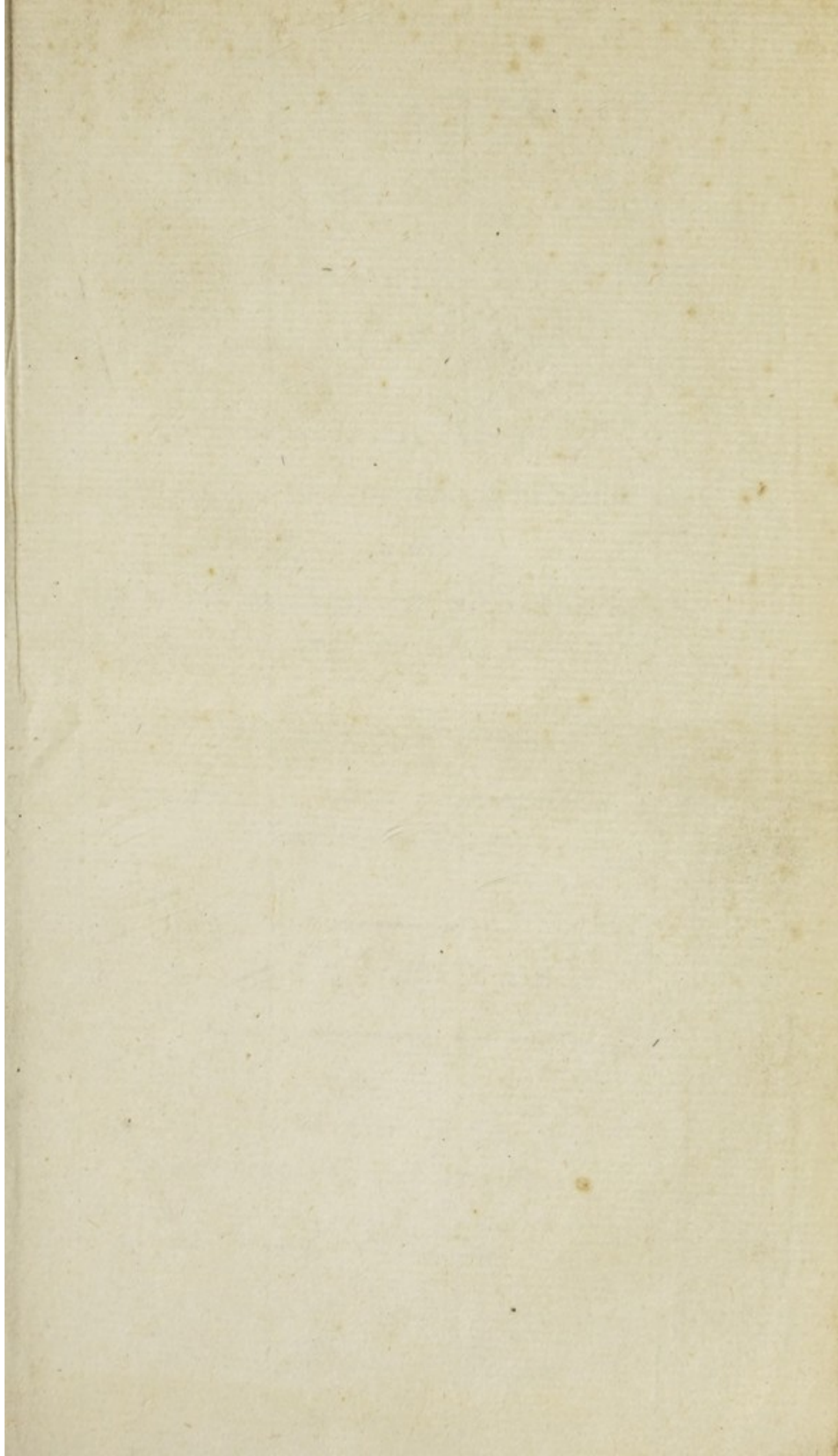
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OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

PLAGUES INFLICTED UPON
THE EGYPTIANS:

IN WHICH IS SHEWN

THE PECULIARITY OF THOSE JUDGMENTS,

AND

THEIR CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE RITES
AND IDOLATRY OF THAT PEOPLE.

TO THESE IS PREFIXED,

*A PREFATORY DISCOURSE concerning the GRECIAN
COLONIES from EGYPT.*

BY JACOB BRYANT.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,

And sold by T. CAPELL, and P. ELMSLEY, in the Strand;
and T. PAYNE, at the Mews Gate. 1794.



P R E F A C E.

*T*HE following Treatise, together with those, with which it is accompanied, was written many years ago for my own private amusement and satisfaction. For I then had formed no design of having them published to the world. But since I have been induced to make my thoughts in some other instances public, it has led me farther than I at first purposed; and given me encouragement to produce these likewise to the world; that if any the least

good can result from them, I may have the happiness of seeing it in some degree take place. The principal subjects, which I have undertaken to elucidate, have, I believe, been considered by me, in a light quite new. For I do not recollect that any person before, has followed the same mode of illustration. Particularly in respect to the plagues in Egypt, it does not appear, that any writer has observed that correspondence, which seems to subsist, between the offence, and the punishment; as well as between the people, and their customs. It will afford me great satisfaction, if this correspondence should appear universally obvious
and

P R E F A C E. ♣

and precise, and founded in truth. As what I here present to the public is a small part of a large collection, I may possibly, if I live, venture to produce other observations upon similar subjects, and of a like tendency. For my chief labour has been, ever since I have had opportunities of reading, observing, and forming an unbiassed opinion, to do honour to the religion, which I profess, and to authenticate the Scriptures, upon which it is founded.

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OF
EGYPTIAN RITES

AND

Of the COLONIES, by which they were introduced very early into GREECE.

AS some of the evidences, concerning the religion and customs of Egypt, are taken from those, which prevailed in Greece; it may be proper to prove, that these customs of the Grecians were certainly borrowed from the former country: and at the same time to shew, at what intervals, and by what persons, they were introduced. For if the rites alluded to were of late date, or doubtful origin, their authority would be of little weight: and no just inference could be made from them. But it will be found, that a near relation subsisted of old between the two nations: that the one was in a

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great

great degree constituted by colonies from the other: that these emigrants came over to Hellas in times of very high antiquity: most of them long before the supposed era of Troy, and became superior to the original inhabitants. They brought with them the religion and rites of the people, from whence they came. We may therefore from the stream judge of the fountain.

Of some early and particular
MIGRATIONS.

First then it will be proper to shew that Greece, according to the traditions of the natives, was in great measure peopled from Egypt. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that some of the principal persons upon record among the Athenians were from this¹ country: and that the Athenians in general were from² Egypt. The Peloponnese was for the most part peopled by Dorians: and the ancient leaders of these Dorians, ac-

¹ Γεγονεναι δε και των Ήγεμονων τινας Αιγυπτιας παρα τοις Αθηναιοις. Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 25. Rhodomanni.

² Και της Αθηνας δη φασιν αποικιας ειναι Σαιτων των εξ Αιγυπτου. Ibid. p. 24.

according to ¹ Herodotus, were of the same original, and came from the same part of the world. The Leleges were a very ancient, and a very large, body of people. They spread over the coast of Asia Minor: and occupied many of the islands. They settled likewise in Greece, as Megara. Lelex, supposed to be the chief conductor, is represented as king of that place; and is said to have migrated from ² Egypt. The same people were possessed of a large part of ³ Laconia: and a Lelex is mentioned as the first ⁴ king of that region; which for a time had the name of Lelegia. Erechtheus was an ancient king of Athens, but of ⁵ Egyptian extraction. As he was acquainted with the fertility of that country, he in a time of scarcity is said to have imported from thence corn for the

¹ Φαινοιατο αν εοντες οι των Δωριων Ηγεμονες Αιγυπτιοι θθαγενεις. Herod. l. 6. c. 54. p. 461.

² Λεγισιν οι Μεγαρεις Λελεγα αφικομενον εξ Αιγυπτια βασιλευσαι. Pausan. l. 1. p. 95.

——— Λελεγα, ον αφικομενον λεγισιν βασιλευσαι εξ Αιγυπτια. Pausan. l. 1. p. 106.

³ Ibid. l. 4. p. 280.

⁴ Pausan. l. 3. p. 203.

⁵ Τον Ερεχθεα λεγισιν το γενος Αιγυπτιον οντα βασιλευσαι των Αθηναιων. Diodor. l. 1. p. 25.

support of his ¹ people. Some time before him Cecrops is said to have come over; who according to tradition was the first king in Attica. He came from ² Saïs in Lower Egypt: and all the Athenians were reputed to have been originally ³ Saïtes. After him another colony was brought by Danaus, and ⁴ Lynceus: both of whom, as the priests at Thebes told Herodotus, were from a city of that Nome, called ⁵ Chemmis. Diodorus speaking of some very early persons, and occurrences, says, that in those times ⁶ Danaus came from Egypt: and that ⁷ Cadmus arrived soon after. Some make Cad-

¹ Diodor. l. 1. p. 25.

² Ὡς δὲ ἀπο τῆς Σαείως πόλεως Αἰγυπτίας, ὁ Κεκροῦς παραγεγονεν Ἀθηναίς τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Joh. Tzetzes. Chil. 5. Hist. 18. p. 91.

Ἐλθὼν γὰρ ἀπο Σαείως πόλεως Αἰγυπτίας, τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐνωκίσε. If. Tzetzes. Schol. in Lycoph. v. 111.

Κεκροῦς, Αἰγυπτίος ὡν τὸ γένος, ὤκησε τὰς Ἀθήνας. Suidas.

³ Ἀθηναίς ἀποικίης Σαΐτων. Diodor. l. 1. p. 24.

⁴ Τὸν γὰρ Δαναὸν καὶ τὸν Λυγκεῖα (ἐφάσαν) εὐντὰς Χεμμίτας ἐκπλῶσαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Herod. l. 2. c. 91. p. 144.

⁵ Ἔστι δὲ Χεμμίς πόλις μεγάλη νομῆς τῆς Θηβαϊκῆς. Ibid.

⁶ Κατὰ δὲ τέτῳ τῆς χρόνης Δαναὸς ἐφυγεν εἰς Αἰγυπτίαν. Diodor. l. 5. p. 329.

⁷ Μικρὸν ἔτερον τῶν τῶν χρόνων (Δαναὸς, Λινδὸς, Ἰαλυσός) Κασμὸς. Ibid.

mus rather prior: and place Danaus third. Danaus tertiam duxit coloniam. Marsham. Chron. sec. IX. p. 125. The place, from which Cadmus led his colony, is said to have been ¹ Thebes in Upper Egypt. Melampus came from the same part of the ² world: whose companions, and posterity were stiled ³ Melampodes: and resided in the region of Argos.

Of the Rites and Customs imported.

These emigrants from Egypt brought with them into Greece the rites and ceremonies of the country, which they ⁴ left. Melampus introduced the ⁵ Dionusiaca, and all those obscenities with which they were accompanied.

¹ Φοινιξ και Καδμος — απο Θηβων των Αιγυπτιαων. κ. τ. λ. Syncellus, p. 158.

² Herod. l. 2. c. 49. p. 127. Diodorus Sic. l. 1. p. 87.

³ Pausan. l. 8. p. 636.

⁴ Herod. l. 2. c. 43. p. 124. — c. 48, 49. p. 127. — c. 50. p. 128. — c. 58. p. 131. See also Diodorus, l. 1. p. 20, 21. also p. 62, 63. and 86.

⁵ Ελλησι γαρ δη Μελαμπης εστι ο ηγησαμενος του Διονυσου τε εννομα, και την θυσιην, και την πομπην τε φαλλων. — Τον δ' ων φαλλον — Μελαμπης εστι ο κατηγησαμενος. Herod. l. 2. c. 49. p. 127.

He is likewise said to have first taught the Grecians the mysteries of ¹ Ceres; which were equally base and impure. To him were attributed the rites of lustration and expiation; together with the science of physic and the art of ² augury. Herodotus says, that almost all the names of the Grecian deities came from ³ Egypt. Diodorus Siculus, though he entertains some doubts about many of these ancient traditions, yet allows from the evidence of the Athenians, that the Eleusinian mysteries were imported in the time of Erectheus: and that there was a great conformity between the religious ceremonies of ⁴ Attica

¹ Μεταμποδα δε τον Αμυθαονος αλλοι φασιν εξ Αιγυπτια μετακομισται τη Έλλαδι της Δηης εορτας πενθος υμνουμενον. Clemens Cohort. p. 12.

² Apollodorus, l. 1. p. 90. edit Heynæ.

³ Σχεδον δε και παντα τα ενοματα των θεων εξ Αιγυπτια εληλυθε ες την Έλλαδα. Herod. l. 2. c. 50. p. 128.

⁴ Προς δε τουτοις αι τελεται και τα μυστηρια ταυτης της θες τοτε κατεδειχθησαν εν Ελευσινι, τα τε περι τας θυσιας και αρχαιοτητας ωσαντως εχειν Αθηναις και Αιγυπτιας. Της μεν γαρ Ευμολπιδας απο των κατ' Αιγυπτον ιερων μετενηνεχθαι, τους δε κηρυκας των πασοφορων. Την τε Ισιν μονους των Έλληνων ομνυειν, και ταις ιδεαις και τοις ηθεσιν ομοιοτατους ειναι τοις Αιγυπτιοις (τους Αθηναις). Diod. l. 1. p. 25, 26.

and Egypt: and a wonderful likeness between the people of each nation. We may trace the country from whence Cadmus came, by the mysterious history, with which his arrival was attended. For it is said, that as he journeyed towards his place of settlement in Bœotia, he was conducted by a ¹ cow, which had a lunar mark on her sides. But this, however enveloped, means only that he was directed by an oracle: which oracle was properly of Egypt. For at Momemphis in that country was an oracular ² heifer, which had these marks: and had the same divine honours, as the ³ Apis and Mnevis in other places. The cow and heifer were held universally by the Egyptians in great reverence, as being sacred to ⁴ Isis. The rites

¹ ΑΠΙΟΝΤΙ ΕΚ ΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΚΑΔΜΩ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙ ΦΩΚΕΩΝ ΘΥΣ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ ΗΓΥΕΜΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΡΕΙΑΣ.—ΕΠΙ ΔΕ ΕΚΑΤΕΡΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΘΥΣ ΠΛΕΥΡΑΣ ΣΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΕΠΕΙΝΑΙ ΛΕΥΚΟΝ, ΕΙΚΑΣΜΕΝΟΝ ΚΥΚΛΩ ΤΗΣ ΣΕΛΗΝΗΣ, ΟΠΟΤΕ ΕΙΗ ΠΛΗΡΗΣ. Pausan. l. 9. p. 733.

ΛΕΥΚΟΝ ΣΧΗΜ² ΕΚΑΤΕΡΘΕ ΠΕΡΙΠΛΑΚΟΣ ΗΥΤΕ ΜΗΝΗΣ. Scholia in Aristop. Βατραχ. v. 1256.

² — ΤΡΕΦΕΤΑΙ ΘΗΛΕΙΑ ΘΥΣ ΙΕΡΑ. Strab. l. 17. p. 1155.

ΕΥΤΕ ΤΩ ΔΕΛΤΑ, ΚΑΙ ΕΞΩ ΑΥΤΑ, ΤΟΙΣ ΜΕΝ ΑΡΡΗΝ, ΤΟΙΣ ΔΕ ΘΗΛΕΙΑ (ΘΥΣ) ΤΡΕΦΕΤΑΙ. Ibid.

³ At Memphis and Heliopolis. Ibid.

⁴ Herod. l. 2. c. 40. p. 122. l. 3. c. 27. p. 208.

of this goddess were about this time brought into ¹ Greece; and were kept up particularly in Attica. In other places they became in great measure effaced: but among the Athenians her name was preserved, and they used to the last to swear by ² Isis. In short the far greater part of the Grecian rites and ceremonies was imported from ³ Egypt.

Concerning the Times, when these Mysteries and these Forms of Worship, were introduced.

It is manifest from what has been already said, that the religion and the deities of Greece were introduced in very early times: and they must have been much prior in the country, from whence they were borrowed. Hence Sir John Marsham with the greatest probability imagines, that they were established in Egypt

¹ According to Diodorus in the time of Erectheus. l. i. p. 25.

² Diodor. l. i. p. 26. Την Ισιν—ομνυειν.

³ Πανηγυρις δε αρα, και πομπας, και προσαγωγας πρωτοι ανθρωπων Αιγυπτιοι εισι οι ποιησαμενοι: και παρα τριτων Έλληνες μεμαθημασι. Herod. l. 2. c. 58. p. 131.

before the time of Moses. ¹ *Festa Ægyptiorum temporibus Mosaïcis vetustiora fuisse merito videri possunt.* This may be inferred from the times, in which these persons are supposed to have lived, by whom the rites were imported into Greece. The first Grecian ² fathers have endeavoured to lower the dates of these transactions, in order to raise the era of Moses, that he may be found prior to any history of Greece: as if truth depended upon priority; and the cause of religion were hurt by any foreign pretensions to antiquity. They however allow these emigrants a very early date; and place them many ages before the era of Troy: and still farther from the first Olympiad. Eusebius, who studied the chronology of the ancients with great diligence, seems to come nearest to the truth. And his system, however by some disputed, appears in respect to these very early occurrences to be the best founded.

Among the various migrations into Greece,

¹ Chron. Canon. p. 186.

² See Just. Martyr, p. 13, 14, Tatianus Assyrius, p. 274, 5. Theop. ad Autol. p. 392, 3. and 399.

there

there are three, which are particularly noticed by him, and by other writers. The first was under ¹ Cecrops. His arrival is by Archbishop Usher, from the evidence of ² Eusebius, adjudged to the year of the Julian period 3158, ante Christum 1556, and fifteen years after the era of Moses, which was P. J. 3143. His birth must have been antecedent. The next colonies were brought over at different intervals by Danaus, and Cadmus. The former is supposed by the same writer, according to the computation of Eusebius, to have left Egypt, in the year J. P. 3230: ante Christ. 1484, about seventy-two years after ³ Cecrops: and eighty-seven from the birth of Moses. Cadmus is placed somewhat antecedent, and in the

¹ See Sir John Marsham, Chron. Can. p. 15.

² Chronol. p. 12.

Πρωτος Κεκροψ ο διφυης κατα Μαραθωνιαν Βασιλευσας. κ. τ. λ.—In his time Moses flourished. Κατα δε τριστον Μωυσης παρ' Εβραιις εγνωριζετο. Euseb. Chron. p. 27. Cecrops is referred to the most ancient times. Κατα δε Τρισπαν Προμηθευς, και Ατλας, και Επιμηθευς, και ο διφυης Κεκροψ, και Ιω. Clemens Alexand. Strom. l. 1. p. 380.

³ Usher's Chronol. p. 19.

Concerning these migrations see Diodorus Sic. Ecloga, p. 921.

time of the same patriarch. But it is probable, that he left Egypt more early: or at least, that a colony of Cadmonians left that country long before their settlement in Hellas. For it is said of Cadmus, that before he came to Greece he together with Phœnix resided and reigned in the region of Tyre and Sidon. ¹ Καδμος και Φοινιξ απο Θηβων των Αιγυπτιων εξελθοντες εις την Συριαν Τυρα και Σιδωνος εβασιλευσαν. “ Cadmus and Phœnix, after they had left Thebes in Egypt, and were arrived at Tyre and Sidon, reigned in those places.” Now the Cadmonite is mentioned by ² Moses among the nations of Canaan, or in its vicinity, as early as the days of Abraham. Hence we may be led to form conjectures concerning the great antiquity of this people.

There is likewise an obscure history of a person named ³ Apis, who came from Egypt to Argos: where he succeeded that ancient prince

¹ Euseb. Chron. p. 27. Syncellus, p. 152.

² Genesis, xv. 19.

³ Αυτης δε χωρας Απιας πεδον τοδε

Παλαι κεκληται φωτος ιατρικη χαριν.

Χωρας γαρ ελθων εκ περας Ναυπακτιας

Ιατρομαντις, παις Απολλωνος χθονα

Τηνδ εκκαθαιρει κνωδαλων εροτοφθορων—

Æ. T. λ.

Æschyli Supplices, v. 266.

Phoroneus.

Phoroneus. From him the country is said to have had the name of *Apia*. He brought with him the learning of his country: and was esteemed both as a prophet, and a physician.

CONCLUSION.

Thus have I given an account of some of the most early migrations from Egypt into Greece; and of the persons by whom the colonies are supposed to have been conducted. I am sensible, that these accounts are mixed with fable; and there are many, if not imaginary, yet mistaken characters alluded to in the process of Grecian chronology; upon which there can be no just dependence. I do not believe that any such persons reigned at Argos as *Inachus*: or *Phoroneus*, ἀθρωπῶν πρῶτος: or as *Atlas* in Mauritania, or as *Hellen*, or *Deucalion* in Thessaly. The history of *Cecrops* and *Danaus* is to my apprehension of another climate and era. They were each imported into Greece and afterwards adopted and ingrafted upon the histories of the country. Yet I make no doubt, but that persons stiled *Cecropidæ*, *Danaïdæ*, *Apidaneï*, and the like, came over from Egypt: and though their arrival may not be precisely determined,

determined, yet we may plainly perceive, that it was at different intervals, and in very remote ages. In short these colonies from Egypt were of so high antiquity, that from the rites which they imported, we may judge of those, which prevailed in the time of Moses. For they, who introduced those rites, were of Egypt, and either cotemporary with that law-giver, or antecedent to him. This will warrant any application which I may sometimes make to the traditions, and customs of Greece, when I have occasion to illustrate by them the rites and worship of Egypt. In like manner I shall have recourse to the religion and mysteries of the Sidonians, Tyrians, and Babylonians: as they were undoubtedly of great antiquity.

CONCERNING THE JUDGMENTS

OF GOD IN EGYPT

AND OF THEIR PROPHECY

PART II

I SHALL now proceed to the
 subject, which I had originally in view.
 This was to describe the peculiarity of
 God's judgments upon the Egyptians; and
 to show how significant they were in their
 operation; and particularly adapted to the
 people, upon whom they were inflicted.
 They would have been marks of divine
 power to any nation upon earth: as Nineveh
 or Babylon: in Carthage or Tyre. But
 they are remarkably pointed in respect to the

CONCERNING THE JUDGMENTS
OF GOD IN EGYPT;
AND OF THEIR PROPRIETY.

PART I.

*Of the FIRST PLAGUE inflicted upon the
Egyptians.*

I SHALL now proceed to the great object, which I had originally in view. This was to describe the peculiarity of God's judgments upon the Egyptians: and to shew how significant they were in their operation; and particularly adapted to the people, upon whom they were inflicted. They would have been marks of divine power to any nation upon earth: at Nineve or Babylon: in Carthage, or Tyre. But they are remarkably pointed in respect to the
Egyptians;

Egyptians; and in every instance have a strict reference to their idolatry: such as cannot be so particularly applied to any other people.

THE RIVER TURNED TO BLOOD:

The First Plague.

EXODUS, Chap. vii.

V. 17. Thus saith the Lord. In this thou shalt know, that I am the Lord: Behold, I will smite with the rod, that is in mine hand, upon the waters, which are in the river, and they shall be turned to blood.

18. And the fish, that is in the river, shall die: and the river shall stink: and the Egyptians shall lothe to drink of the water of the river.

19. And the Lord spake unto Moses. Say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and stretch out thine hand upon the waters of Egypt, upon their streams, upon their rivers, and upon their ponds, and upon all their pools of water, that they may become blood; and that there may be blood.

blood throughout all the land of Egypt, both in vessels of wood, and in vessels of stone.

20. *And Moses and Aaron did so, as the Lord commanded: and he lift up the rod and smote the waters that were in the river, in the sight of Pharaoh, and in the sight of his servants: and all the waters that were in the river, were turned to blood.*

21. *And the fish that was in the river died; and the river stunk.*

This judgment brought upon the Egyptians is very remarkable, and introduced with great propriety, though the scope of it may not at first be obvious. It was a punishment particularly well adapted to that blinded and infatuated people: as it shewed them the baseness of those elements, which they revered, and the insufficiency of the gods, in which they trusted. And this knowledge was very salutary to the Israelites; as it warned them not to fall into the same, or any similar, idolatry: when they had seen it thus debased and exposed, and attended with such accumulated evil. The Egyptians honoured
 C the

the ¹ Nile with a religious reverence; and valued themselves much upon the excellence of their ² river. Nor was this blind regard confined to the Egyptians only, but obtained in many parts of the ³ world: so that it was expedient for the children of Israel to be timely warned against such blindness and infatuation. Herodotus says of the ⁴ Persians, that of all things rivers were held in the highest veneration. They worshipped them, and offered to them sacrifices: nor would they suffer any thing to be thrown into them, that could possibly pollute their ⁵ waters. The like obtained among the

¹ Ουδεν γαρ ούτω τιμη (οι τιμηεις) Αιγυπτιοις, ως ο Νειλος, Plutarch. Is. et Osir. p. 353.

² Νειλον τον ποιτερα και σωτηρα της χωρας. Idem. Sympos. l. 8. p. 729.

³ Εστι πρ και ποταμων τιμη. Maximus Tyrius, cap. 8. p. 79. See Heliodorus, l. 9. p. 425. and 443.

⁴ Σεβονται ποταμους μαλιστα. l. i. c. 138. p. 69.

⁵ Ες ποταμους δε ουτε ενβρεσει, ουτε εμπτυσει, ου χειρας εναπονιζονται, ουδε αλλον υδενα περιορωσι. Herod. l. i. c. 138. p. 69.

¹ Medes, Parthians, and the Sarmatians. We read in Homer of the sanctity, in which rivers were held in Greece. Among these more especially were the ² Spercheius, Peneüs, ³ Achelöus, and Alpheüs. The last had altars, and sacrifices offered to him in common with ⁴ Diana. The Phrygians made the like offerings to the ⁵ Marfyas and Mæander.

¹ The two great objects of worship seem to have been *Fire* and *Water*. Τι μοι Σαυροματας καταλεγειν, ἕς Νυμφόδωρος εν τοις Νομιμοις Βαρβαρικοις το πυρ σεβειν ισορει η τους Περσας, και τας Μηδας, και τας Μαγας; θυειν εν υπαιθρῳ τῆς τῆς ὁ Διων λεγει, θεων αγαλματα μονα το πυρ και ἕδωρ νομιζοντες. Clem. Alex. Cohort. p. 56.

Parthis—præcipua amnibus veneratio. Justin. l. 41. c. 3.

———Juratur ab illis,

Ignis et unda deus. Sidonius Apollin. carm. 2. p. 245.

² To this river Achilles had preserved his fine hair for an offering. Homer. Il. Ψ. v. 142.

³ Ἐστὶ περὶ και ποταμοις τιμη, ὡσπερ Αἰγυπτίοις προς τον Νειλον—ὡς Θετταλοῖς προς τον Πηνειον,—ὡς Αἰτωλοῖς προς τον Αχελων. κ. τ. λ. Maximus Tyrius, Diff. 8. p. 79.

⁴ Αλφειῷ και Αρτεμιδι θυουσιν επι ἑνος ἑωμε. Pausan. l. 5. p. 412.

Ἐν Ολυμπια δε ὁ Αλφειος τη Αρτεμιδι συναφιδρυται. Scholia upon first Nem. Ode of Pindar, p. 321.

⁵ Φρυγες, οἱ περι Κελαινας νεμομενοι τιμασι ποταμους δυο, Μαρσαν και Μαιανδρον—δυοσι φρυγες τοις ποταμοις. Max. Tyr. Diff. 8. p. 87.

But no nation carried their reverence to such an extravagant degree of idolatry, as the Egyptians. They looked upon their river not only as consecrated to a deity; but, if we may believe some authors, as their chief national¹ god: and worshipped it accordingly. The people above Syene stiled the Nile Siris, and² Sirius, which was the name of Osiris, and the Sun: and upon solemn occasions made invocations to it as their chief³ guardian

¹ The words of Heliodorus are remarkable.—

Θεοπλαστῆσι τον Νειλον Αιγυπτιοι, και Κρειττογων τον Μεγιστον αγουσι, αντιμιμον ουρανῆ τον ποταμον σεμνηγορουντες. *Æthiop.* l. 9. p. 423.

² They were the Ethiopians.

Σιρις ὑπ Αιθιοπων κικλησκειται. *Dionys.* v. 223.

Nilus—etiamnum Siris nominatus per aliquot millia. *Pliny*, l. v. c. ix. p. 255.

Συνη πολις μεση Αιγυπτῆ και Αιθιοπιας επι τῷ Νειλῷ, μεθ' ἣν ὠνομασαι Σιρις ὁ ποταμος. *Steph. Byzant.*

Σειριος ὁ Ἡλιος. *Hesych. and Suidas.*

Σειριος Ἡελιος. *Orph. Argonautics*, v. 118.

Τον Οσιριν Σειριον. *Diodor.* l. i. p. 11.

Σειρ. Σιρος ὁ Ἡλιος, και Σειριος. *Suidas.*

Οσιρις εστιν ὁ Νειλος. *Euseb. Præp. Evan.* l. 3. c. 11. p. 116.

³ Πατερα και Σωτηρα. *Plut. Symp.* l. 8. p. 729.

and

and ² protector. They supposed, that it gave birth to all their deities, who were born upon its ² banks: and that the Nile was particularly the father of Vulcan, ⁴ Ηφαιστος. Hence there were temples erected to his honour; and a city called after his ⁴ name, Nilopolis; in which he was particularly worshipped: and there were ³ festivals and rites, stiled ⁶ Neiloa Sacra, which were ob-

¹ Αιγυπτίε Ζευ, Νειλε. Parmeno Byzant. apud Athenæum, l. 5. p. 203.

Scholiasft upon Pindar—Τον Νειλον αντι τῆ Διος φησιν, επειδη παρα τοις Αιγυπτιοις τιμαται (ὁ Νειλος) ὡς Θεος.—Κρονιδην τον Νειλον φησιν, ὡς Παρμενων—Αιγυπτίε Ζευ, Νειλε. Pind. Pyth. Ode. 4. v. 99. p. 219.

² ————— ποταμον Νειλον, προς ᾧ και τας των θεων γενεσεις ὑπαρξαι. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 12.

³ Diog. Laertius in Proœmio.

Vulcanus— Nilo natus. Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 22. p. 1241. Gronov.

⁴ Νειλη πολις (ἦτοι Νειληπολις) Αιγυπτῆ, —Και Ἱερον Νειλη ποταμῆ. Steph. Byzant. from Hecatæus.

⁵ Ανεγων δε παρα Αρισταινετῶ τῶ ἱστορικῶ, ὅσις ἱσoriει, ὅτι ἑορταζουσιν Αιγυπτιοι τῶ Νειλῶ, ἑορτην πανδημει παντες και πασαι. χοροустε συσησαμενοι αδουσι τῶ Νειλῶ ὡδας ὡς τῶ Δη αδουσιν. Nonni Synagoge apud Greg. Nazianz. cont. Jul. edit. Etonenf. p. 168, 169.

⁶ Heliodorus Æthiop. l. 9. p. 424.

ferred all over Egypt. As they received so much benefit from their river, they held water in general sacred, as ¹ Julius Firmicus has observed. *Ægypti incolæ, aquarum beneficia percipientes, aquam colunt, aquis supplicant, aquas superstiosâ veneratione prosequuntur.*

Antiquity of this Worship.

These superstitions, and this veneration for the river prevailed, as we may presume, even in the time of Moses. This may be inferred from the like notions being to be found in the most early ages among the Syrians and Babylonians. The same prevailed in Greece. They were brought over to the last region by colonies from Egypt; and appear to have been of very early date. The ancient Grecians supposed many of their kings and ² heroes to have been the offspring

¹ P. 3. I believe, in many of these instances, it was to the deity, from whom the river had its name, that these rites and honours were directed. Yet the Nile undoubtedly was highly revered.

² Pelias, Neleus, Achilles.

of rivers: and the Sea, or Oceanus, was esteemed the father of their ¹ gods. This was borrowed from Egypt, for the natives of that country esteemed the Nile to be the ² Ocean, and called it in very ancient times by that name. They pronounced it *Oceames*, or rather *Oceanes*—*Ωκεανης*, which by the Greeks was rendered ³ *Ωκεανος*, Oceanus, and from hence they deduced their deities. There was therefore a great propriety in the judgment brought upon this people by Moses. They must have felt the utmost astonishment and horror, when they beheld their sacred stream changed and polluted: and the divinity whom they worshipped so shamefully foiled and debased. And these appearances must have had a salutary effect upon the Israelites; as they were hence warned not

¹ *Ωκεανον τε θεων γενεσιω και μητερα Τηθιν.* Homer. II, l. ξ. v. 201.

² *Οι γαρ Αιγυπτιοι νομιζουσιν Ωκεανον ειναι τον παρ' αυτοις ποταμον Νειλον.* Diod. l. i. p. 12.

³ *Τον δε ποταμον αρχαιοτατον μεν ονομα σχειν Ωκεανην, ος βσιν ελληνισι Ωκεανος.* Ibid. p. 17. From hence we may learn that the rites imported from Egypt to Greece were of very early date.

to accede to this species of idolatry: but to have it ever in contempt, as well as abhorrence.

The Peculiarity of the Punishment.

It is to be observed, that God might, if it had been the divine pleasure, have many different ways tainted and polluted the streams of Egypt. But he thought proper to change it to blood. Now the Egyptians, and especially their priests, were particularly nice and delicate in their outward habit, and rites: and there was nothing, which they abhorred more than blood. They seldom admitted any ^{*} bloody sacrifices: and with the least stain of gore they would have thought themselves deeply polluted. Their affectation of purity was so great that they could not bear to come within contact with a

^{*} Porphyry *περι αποχης*. p. 168.

Nunquam fas fuit Ægyptiis pecudibus, et sanguine, sed precibus et thure solo placare deos. Macrob. l. I, c. 7. p. 150.

—— nefas illic foetum jugulare capellæ. Juv. Sat. 14.

foreigner;

* foreigner; or even to handle his cloaths; but to touch a dead body was an abomination, and required to be immediately expiated. Martianus Capella mentions, that the priests wore sandals made of papyrus, to prevent as they walked any such accidental pollution. Calceos præterea ex papyro subligavit, ne quid ejus membra pollueret morticinum. On these accounts the priests were continually making *ablutions. There were four stated times, twice in the day, and as often in the night, at which they were all obliged to bathe themselves. Many accidents caused them to repeat it much oftener. Hence this evil brought upon them must have been severely felt: as *there was blood throughout all the land of Egypt.* v. 21. Prodigies of this nature were always looked upon as very fearful. A shower of blood is supposed to have fallen before the death of

* See Strabo. l. 17. p. 1154.—Herodotus says, Ουδε μαχαιρη ανδρος ελληνος χρησεται, εδε οσελοισι εδε λεβητι, εδε κρεως καθαρον εοος τετμημενα ελληνικη μαχαιρη γευσεται. Herod. l. 2. c. 41. p. 123.

³ Λαυται δε δις της ημερης εκαστης ψυχρω, και δις εκαστης γυμτος. Herod. l. 2. c. 37. p. 121.

² Sarpædon: and was esteemed ominous, and foreboding. When Dido is to die, Virgil makes the offerings, which she was preparing, change their nature.

² Vidit, thuricremis cum dona imponeret aris,
Horrendum dictu! latices nigrescere sacros,
Fusaque in obscænum se vertere vina cruorem,

Though we may well suppose, that no such prodigies really happened, yet the Romans had a notion of rivers being changed and corrupted in this manner; and also that it often ³ rained blood: and they esteemed these appear-

³ Αἱματοεσσαὶ δὲ ψιᾶδας κατεχευεν εραζε. Iliad. II. v. 459.

² Virg. l. 4. v. 453.

³ We have many instances to this purpose recorded in Livy.

Mantuæ stagnum effusum Mincio anni cruentum visum: et Romæ in foro Boario sanguine fluxisse. Vol 2. l. 24. c. 10. p. 333.

Cruentam fluxisse aquam Albanam. l. 27. c. 11. p. 628.

Sanguine interdium pluisset. l. 43. c. 17. p. 850.

Sanguine per biduum pluisset in area Vulcani. l. 39. c. 46. p. 621.

Flumen Amiterni cruentum fluxisse. l. 24. c. 44. p. 392.

appearances as portents of great consequence. The Decemviri were always summoned upon such occasions; and the Sibylline books consulted: and victims immediately appointed by way of expiation.

The Destruction of the Aquatick Tribes.

It is moreover said, *that the fish that were in the river died; and the river stunk.* v. 21. The offensive vapour from the waters must have been a great aggravation of the evil to people of such external purity, as the Egyptians, who abhorred all animal corruption. And what the historian mentions concerning the fish is of consequence: for all the natives of the river were in some degree esteemed sacred. In many parts the people did not feed upon [†] them. The

Aquas Cærites sanguine mistas fluxisse. l. 22. c. 1. p. 110.—Many other instances may be found.

— penitus sonuere revulsæ

Tarpeiæ rupes, atque atro sanguine flumen

Manavit Jovis in templis.

Silius Italicus, l. 8. v. 645.

[†] Ἰχθυῶν δὲ ἃ σφί ἐξέει πασασθαί. Herod. l. 2. c. 37. p. 121. c. 73. p. 137.

priests

* priests in particular never tasted fish; and this on account of their imputed sanctity. For they were sometimes looked upon as sacred emblems: at other times worshipped as real deities. One species of fish was stiled Oxurunchus; and there was a city of the name, built in honour of it, and a temple where this fish was publickly ² worshipped. Nor was the veneration confined to this place, but obtained in many other parts of ³ Egypt. A fish called Phagrus was worshipped at ⁴ Syene: as the Mæotis was at Elephantis. The ⁵ Lepidotus had the like reverence paid to it: as had also the Eel; being each sacred to the god Nilus. This is ridiculed in a passage, which has been

¹ Ιχθυων ειη ἀπτονται. Clemens, l. 7. p. 850.

² Οξυρυγχος πολις.—τιμωσι δε τον Οξυρυγχον, και εστιν αυτοις ιερον τε Οξυρυγχω. Strabo, l. 17. p. 1166.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Σεβωσι δε αυτων, Συνηται φαγρον τον ιχθυον. Μαιωτην δε, (αλλος ουτος ιχθυος) οι την Ελεφαντινην οικωντες. Οξυρυγχιται φερωνυμον της χωρας αυτων ομοιωσ ιχθυον. Clemens Alexand. Cohort. p. 34.

⁵ Νομιζωσιν δε και παντων ιχθυων τον καλεμενον Λεπιδωτον ιρον ειναι, και την Εγχελυν. Ίρις δε τετρας ειναι τε Νειλω φασι. Herod. l. 2. c. 72. p. 137.

often quoted, from the ancient comedians
 * Antiphanes: who mentions, that an eel
 by the Egyptians was revered equally
 with their gods. Another * comedian says
 that they esteemed it as one of their supreme
 deities: and he at the same time exposes
 their folly with some humour. A Grecian
 is made to address himself to an Egyptian:
 and he accordingly says,—*It is impossible for
 me to ride in the same troop with you: for our
 notions and manners are diametrically opposite.
 You pay adoration to an ox: I kill and sacrifice*

* Και τ' αλλα δεινες φασι τις Αιγυπτιας
 Ειναι, το νομισαι τ' ισοθειον την Εγχελυν.
 Πολυ των θεων γαρ εστι τιμιωτερα.

Antiphanes in Lycone apud Athenæum,
 l. 7. p. 299.

* Anaxandrides.

Ουχ αν δυναμην συμμαχειν υμιν εγω,
 Ουθ' οι τροποι γαρ ομονοσ' εθ' οι νομοι
 Ημων, απ' αλληλων δε διεχθον πλυ.
 Βουν προσκυνεις: εγω δε θυω τοις θεοις.
 Την εγχελυν μεγατην ηγη Δαιμονα.
 Ημεις δε των οψων μεγαρον παραπολυ.
 ————κυνα σεβεις, τυπτω δ' εγω,
 Τ' ουψον κατεσθισαν ηνικ' αν λαβω.

Anaxandrides Comicus εν Πολισι.
 apud Athenæum ibid.

it to the gods. You esteem an eel to be a very great divinity: I only think it the best dish, that comes upon table. You worship a dog. I whip him handsomely; especially if I find the cur purloining my dinner.

These punishments brought upon the Egyptians bore a strict analogy with their crime. They must therefore have been greatly alarmed when they beheld their sacred stream defiled with blood, their land infected, and themselves almost poisoned with their stinking deities. The evil reached the land of Goshen, for it seemed proper, that the Israelites should partake in it: that the impression might be the stronger on their minds. One great reason for this part of the punishment was to give them a thorough disgust to this worship, that they might not hereafter lapse into this popular idolatry. For it is to be observed, as they were to be conducted to the land of Canaan, and to the confines of Syria, that there were many nations in those parts, among whom this worship was common.

Of the Compound Deity Atargatis.

And here it is proper to take notice, that there was a female deity called Athor in Egypt: but in Syria ¹ Atar-Cetus, or Atargatis; and abbreviated ² Dercetus and Derceti. This personage was supposed to have been of old preserved by means of a ³ fish: and was represented one half under that form; and the other half as a ⁴ woman. She was esteemed to be the same as the Aphrodite of the Greeks and the Venus of the Romans: whose origin was from the sea. In conse-

¹ Atar-catus, or cetus, signifies the fish Atar. Catus and Cetus in many languages signified a fish.

² Pliny speaking of Joppa says—colitur illic fabulosa Ceto. l. 5. c. 13. p. 260. This was the same as Derceto and Atargetis.

Αταργατιν την Αθαραν. *Atargatis was the goddess Athar.* Strabo. l. 16. p. 1132.

³ Ο μεγας καλεσμενος ιχθυς—εν λιμνητινι κατα την Βαμβυκην, εμπροσθως δε της Δερκατης νικτος σωσαι αυτην. Eratosthenis Καταγερισμοι ιχθυς. Some speak of more fishes than one. Schol. in Arat. p. 32.

⁴ Ημισην μεν γυνη* το δε ὅμοσον εκ μηρων εις αιρας ποδας, ιχθυος ουρη αποτεινεται. Lucian de Syriâ Deâ, p. 884.

At Hierapolis she was represented intirely in the form of a woman, πασα γυνη. Ibid. p. 884.

quence of this, wherever her worship prevailed, fish were esteemed sacred; and the inhabitants would not feed upon them. This was the case at ¹ Edeffa, called Hierapolis, where Atargatis or Derceto, was held in particular veneration. Xenophon in his march through these parts observed, in a river called Chalus, many large fishes, which appeared tame, and were never taken for food: the natives esteeming them as ² gods. Lucian tells us, that this worship was of great antiquity; and was introduced into these parts

¹ Βαμβυκη πολις—ην και Εδεσσαν, και Ιεραν πολιν καλεσιν. εν η τιμωσι Συριαν θεον, την Αταργατιν. Strab. l. 16. p. 1085. Κατα την παλαι Βαμβυκην ιχθυες εισιν ιεροι. Ælian de An. l. 12. c. 2. p. 661.

Ibi prodigiosa Atargatis, Græcis autem Derceto dicta, colitur. Pliny, l. 5. c. 23. p. 266. Theon tells us, that out of honour to the goddess, the Syrians abstained from fish,—οι Συριοι ιχθυων απεχονται. Schol. in Aratum, p. 32.

Some say, that Derceto was turned into a fish.

Συρων γραφαι δε λεγασιν ιχθυον αυτην γενεσθαι

Οθεν εδ' εσθιασι τινων ιχθυων Συριοι.

Joh. Tzetzzer. Chil. ix. Hist. 275. 172.

² ——— πληρη ιχθυων μεγαλων και πραειων, ες οι Συροι θεος ενομιζον. Ανασ. l. 1. p. 254

from

from ¹ Egypt. The same custom seems to have been kept up in ² Babylonia: but what was of more consequence to the Israelites, it prevailed within their own borders. ³ Dagon of Asdod, or Azotus, was the same deity: and represented under a like figure as Atargatis. The same rites and abstinence were observed also at Ascalon. ⁴ Diodorus Siculus speaks of this city, which he places in Syria, rather than Palestine; at no great distance from which he says was a large lake, abounding with fishes. Near it was a noble temple of the goddess Derceto, whom they represented with the face of a woman, but from thence downwards under

¹ De Syriâ Deâ, p. 877. He styles the temples—
ἀρχαία καὶ μεγάλα ἱερά. *ibid.* p. 881.

² Cogitat, et dubiâ est, de te Babylonia narret
Derceti, quam versâ, squamis velantibus artus,
Stagna Palæstinæ credunt celebrâsse figurâ.

Ovid. *Met.* l. 4. v. 44, 45.

Manilius makes it a Babylonish history;

Scilicet in piscem sese Citharea novavit,
Quum *Babylonicas* submersa profugit in undas.

Astronom. l. 4. v. 577.

³ Samuel c. 5. v. 2, 3; 4.

⁴ Diodorus. *Sic.* l. 2. p. 92.

the figure of a fish. The history of Der-
ceto in this place was, that she threw
herself into this lake, and was changed to
a fish. On which account the ¹ inhabitants
of Ascalon, and of some parts of Syria, ab-
stained from fish: and held those of the
lake as so many deities.

Extent of this Worship.

However strange this idolatry may appear,
yet we see how very far it reached; and
with what a reverence it was attended. It
was to be found not only in Syria, which
was sufficiently near; but in the borders of
² Lebanon; also at Ascalon, Ashdod, and
Joppa; which cities were within the pre-
cincts of the tribes of Dan and Judah.
These prodigies therefore in Egypt were
very salutary and well directed. They must

¹ Διο και της Συρης μεχρι τη νυν απεχεσθαι τετρα τε ζωα, και
τιμων της ιχθυς ως θεας. Diodor. ibid.

Της ιχθυς ετω σεβασι περιττως, ως Ηλειοι του Δια.
Clemens Alex. Cohort. p. 35.

² Δερκετης δε ειδος εν Φοινικη εθησαμην. Lucian de Syria
Deâ, p. 884.

have had a great influence upon the Israelites; and been attended with a permanent disgust and abhorrence. The fallacy too of the worship must have been apparent: when judgments were thus executed upon these reputed deities: who could neither protect their votaries, nor defend themselves. Whose priests and magicians were obliged to sue to the servants of the true God to remedy those evils, which the popular gods were not able to avert. Herein were verified the words of God to Moses—*Against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgment.* Exodus, xii. 12.

I thought it might be attended with some utility to shew, what appeared to me to be the purpose of divine wisdom in this judgment displayed upon the Egyptians. For I cannot help thinking that without this explanation we see neither the extent nor the propriety of the punishment.

Plague the Second.

F R O G S.

C. viii. V. 1. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, Go unto Pharaoh, and say unto him, Thus saith the Lord, Let my people go, that they may serve me.*

V. 2. *And if thou refuse to let them go, behold, I will smite all thy borders with frogs:*

V. 3. *And the river shall bring forth frogs abundantly, &c.*

V. 5. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Stretch forth thine hand with thy rod over the streams, over the rivers, and over the ponds, (or lakes) and cause frogs to come up upon the land of Egypt.*

V. 6. *And Aaron stretched out his hand over the waters of Egypt; and the frogs came up, and covered the land of Egypt.*

V. 13. *And the Lord did according to the word of Moses: and the frogs died out of the houses, out of the villages, and out of the fields.*

V. 14.

V. 14. And they gathered them together upon heaps ; and the land stank.

This evil, like the former, arose from their sacred river, in which they so much confided ; and of whose sanctity and excellence they were so much persuaded. Its streams by these means became a second time polluted, and disgraced, to the utter confusion both of their gods and priests. The land also was equally defiled, and their palaces and temples rendered hateful : so that every native was infected, and had no way to perform any lustration, and to cleanse himself from the filth, with which he was tainted. Every stream, and every lake, was in a state of pollution. Whether the frog among the Egyptians was an object of reverence, or of abhorrence, is ^{*} uncertain : or whether it were not at the same time both hated and revered, as many objects are known to have been among particular nations. Of this we may be assured, both

^{*} The wolf, *Αυκος*, was sacred to the God of Light, because at the appearance of the sun he retires.

from the examples of the ¹ Greeks and of the Romans. They worshipped many deities out of dread, such as Ate, Proserpine, and the Furies: and there were others, which they must have hated and ² despised: witness, Priapus, Fatua, Vacuna, Cloacina, and Mephitis. By this last was signified *slink* in the abstract: which had a temple at ³ Cremona. Add to these Fear, Fever, Dread, Force, ⁴ Calumny, Envy, Impudence: all abhorred yet personified, and worshipped. The Egyptians held ⁵ serpents in great veneration, yet they revered the ⁶ ibis, which destroyed ⁷ them. Whether the frog was held in this twofold predicament may not be easy to determine. Thus much is certain, that it

¹ See Lucian de Calumniæ non temere credendo.

² See Lilius Gyraldus de Miscellaneis Deis, p. 47.

³ Ibid. p. 59.

⁴ *Calumniæ*, quam Græci Διαβολην nominant, et Impudentiæ, aras Athenienses consecrâsse, testis est Theophrastus apud Diogenianum. Lilius Gyraldus, Syntagm. 1. p. 37.

⁵ Herod. l. 2. c. 74. p. 138.

⁶ Ibid. c. 75.

⁷ Invocant etiam Ægyptii ibes suas contra serpentum morsus. Pliny, l. x. c. 26, 27. p. 559.

was very consistent with divine wisdom and justice, to punish the Egyptians either by what they abominated, or by what they idly revered. We know, that the Sun, or Apollo, was the same as ¹ Osiris: and we are informed by ² Plutarch, that no animal was so little acceptable to this deity as a frog. Yet he acknowledges that it was an emblem of the Sun in Egypt. And in the same treatise he tells us, that the brazen palm-tree at Delphi, which was a representation of that tree under which Apollo was supposed to have been born, had many of these animals engraved at its basis. It was the gift of Cypselus, an ancient king of Corinth: and Plutarch mentions, that he and many others wondered, how these symbolical representations could have any relation to the deity. And in his banquet of wise ³ men, he makes Pittacus ask Periander the

¹ Plut. Isis et Osiris, vol. 2. p. 372. Diod, l. 1. p. 10.

² ———παντα μαλλον, η ταυτα, ειναι προσφιλη τα θηρια νομιζομεν. ———

— γηγενες ζωων (κατραχων) η φυτων ελειου αποφαινεται του 'Ηλιου, εις Κατραχων πατριδα, η υδωρ εγγραφοντες, vol. 1. de Pyth. Orac. p. 400.

³ Vol. 1. p. 164.

son of Cypselus—Την αιτιαν των βατραχων
 εκεινων, τι βεβλονται περι του πυθμενα τε φοινικος
 εντετορνευμενοι τοςετοι,—*the reason, why those
 frogs were engraved in such numbers at
 the bottom of the palm.* To this no an-
 swer is given: yet we may be sure, that both
 the tree and the animals had a relation to
 the deity by their being of old dedicated to
 him. Of this we may be certain, that the
 frog, like the tortoise, crocodile, &c. was
 an emblem of preservation in floods and in-
 undations: also of lymphatic prophecy.
 And Philastrius Brixienfis tells us, that it was
 held sacred by the Egyptians. As to the palm
 itself, we may suppose it on account of its
 beauty and utility to have been made an em-
 blem of this god, the same as Osiris: and that
 it was originally an hieroglyphic imported
 from Egypt. For we learn from Hesy-
 chius, * Παλμυτης Θεος Αιγυπτιος, that there
 was

* Some would alter it to Πααμυλης: but that term
 had been taken notice of by Hesy chius before, and the
 place, in which the word Παλμυτης is introduced, shews
 that it is rightly expressed. Whence the Romans got
 the term Palma, for the Φοινιξ of the Greeks, is uncer-
 tain.

was an Egyptian deity called *Palmytes*. This deity was generally denominated *Hermes*; and, according to Apuleius, described with a branch of the palm in his hand; and leaves of the same tree upon his feet. The palm is an evergreen: and by this emblem was signified Victory, Honour, and Immortality.

Though Plutarch tells us that the frog was not acceptable to the Grecian Apollo; yet we may be assured, that it was a sacred representation in Egypt, by its being found in the Bembine Table sitting upon the water-lily or lotus: and that it was sacred to Osiris Heliuss. This deity was sometimes described upon the same lotus, and in the midst of waters, under the form of a newly born

tain. The tree may have been so styled among other nations; and perhaps by the Egyptians: Even among the Greeks Παλμυς signified a prince; or, as I should suspect, a conquerour. It came probably from an old word Παλμη, Palma: and from thence both Παλμυς, and Παλμυτης. For the Palm was certainly a badge of victory and honour.

Παλμυς, ὁ βασιλευς. Hesych. Ζεὺς Παλμυς ἀφθιτων.
Lycophron, v. 691.

* Jablonsk. l. 4. c. 1. p. 161.

child

* child. Both emblems were of the same signification; and related to the prophetic god Osiris; and to his preservation, when exposed to the deep. This animal upon that particular plant is to be found among several ancient gems.

We may likewise be assured, that the frog was sacred to Osiris Helius from one of the names, by which it was signified in the east. There was certainly of old a greater resemblance and conformity between the languages of neighbouring nations, than exists at present. And Bochart tells us, that among the Arabians a frog was stiled קרה Kura. From hence I should be led to think that it was sacred to the reputed god of light, who was distinguished by this name. This is certain, that the same term expressed Κυρις, and Κυρος, related to princes, and divine personages; and particularly to the

Plutarch says, that the Egyptians described the rising of the sun—*παιδίον νεογμον γραφοντας επι λωτω καθεζομενον*, as an infant sitting upon the lotus. De Pyth. Orac. p. 400. But it was not the rising of the luminary, but the renovation and restoration of a person, stiled Helius, Sol: who had been exposed upon the waters, and preserved: whom the Egyptians called Osiris.

¹ Sun, or Osiris. In Greece there was a place sacred to this deity under the name of Apollo; where was an oracular temple, and ² lake. The name of it was Κυρῶρα, similar to, קרר, Kurrha mentioned above: and he was in consequence of it stiled Κυρῶραιος, or, as we express it, ³ Cyrrheüs. Plutarch informs us, that Cyrus the Great had his name from the same luminary—⁴ Κυρον γαρ καλειν τες Περσας τον Ἡλιον: *for the Persians call the sun, Curus or Cyrus.* ⁵ Ctesias mentions the same of Ochus, named also Cyrus: Τιθεται το ονομα αυτε απο τε Ἡλιε Κυρον. *He had his name from the sun, and was from hence called Cyrus.*

¹ Κυρος, Αρχων, Βασιλευς. Κυρις et Κιρις, Αδωνις. Τον γαρ Ἡλιον οι Περσαι Κυρον λεγουσιν. Hesychius.

² Vide Lutatium in Statii Thebaïd. l. 7. v. 347.

³ Quid tibi cum Cirrhâ? quid cum Permessidos undâ?
Martial. l. 1. epig. 77.

The word in Pausanias is expressed Κυρῶρα, l. 10. p. 893. like קרר of the Arabians.

⁴ In Artaxerxe, p. 1012.

⁵ Apud Ctesiaæ Excerpta. See Herod. Wesseling. p. 821.

An Emblem of Prophetic Influence.

It is to be observed, that most aquatic animals in Egypt were sacred and emblematical: and all inspiration of old was supposed to arise from fountains and streams. Hence in Greece likewise the waters of Pimplea, Helicon, Aganippe, Permessis, &c. were supposed to be gifted with a power of inspiration. The Muses, whose original history came from Hermopolis, and other places, in Egypt, were esteemed prophetic deities, and denominated from water.

¹ Καλενται δε Μουσαι απο της μωσεως. *The Muses are denominated from (an Egyptian word) Mos.* Phornutus, from whom we learn this, would interpret the word ² *inquiry, and investigation*: but it manifestly signified water.—Το γαρ υδωρ μως ονομαζουσιν Αιγυπτιοι. *The Egyptians, says* ³ *Philo, call the element of water Mos.* When Pharaoh's

² Phornutus de Nat. Deorum, §. 14. p. 157.

³ —— απο μωσεως, ο εστι ζητησεως. *ibid.* The Muses were supposed to have been water nymphs: and fountains were sacred to them.

³ Vol. 2. p. 83.

daughter gave name to Moses, she said it was, *because I drew him out of the ¹ water.* It is sometimes expressed ² Mo: and is still to be found in the Coptic version of the ³ Bible.

As frogs were of the aquatic tribe in Egypt, and sacred to Osiris Helius: and as they were engraved upon the basis of Apollo's statue at Delphi, the seat of prophecy; I am led to think, that they were originally characteristics of the priests, and prophets of Egypt: and that they were sacred to the Nymphs, and Muses. Hence an anonymous writer in a Greek epigram files the frog—*των Νυμφων Δεραποντα, an attendant upon the deities of streams, and fountains.*

¹ Exodus. ii. 10.

² Josephus expresses it Mou, *μου.* cont, Ap. l. i. Clemens does the same—*το γαρ υδωρ μου ονομαζεσιν Αιγυπτιοι.* Strom. l. i. p. 412.

Scaliger says, that the name of Moses was from *משה*, extraxit: and he may be right. But Mos, and Mou, still was the Egyptian term, by which water was signified: as we may be assured from the present Coptic; and from the testimony of the writers above: and *משה*, Mofah was probably to draw out of water.

³ See Coptic Lexicon by Woide. p. 57.

Esteemed sacred from its Inflation.

Another reason may be given for the frog being an emblem of Apollo, and Osiris; also of priests and prophets in general. All inspiration was supposed to be an inflation of the deity. Hence it was stiled *εμπνευστις*: and an inspired person *εμπνευστος*, both from *πνεω* and *πνευμα*; by the latter of which is signified breath and spirit. For all those, who were possessed by the prophetic divinity, are represented as swollen and enlarged, and as it were bursting through the overpowering inflation. Hence ¹ Virgil says of the Sibyl at Cumæ

—subito non vultus, non color unus,
 Non comptæ mansere comæ; sed pectus anhelans
 Et rabie fera corda tument, majorque videri,
 Nec mortale sonans, adflata est numine quando
 Jam proprio dei.

Now this animal is noted for swelling itself up by ² inflation: and hence it probably became a representative of the god of

¹ *Æn.* l. vi. v. 46.

² Hence the name given by Homer—*φουσιγναθος*.
 Batracom.

inspiration;

inspiration; and of all those, who were *divino spiritu afflati, et deo pleni*. For as the Egyptians borrowed their emblems from moles, beetles, flies, and the most contemptible reptiles, if they found in them any analogy with the object, which they wanted to express; so it is probable, that they adopted the frog for the purpose mentioned above. Upon this account this animal was depicted upon the lotos to denote the preservation of Osiris, the prophetic god, when he was in danger from the waters. And it was found, as we have seen, upon the basis of Apollo's statue at the seat of prophetic knowledge, Delphi: where was the principal oracle of that supposed divinity in Greece. Above all things, these animals were particularly natives of those sacred streams, from whence inspiration was supposed to proceed.

Other Reasons for this Animal being a sacred Emblem.

This inference seems to be warranted by the author of the Apocalypse, who continually

ally alludes to symbolical characters, which prevailed of old. In the 16 chapter, v. 13: speaking of illusions, with which the world was to be affected, he says, that he saw *three unclean spirits, like frogs, come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast; and out of the mouth of the false prophet:* and he adds—*they are the spirits of devils, working miracles.* From hence I should be farther induced to think, that these animals were of old types of magicians, priests, and prophets; particularly those of Egypt. If this be true, the miracle, which Moses at this time exhibited, was attended with a wonderful propriety in respect to Pharaoh and his wise men: and at the same time afforded a just punishment upon the whole of that infatuated people, quibus res eo pervenit, ut et *ranæ* et *culices* et *formicæ* dii esse ¹ viderentur.

There is another circumstance, for which I should imagine that the frog was in some degree esteemed a sacred emblem in the east.

¹ See Lactantius de Orig. Erroris, l. 2. c. 6. p. 135.

The ancients in all countries seem to have shewn their gratitude to the deity for any benefit, by reverencing the animal, or the vegetable, through which the blessing either accrued; or was pointed out. The rising of the sun made wild beasts retire. Hence a wolf and a lion were made emblems of the sun's efficacy: and were sacred to Sol, Mithras, and Osiris. People, who travelled in deserts, were generally much in want of water: and it is said, that they used to follow the asses of the wilderness, or trace their footsteps, in order to arrive at the pools and fountains, with which those animals were acquainted. Hence the ^{*} ass, and particularly the wild ass, was held by many nations as sacred: and these animals probably upon this account were admitted into the sphere; where of old was the *συνων φατναι*, as we read in Theon upon Aratus. For the very same reason I imagine, that the frog was held in some reverence; as the same discovery must have been made to people in distress by the noise he makes, and

^{*} Minucius Felix, p. 260.

the indication he gives of water. When people in a desert were looking out for a pool, or a fountain, nothing could be a surer guide to the ear than the croaking of these animals, which may be heard at a great distance. There is an elegant epigram to this purpose by an unknown hand; which deserves well to be transcribed. I have alluded to it before.

Αδηλου.

Τον νυμφων θεραποντα, φιλομυριον, υγρον αιιδον,
 Τον σαγοσιν κουφαις τερπομενου βατραχον,
 Χαλχωσηλωσας τις οδοιπορος, ευχος εθηκεν
 Καυματος, εχθροτατην διψαν ακεσσαμενος.
 Πλαζομενω γαρ εδειξεν υδωρ, ευκαιρον αιισας,
 Κοιλαδος εκ δροσερης αμφιβιω σοματι.
 Φωνην ηγητειραν οδοιπορος εκ απολειπων——
 Εκπιε, και μοιραν διψαλην εφυγεν.

Antholog. l. 6. c. 16. p. 447. Steph.

The Third Plague.

O F L I C E.

C. viii. V. 16. *And the Lord said unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Stretch out thy rod, and*

and smite the dust of the land, that it may become lice throughout all the land of Egypt.

V. 17. And they did so; for Aaron stretched forth his hand with his rod, and smote the dust of the earth, and it became lice in man and in beast: all the dust of the land became lice throughout all the land of Egypt.

It has been mentioned, that the Egyptians affected great external purity: and were very nice both in their persons, and cloathing: bathing and making ablutions continually. Uncommon care was taken, that they might not harbour any vermine. They were particularly solicitous upon this head; thinking it would be a great profanation of the temple, which they entered, if any animalcule of this sort were concealed in their garments. It would have been well, if their worship had corresponded with their outward appearance: but on the contrary it seems to have been more foul and base than that of any other nation, as far as we can obtain evidence. Their gods were contemptible, and ridiculous: and their rites filthy; and to the last degree bestial and obscene.

Yet they were carried on with an appearance of outward purity and a scrupulous shew of cleanliness; in which perhaps they may have exceeded all other people. Their delicacy in this respect is taken notice of by Herodotus. Εσθητα δε φορεσσι οι ιερες λινεην μονην.—Again, ειματα δε λινεα φορεσιν αιει νεο-πλυτα, επιτηδευοντες τριτο μαλισα. *The priests wear raiment of linen only.—And the linen garments which they put on, are continually fresh washed: concerning which they take particular care.* Herod. l. 2. c. 37. p. 120. 1. The people in general wore a woollen garment over another of linen: but they laid aside the former, when they approached their deities, for fear, that it should harbour any vermine. * Ου μεντοι ες γε τα ιρα εσφερεται ειρινεα, ουδε συγκαταβαπτεται σφι. ου γαρ οσιον. *They never wear any woollen garment, when they are to enter a temple: nor is any thing of this sort used in their burials: for it would be*

* Herod. l. 2. c. 31. p. 141.

Ευδεδυκασι δε κιθωνας λινεας περι τα σκελεθα θυσιαυωτες, ες βαλεουσι καλαισιρις.

esteemed an impurity. On this account the priests abstained intirely from all woollen raiment, and wore only one covering, which was of linen: and besides bathing continually, they plucked out all hairs and excrescences from their ¹ bodies, and were carefully shaved; that they might not incur any impurity. Ὅι δε ἱερεεσ ζυρευνται παν το σωμα δια τριτης ἡμερης, ἰνα μητε ΦΘΕΙΡ, μητε αλλο μυσαρρον μηδεν εἰγινηται σφι θεραπειυσι της Θεεσ. *The priests, says Herodotus, are shaved, both as to their heads, and bodies, every third day: to prevent any LOUSE, or any other detestable object, being found upon them, when they are performing their duty to the gods.* Herod. l. 2. c. 37. p. 121. The same is mentioned by another ² author: who adds, that all woollen was foul, and excrementitious, being an animal substance from a perishable being; which they abhorred. ³ Το δε λινον

¹ Sacerdotes deglabrato corpore. Lactant de Falsâ. Relig. l. 1. p. 96.

² Plutarch; who speaks of the priests as—ξυρωμενουσ και λειανομενεσ ὁμαλωσ παν το σωμα, *shaved close, and equably smoothed all over their bodies.* De Is. et Osir. v. 2. p. 352. D. Of their wearing linen, *ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

φυεται εξ αθανατε της γης λιτην δε παρεχει και
 καθαραν εσθητα,—ηκιστα δε φθειροποιον. *But flax*
is the product of the immortal earth. It affords
a delicate and pure covering—and is not at
all liable to produce LICE. We may from
 hence see, what an abhorrence the Egyp-
 tians shewed towards this sort of vermine;
 and what care was taken by the priests to
 guard against them. The judgments there-
 fore inflicted by the hands of Moses were
 adapted to their prejudices, and they were
 made to suffer for their false delicacy in
 placing the essence of religion in external
 cleanliness, to the omission of things of real
 weight. For with pure hands they prac-
 tised iniquity; and performed rites to the last
 degree foul and abominable. We learn from
 Herodotus and other writers, that the most
 bestial and unnatural practices were carried
 on within the precincts of their temples,
 for which the neatness and elegance of the
 sanctuary could not atone. The judgment
 at this time inflicted was attended with such
 propriety in its direction, that the priests
 and magicians perceived immediately from

what hand it came. The two preceding plagues had been antecedently mentioned to Pharaoh: and notice was given concerning the hand, that would inflict them. But of this third plague there was no warning afforded: yet the application was too plain to be mistaken: and the magicians said immediately — *this is the ^a finger of God.*

Such is the history of this judgment, and of the consequences, which ensued. But as some have raised doubts about the means which were used; and have thought, that a different object was employed, it is necessary to proceed somewhat farther upon the subject, in order to obviate their notions: for upon this article the propriety of the miracle depends.

^a An Hebrew term, as well as an Egyptian; by which was signified the *power* of God. Our Saviour says, — *If I with the finger of God cast out devils, no doubt the kingdom of God is come upon you.* Luke, c. II. v. 20.

Οψομαι εργα των δακτυλων σου. Psalm, 8. v. 4.

Of the Cinnim or Conim (כניִים) Lice, and of the different Interpretations mistakenly given: Exodus viii. 16.

The uncertainty above mentioned has arisen from the Greek version, where the original word cinnim or conim, pediculi, is rendered σκνιπτες; which seems to be a term not very common, and of a different signification. This insect, the σκνιψ, or κνιψ, has been variously described by the writers, who have treated of it: though they all suppose it to have been a species of fly. The best judges about a Greek word are the Grecians: and among them ¹ Theophrastus: and he speaks of it as a fly or gnat, which hurt *the vines and fig trees*. But the plague in Egypt was *upon man and beast*: therefore no such species of gnat could be alluded to in this history. Besides, if it were a winged and a stinging insect, as Jerome, ² Origen, and others have supposed, the plague of ³ flies is

¹ Hist. Plaut. l. 4. c. 17.

² Homilia Tertia in Exodum.

³ Exodus, viii. 20.

unduly anticipated: and the next miracle will be only a repetition of the former: for the very next is the plague of flies. Hence ⁴ Bochart very truly says—Sed Græci σκνιπιων nomine quicquid intellexerint, hebræo nomine, כִּנִּים, puto pediculos potius, quam culices, significari.—Mihi occurrit nulla ratio, cur culices dicantur cinnim; sed pediculis hoc nomen vel maxime convenit. Taylor, Buxtorf, and le Clerc agree with Bouchart; and interpret the word in the same sense, φθειρες, five pediculi, *lice*.

⁵ Bouchart farther observes, that from the Hebrew cinnim, or conim, came the Greek words κιννία, and κονιδες, which signify *nits*, and small *lice*. From the derivative, therefore, the sense of the original may be known. ⁶ Hesychius accordingly explains κιννία by μικρα φθειρια, *small lice*. And the same insects are described in their first state by ⁷ Dioscorides under the

⁴ Bochart. Hierozii. Pars Poster. l. iv. p. 574. See the whole Treatise de Pediculis.

⁵ Ibid. p. 575.

⁶ It is rendered κιννία; but is corrected by the learned Bruno. See Hesych. Alberti. p 257. n. 10.

⁷ In Libro de Melle. See Bochart above.

name of *κονιδες*. He informs us, *φθειρας και κονιδας φθειρει μελιτι περιχρισθεισα κεδρος*, that *the wood of Cedar anointed with honey kills both lice and nits.*

Josephus, as an Hebrew, must be an unexceptionable judge in the case before us: and he could not but know the general opinion of the Jews in his time. In describing the Mosaic account of this plague he says—
** φθειρων τοις Αιγυπτιοις εξηνθησαν απειρον τι πληθος.* *There came forth all over the Egyptians an immense quantity of lice.* As the word occurs often among the Hebrew commentators, it is by them uniformly interpreted in the same sense, as in Josephus, and they must have been the best judges of a word in their own language. We cannot, therefore, have better authority to countenance this interpretation. ⁹ Bochart accordingly tells us—*idem sequuntur Chaldæi, Jonathan, Onkelos, Syrus, Samaritanus, &c.—Hebræi omnes, nullo excepto.* After these proofs we cannot, I think, doubt about the purport of the word.

⁹ Antiq. Jud. l. 2. p. 109. Havercamp.

¹ Bochart above.

The disorder with which the Egyptians were afflicted, was odious, and detestable in its nature; as being in general the consequence of filth, and animal corruption; which of all things they abominated most. This perhaps was the reason, why the authors of the Greek version, the Hellenistic Jews of Alexandria, gave another name to these vermine, that they might not be guilty of any offence to the natives. For they wrote under the eyes of the Ptolemies: and their translation could be no secret to the priests of the country. These were men of power, and influence, who held their ancestors in great veneration. It might therefore have brought much evil upon the Jews of Alexandria, as well as of other parts; and no small odium upon their sacred Pentateuch; if there had been published to the world, that the whole body of the most sacred order in Egypt, had once swarmed with these detestable vermine. This, I imagine, was the reason for suppressing the truth; and giving a different turn to the history. The priests might look upon the pollution of
 their

their river, and the introduction of frogs, with all the subsequent plagues, as great calamities. But the tradition about Lice, if divulged, would have been an everlasting¹⁰ disgrace to their calling: an affront to the whole body of the priesthood, as well as to the nation in general; and never to be forgiven. But waving this, we may from the evidence above be assured, that by cinnim were meant those noisome vermine, called by the Greeks φθειρες, and pediculi by the Romans; and in the English version, *Lice*.

¹⁰ Josephus speaks of Pharaoh, as dreading the disgrace—δεισας ὄμει τον ολεθρον τε λαου, και την αισχυνην της απολειας.

OF THE
PLAGUES OF EGYPT.

PART II.

The Fourth Plague.

Κυνομοιαί or FLIES.

Exod. C. viii. V. 20. And the Lord said unto Moses, Rise up early in the morning, and stand before Pharaoh; lo, he cometh forth to the water; and say unto him, Thus saith the Lord, Let my people go, that they may serve me:

V. 21. Else, if thou wilt not let my people go, behold, I will send swarms of flies upon thee, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thy houses: and the houses of the Egyptians shall be full of swarms of flies, and also the ground, whereon they are.

V. 22.

V. 22. *And I will sever in that day the land of Goshen, in which my people dwell, that no swarms of flies shall be there; to the end thou mayest know, that I am the Lord in the midst of the earth.*

V. 23. *And I will put a division between my people, and thy people: to-morrow shall the sign be.*

V. 24. *And the Lord did so: and there came a grievous swarm of flies into the house of Pharaoh, and into his servants houses, and into all the land of Egypt: the land was corrupted by reason of the swarm of flies.*

We find, that Moses was ordered to accost Pharaoh, and to disclose to him the will of God, at the time, when he was taking his morning walk upon the banks of the Nile. It was probably a season of customary adoration; when the prince of the country shewed his reverence to the stream, which was esteemed so beneficial and sacred. The judgment to be denounced was a plague of flies: and of the same species according to Bochart; as was stiled by the Romans

Musca

Musca Canina, and by the Grecians ¹Κυνομυια. They were brought all over the land in vast numbers; and seem to have been not only formidable for their swarms, but for the ²painfulness of their stings, as well as of their bite, which was intolerable. There is reason to think, that the Egyptians had particular deities to remedy stated evils; as we may infer from the nations, who came from them. They were similar to the θεοι αποτροπαιοι, and Dii Avernici, of Greece and Rome: and their department was to ward off those natural evils to which their votaries

¹ Whether the term כַּנְיָ denotes absolutely a distinct species of fly, or swarms of all sorts, may be difficult to determine. The Seventy express it κυνομυια.

Ιδὲ, ἐγὼ ἐξαποστέλλω ἐπὶ σε——κυνομυιαν. Exod. 8. v. 21.

De Terrâ Gosen—οὐκ ἔσται ἐκεῖ ἡ κυνομυια. v. 22.

Ἐἶπε, καὶ ἦλθε κυνομυια. Psalm 104. v. 31.

Ἐξαπέστειλεν ἐπ' αὐτῆς κυνομυιαν, καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτῆς. Psalm 77. v. 45.

The Vulgate renders it—Omne genus muscarum. Aquila—παμμυιαν. The like is to be found in the Syriac and Samaritan.—Cyniphen omnis generis: & omne genus muscarum, according to the Latin translation.

² Οὐς κεν γὰρ ἀκρίδων καὶ μυιῶν ἀπέκτεινε δῆγμα. Sapient. Liber. c. 16. v. 9.

were liable. The province allotted to several deities was particularly to drive away flies. I have shewn that many of the Grecian states consisted of colonies from Egypt; and we read of Jupiter *μυιαγρος, μυιοκορος, απομυιος*, all titles conferred upon this deity from a supposition of his clearing his temples from these insects. He was worshipped under this character at ¹ Elis; as Hercules was at Rome. The Arcadians also sacrificed to the hero ² Myiagrus, from whence we may infer that the worship was very ancient. The like obtained at Cyrene, where the deity was stiled Achor, as we learn from Pliny.—³ Cyrenaïci Achorem deum (invocant) muscarum multitudinē pestilentiam adferente; quæ protinus intereunt, postquam litatum est deo. From the supposed influence of the presiding deity many temples were said to have been free

¹ Απομυιω Δι θυβσιν Ηλειοι, Ρωμαιοι δε Απομυιω Ηρακλει. Clemens. Protrept. p. 33. See also Pausan. l. 5. p. 410.

² Pausan. l. 8. p. 653. Εν ταυτη τη πανηγυρει Μυιαγρω προθυβσιν, επευχομενοι—και επικαλυμενοι τον Μυιαγρον.

³ L. 10. c. 26. Salmatius would alter this—see Exercitat. Plin. p. 10. See also Pliny, l. 29. c. 6.

from

from this inconvenience. Thus we are told by ¹ Apollonius Dyscolus, that there were no flies seen in the temple of Venus at Paphos; and the altar of Hercules in the Forum ² Boarium at Rome was said to have had the same immunity. The like is mentioned of the altar of Jupiter at ³ Olympia: and of another at Aliphera in Arcadia: likewise at other places.

Of Flies held sacred.

But this was not all. These insects, however incredible it may appear, were in many places worshipped. This reverence seems to have been sometimes shewn, to prevent their being troublesome, at other times, because they were esteemed sacred to the deity. Ælian accordingly tells us, that at Actium, where stood the temple of Apollo,

¹ See Rerum Mirabil. Scriptores by Meursius. c. 7. p. 14.

² Nam divinitus illo neque canibus neque muscis ingressus est. Solinus, l. 1. p. 2.

³ Pausan. l. 5. p. 410.

they sacrificed in his time an ox to these objects—¹ θυσι βεν ταις μυιαις. Clemens also mentions ² Απολλωνος τε Ακτιε το ιερον, and speaks of the same custom. The same is mentioned by Antiphanes the comedian in Athenæus, as being practised at Olympia in Elis.

³ Ολυμπιαισι φασι ταις Μυιαις ποιειν

βεν, τους τ' ακλητους προκατακοπτειν πανταχυ.

He seems to have introduced a person in his play, who is speaking in favour of *Umbrae* and parasites: and thinks, that they are a successful body. He compares them to the flies at ⁴ Olympia,—*to whom, says he, the people sacrifice an ox: and they always claim the first* ⁵ *share, though they are never invited.*

¹ Ælian de Animal. l. 11. c. 8. p. 613.

² Cohort. p. 34. l. 24.

³ L. 1. p. 5. See Casaubon's Notes, p. 17.

⁴ Whether the author means Ολυμπιαισιν εορταις, or Ολυμπιαισι μυιαις, may not be certain: but I should think the latter to be the truth. Ælian mentions—μυιαι Πισαιαι. l. 11. c. 8. p. 615.

⁵ There seems to be a double meaning: and the words may signify, that those, who are not invited, are *foremost and fare best*—from προκοπτειν, bene succedere.

*The worship of ACHOR, and ACORON,
the God-fly; called also ZEBUB.*

Nor did they only shew an idolatrous regard to flies in general. There was a deity stiled Deus Musca, who was particularly worshipped under the characteristic of a fly. The god Achor of Cyrene, of whom we before made mention, seems to have been of this denomination: and it is probable, that the word Achor denoted a *Fly*: or had some relation to it. This may be inferred from the city Acaron or Accoron, which we mistakenly render Ekron: where the same insect was supposed to be worshipped by the name of זְבִיב, *Zebub*, a fly. We generally join it to the word Baal, and represent the deity as the *Lord of Flies* in the plural. But to my apprehension it was not so. And here it is proper to remedy a mistake into which we are led by our version concerning Ahaziah, who is supposed to have enquired of Baal-zebub at the place above mentioned.

The fly was probably worshipped at 'Ekron: and the god was called Baal-zebub. But neither that place, nor the deity of the place, are referred to in that passage about Ahaziah, where they are supposed to be found. The history alluded to is in the first chapter of the second book of Kings; where it is said that—*Abaziah* (the son of Ahab) *fell down through a lattice in his upper chamber, that was in Samaria, and was sick: and he sent messengers, and said unto them, Go enquire of Baal-zebub, the god of Ekron, whether I shall recover of this disease.* c. 1. v. 2. So it stands in our translation: and the Vulgate is nearly to the same purport. *Ite, consulite Baalzebub deum Accaron.* This Baalzebub by our commentators is rendered the God of Flies; and they suppose the Ekron in Philistim to be the city here mentioned; and the place, to which

¹ A Baal-zebub hæresin format Philastrius muscæ—*Accaronitarum; qui (ut verba ejus sunt) muscam colunt in civitate Accaron dictâ.* Selden de Diis Syris, p. 223. All these evidences shew manifestly, that the fly was worshipped.

the messengers were sent. But our most early version, the Septuagint, expresses the term Zebub, in the singular, Θεον Μυϊαν; distinct from the title Baal. And at the same time it makes Accaron, instead of a place, to be the proper name of the deity, the Deus Musca, or Fly-God—επιζητησατε εν τω Βααλ (i. e. εν τω ιερω Βααλ) Μυϊαν Θεον Ακκαρων. *Go, and inquire in the temple of Baal of the Fly-God Accaron.* This occurs three times in the same chapter: and these passages all shew that according to the early interpretation of the Jews in Egypt, the person, to whom the messengers were sent by Ahaziah was Baal, Deus Musca, the deity stiled Accaron, *the Fly*. Gregory Nazianzen among other writers alludes to this passage, when he says, that the people, shall no more put their trust in idols, * εδε ζητησουσι Μυϊαν Θεον Ακκαρων, *nor seek, or inquire of, the Fly-God Accaron.* The like occurs in Josephus, where he is giving the same history of Ahaziah, as has been afforded above. He says, that the king

* Contra Julianum, l. 2. p. 102. edit. Etonens.

after his fall—¹ νοσησαντα πεμψαι προς τον Ακκαρων Θεον Μυϊαν, τϋτο γαρ ην ονομα τω Θεω,—being ill, sent to inquire of Accaron, the God-Fly: for that (Accaron) was the name of the deity. It seems, I think, plain, that these writers did not imagine the term Accaron related to a place, the same which we stile Ekron; but to a deity, worshipped by that name under the symbol of a fly. As to Josephus it is manifest past contradiction, that he speaks determinately of the term Ακκαρων, as the proper name of the deity. On this account we may be assured, that the reading in the next page is faulty, where it is made to refer to a place Ekron and its inhabitants—προς δε τον Ακκαρωνιτων επεμπες παρ' αυτε πυνθανομενος. It should be—προς τον Ακκαρων επεμπες, παρ' αυτε πυνθανομενος. p. 475. You sent to Accaron, (the God) to inquire of him, not to the people of

¹ Antiq. l. 9. c. 2. p. 474. If there had been any reference to a place he would have used the word with the Greek inflexion προς Θεον Μυϊαν Ακκαρωνος, as his custom is in other places.—

Αρχοντες Ακκαρωνος.— μεχρι πολεως Ακκαρωνος. Antiq. l. vi. c. 1 and 2. p. 312, 315.

Accaron or Ekron in Palestine. The ellipsis, as the passage now stands, is too bold: and by no means warrantable.

The true Place ascertained.

It may be asked, if the message were not sent to Ekron, or Accaron, in the southern part of Judah, to what place was it directed? I answer to Baal of the Tyrians and Sidonians, whose temple and oracle seem to have been about this time famous. The worship of this deity had been introduced into the kingdom of Israel by Ahab, the father of this very prince, with whom we have been so much concerned.

I Kings, c. 16. v. 30. And Ahab the son of Omri did evil in the sight of the Lord above all that were before him.

V. 31. And it came to pass—that he took to wife Jezebel the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Zidonians; and went and served Baal, and worshipped him.

V. 32. And he reared up an altar for Baal in the house of Baal, which he had built in Samaria.

Hence we find it intimated, that Ahab had visited the shrine and altar of this deity at Tyre or Sidon, and when he married a princess of that country, he introduced these foreign rites into his own kingdom; and raised an house and altar to Baal in Samaria. But the priests were all slain by 'Elijah; and the temple consequently deserted: and probably for a time ruined. When therefore Ahaziah, the son of Ahab, who resided in Samaria, wanted to know about his recovery: he sent messengers to inquire, not of *Baalzebub the God of Ekron*: but of Baal, Θεον Μυιαν, *the Fly-God*, called *Accaron*; whose temple will be found to have been at Tyre. To this interpretation the authors of the Greek version bear witness. Και απεστειλεν αγγελους, και ειπε προς αυτους, δευτε και επιζητηζατε εν τω Βααλ (i. e. εν τω ιερω Βααλ) Μυιαν θεου Ακκαρων, ειζησομαι εκ της αρωσιας. *And he sent messengers, and said unto them, Go, and inquire, in the temple of Baal, of the Fly-God Accaron, if I shall recover of my infirmity.* The angel of the Lord gave immediate directions to Elijah to go and meet these messen-

' 1 Kings. c. xviii. v. 40.

gers, and to say unto them—Εἰ παρὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι θεὸν ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ὑμεῖς πορευέσθε ἐπιζητῆσαι ἐν τῷ Βααλ Μυϊαν Θεὸν Ἀκκαρων. *Is it, because there is no God in Israel, that ye go to enquire in the house of Baal of the Fly-God Accaron?*

It is repeated in the sixth verse.—Εἰ παρὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι θεὸν ἐν Ἰσραὴλ σὺ πορευῆ ἐπιζητῆσαι ἐν τῷ Βααλ Μυϊαν Θεὸν Ἀκκαρων. The same occurs

v. 16. We have seen that Josephus accords with the authors of the Greek version; as does Gregory Nazianzen: and from them we may infer that Accaron was the name of the Deus Musca, who was worshipped in the temple of Baal at Tyre; and that Ahab was the first recorded, who applied to this oracle, when he fetched his idolatrous wife from that part of the world. From hence I should think, as I have before urged, that there was not in this passage any reference to the city Ekron in the tribe of Dan: but to a temple and deity belonging to the king of the Tyrians and Sidonians. Josephus says expressly of the God introduced at Samaria—¹ Οὗτος

ὁ Βααλ

¹ Ant. l. ix. c. 6. p. 489. There was no city Accaron, nor people called Accaronitæ, in Tyre or Sidon;

ὁ Βααλ Τυριων ἢ θεός. *This Baal was a deity of the Tyrians.* The original, as it stands now expresses it differently. דרשו בבעל זבוב אלהי עקרון: by which is signified *the God of Ekron, or Accaron.* But we have seen that the fly was certainly worshipped under the name of Achor: and Josephus plainly intimates, that * Accaron in the passage before us was not the name of a place, but a deity, the θεός Μυια, or † Fly-God: and that his temple was at Tyre. The authors of

Sidon; from whence we be assured, that the name could not relate to a place, or people: but to a deity of the former city.

* There were no Accaronitæ here, nor any place stiled Ekron, or Accaron.

† The deity in the original is stiled Baal: and Baalzebub: and agreeably to this Josephus tells us—Ὁ δὲ θεός Αχαβος Βααλ ἐκαλεῖτο. *The God of Ahab (and we may presume of his son, Ahaziah) was named Baal.* He adds—Ὁυτος ὁ Βααλ Τυριων ἢ θεός. Αχαβος δὲ τῷ πένθερῳ ἐβλομενος χαρισασθαι Ἰθὼβααλ Τυριων ὀντι βασιλεὶ καὶ Σιδωνίων ναὸν τε αὐτῷ κατεσκευάσεν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, καὶ προφητὰς ἀπέδειξε. l. ix. c. vi. p. 448. *This Baal was a Tyrian deity: to whom Ahab, out of regard to Ithobaal his wife's father, king both of the Tyrians and Sidonians, had raised a temple in Samaria and appointed priests.*

the

the Greek version seem to give the same interpretation: and we may determine their meaning by the authority of those, who copied from them. Such was Zonaras, who speaks of this deity in the feminine—

¹ Νοσησας δε προς την Ακκαρων, θεον μυιας ωνομασμενην, επεμψεν. If the meaning of a passage can be at all ascertained by the collocation of the terms, of which it is composed, the interpretation is as follows.—

Upon Abaziab's being ill he sent to the goddess Accaron, which was stiled the Fly Deity.

This is certainly the meaning of Syncellus also: who says, that Elijah upbraided the king—² νοσεντι, και χρησμον αποσειλαντα λαβειν εν ³ ειδωλια μυιας Ακαρων—*who was ill, and sent for oracular intelligence to the temple of the Fly Acaron.*

A more determinate Proof.

The whole, I think, may be most satisfactorily determined by the command given

¹ Zonaras Annal. l. 2. p. 96.

² p. 190.

³ Instead of ειδωλια I should read ειδωλειω.

to the prophet Elijah. We find, that king Ahaziah had sent his messengers from Samaria. Upon this, *the angel of the Lord said to Elijah the Tishbite: Go up to meet the messengers of Ahaziah, king of Samaria.* This is rendered by the Seventy—*δευρο εις συναντησιν.* Now Elijah was not only of the kingdom of Israel; but more particularly of ¹ Thisba, a city of Galilee, in the tribe of Naphthali; where he resided: though he is also said to have lived sometimes among the inhabitants of ² Gilead. But both Thisba, and the region of Gilead, were far removed from Samaria; and much farther from Ekron.

¹ It was sometimes expressed Thesba.

Θεσβα, ὅθεν ην Ηλιας ὁ Θεσβιτης. Eusebii Onomasticon.

Jerome supposes Elijah to have been born there.

Thesba, unde ortus est Elias propheta Thesbites. Hieronymus de locis sacris, p. 238.

Thesba, urbs Galileæ in regione tribus Naphtali. Relandi Palæstina, v. 2. p. 1035.

² *Elijah the Tishbite, who was of the inhabitants of Gilead.* 1 Kings, c. 17. v. 1. He was by relation or birth of Gilead; but lived at Thisbe: hence he is stiled in the versions—*ex advenis, & ex inquilinis, Galaaditicis.*

Thisba

Thiſba lay to the north, and * Gilead to the north-eaſt of this city of the Philiftines. How could the prophet be ſent to *meet* the meſſengers, if they were gone to the ſouth and ſouth-weſt in a direction from him? For this was the caſe, if they went to Ekron towards the extremity of Judah. But if they were ſent to Tyre; they were every ſtep advancing towards him; and he could eaſily go up and meet them. This was therefore the city, to which they were ſent: and the deity was the Fly-God Acaron, as Joſephus and others have aſſured us. There was not a place from Dan to Samaria, from which the prophet could have ſet out, and confronted the meſſengers, had they been ſent to the land of the Philiftim.

From hence it is manifeſt, that Joſephus, and the authors above mentioned, inſtead of אלהי, *the God of Acaron*, as it ſtands now

* Gilead ſeems to have been the whole tract of country beyond Jordan quite up to Dan. See Deut. c. 34. v. 1. It lay for the moſt part to the eaſt and north-eaſt of Judah, and the land of Iſrael: and was at a great diſtance from Samaria. Ramoth Gilead was about thirty miles to the eaſt.

in the original, read univerſally אלה, *the God* Acaron. And this reading ſeems to be paſt contradiction aſcertained from the context, and from the hiſtory given of the deity. The difference conſiſts only in a ſmall final letter; which may eaſily have been added; and may as eaſily upon theſe authorities be ſet aſide. Some manuſcripts are mentioned by Dr. Kennicott; in which it is not found. We have ſeen, that the context proves the reading recommended to be true: and we have the concurrence of the Greek verſion, and of many learned writers, for a farther confirmation .

Frequent Prohibitions againſt this Worſhip.

We have ſufficiently ſhewn, that in many parts of the world flies were revered; and that there were ſacrifices offered to them. Moreover, that there was a deity ſtiled Deus Muſca, and Achoron; who was worſhipped under the ſemblance of a fly. This idolatry originated in Egypt: from whence it was brought by the Caphtorim to Paleſtine: and by the Phenicians to Sidon, Tyre,

Tyre, and Byblus: and from these places it was carried into other regions of the world. The original river Accaron, called by the Greeks, *Αχέρων*, Acheron, was in Egypt. It lay to the west of Memphis; and on the other side were the Acherusii campi, and Palus Acherusia, the same as Mæris. Here likewise stood a city * Achoris: where we may infer that the Fly Deity was worshipped: for we know, that among the people of this country almost every species of vermine was held sacred. They shewed a reve-

* Lucan has more than once introduced in his poem, a person of Memphis, who was a priest, and named Achoreus.

—quos inter Achoreus,

Jam placidus senio, fractusque modestior annis.

Hunc genuit custos Nili crescentis in arva

Memphis, vana sacris. l. 8. v. 475.

Cæsar is introduced as addressing him—

—summâque in sede jacentem

Linigerum placidis compellat Achorea dictis.

O! sacris devote Senex. l. 10. v. 174.

He was probably a priest of the God Achor: and denominated from his office. The temple of this deity I should imagine to have been at Achoris, a city near the lake Mæris. *Αχορίς* of Ptolemy, p. 121. mentioned by Sozomen, l. 6. c. 28. p. 257. and expressed *Αχώρα* rence,

rence, as Sir John Marsham observes, not only to cats, and rats and apes; but to grubs and beetles,—volucris, reptilibus, aquatilibus. f. 9. p. 156. Among these were, as Lactantius tells us—culices et formicæ. Hence the children of Israel were enjoined by the Mosaic law to hold every thing of this sort in abhorrence. *Therefore, says the law-giver, take ye good heed unto yourselves—lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female. Deut. c. 4. v. 15, 16.* And he farther tells them, that this interdict did not merely extend to the larger and nobler animals, such as the steer, and the cow; to the crocodile of the river or the stork in the heavens: but *to the likeness of any thing that creepeth on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the waters beneath the earth. v. 18.* And in respect to their food they are told—*every creeping thing, that creepeth upon the earth, shall be an abomination. v. 41.* Or *whosoever toucheth any creeping thing, whereby he may be made unclean—the soul, that hath touched any such shall*

be

be unclean until even, and shall not eat of the holy things, unless he wash his flesh with water. Levit. c. 22. v. 5, 6. But notwithstanding these prohibitions the children of Israel forsook the law of the Lord: and the rites, which they adopted, consisted in this symbolical worship, introduced from Egypt. They had polluted the house of God by painting these vile hieroglyphics upon the walls of the inner court; the most sacred of all. Hence Ezekiel says, that when he was brought there in vision, he had a full sight of these abominations.—*So I went in, and saw and behold, every form of creeping things and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, pourtrayed upon the wall round about.* c. 8. v. 10. In all these accounts we have the idolatry of the Egyptians alluded to: and their worship of flies and insects particularly pointed out.

If then such was the worship of this people; nothing could be more striking and determinate, than the judgment brought upon them. They were punished by the very things, which they revered: and though they boasted of spells and charms, yet they could

not ward off the evil. They had, like the Grecians, gods, αλεξικακοι, αποτροπαιοι, απομυιοι, who, they thought, could avert all mischief: and among these Isis Avernunca: but their power was ineffectual: and both the prince and the people were obliged to acknowledge the inferiority of their own deities by sueing through Moses to the God of Israel. *Intreat for me, says Pharaoh. And Moses went out from Pharaoh, and intreated the Lord.* Exodus, c. 8. v. 30.

The reason, why the * œstrum, or cunomyia, was thought sacred, arose probably from its being esteemed among many nations

* It was expressed by the Romans both œstrus and œstrum. *Æstrum*—Græcum est, Latine asilus, vulgo tabanus vocatur. Servius in Virg. Georg. l. 3. v. 148.

Naturalists in later times distinguished between the οιστρος, *œstrum*; and the μυωψς, the same as the cunomyia. However the poets, and many other writers speak of one animal under both names. *Ælian* says, Τον μεν μυωπα ὁμοιον φυναι τη καλημενη κυνομυια. l. 4. c. 51. p. 227. And they make the myops the same as the œstrum.—*Μυωψ* ειδος μυιας—*Οιστρος* καλημενος. *Hesych.*—*Μυωψ* παρομοιος τη κυνομυια.—*Schol.* in *Odyss.* χ. v. 299. In the *Prometheus* of *Æschylus* the myops and œstrum are throughout used as synonymous.

See *Bochart Hierocœic.* v. 2. l. iv. p. 547.

an instrument of vengeance in the hand of God. In the fable of Io this fly is sent to punish ¹ her; and to make wander over the face of the earth. And when Bellerophon was supposed to have rashly mounted the winged horse; and to have tried to pass to heaven, this fly was ² sent, which by rendering the horse unruly, brought him soon to the earth. The like calamity happened to ³ Ampelus, the favourite of Bacchus. He was by the same means thrown down to the ground from a sacred bull, and killed, through the jealousy of Selene. As it was supposed to be sent at the will of heaven, people metaphorically stiled any divine, and any extravagant, impulse, an æstrum. Hence Orpheus having been forced

¹ Hence she is made to say

——— οἰτροπληξ̄ ἔγω

Μασιγῑ ΘΕΙΗ̄ι γην̄ προ̄ γης̄ ελαυνομαι.

Æschyl. Prometh. p. 32. Turneb.

² Τον̄ Διᾱ μνησαντᾱ οἰτρον̄ εμβαλειν̄ τῷ Πηγασῷ, ὅθεν̄ εμπεσειν̄ τον̄ Βελλεροφοντην̄. Schol. in Homerum, l. 6. v. 155.

The story taken from Asclepiades, the tragedian.

³ ——— σκοπιαζε̄ ——— Σεληνη̄,

Καῑ ἡ̄ πεμπε̄ μωπᾱ εοοσσοον̄—Nonni Dionys. l. xi. p. 199.

for a long time to be in a state of wandering, says that he was at last by means of his mother Calliope freed from that madness.

Και με αλητειησθε και εζ οισρα εσαωσε

Μητηρ ημετερη.—Orph. Argonaut. v. 101.

The bite or puncture of this insect was terrible: hence people's fears increased their reverence, especially when it was esteemed a messenger of the gods.

The Miracle of the Flies ascertained.

The land of Egypt being annually overflowed was on that account pestered with swarms of flies. They were so troublesome, that the people, as ¹ Herodotus assures us, were in many places forced to lie on the tops of their houses, which were flat: where they were obliged to cover themselves with a network, called by Juvenal ² Conopeum. This is described by the scholiast as—*linum tenuissimis maculis nectum: a knitting to-*

¹ L. 2. c. 95. p. 146.

² Ut testudineo tibi, Lentule, Conopeo. Sat. 6. v. 80. So called from Κωνωψ, a gnat, or fly.

gether of line into very fine meshes. As the country abounded thus with these insects, the judgment which the people suffered might be thought to have been brought about by natural means. For both the soil and climate were adapted to the production of frogs, and flies and other vermin: and they certainly did produce them in abundance. All this may be granted: and yet such is the texture of the holy scriptures, and these great events were by divine appointment so circumstanced, that the objection may be easily shewn to be idle: and that none of these evils could have been brought about in the ordinary course of things. Whoever considers the history, as it is afforded us, will be obliged to determine, as the priests did, and say in every instance—*this was the finger of God.* In respect to the flies, they must have been brought upon the country miraculously on account of the time of year. These insects breed chiefly in marshy places, when the waters decrease in summer, and autumn, and where moisture still abounds. Now this season in Egypt was in September and October, after the subsiding of the river.

For the Nile began to rise in June, when the sun was in Cancer: but its increase was more apparent, in the next month, when the sun was in † Leo: and about the end of August, and sometimes about the equinox

† Incipit crescere lunâ novâ, quæcunque post solstitium est, sensim modiceque, sole Cancrum transeunte, abundantissime autem Leonem. Pliny, vol 1. l. 5. p. 256.

Κατερχεται μεν ὁ Νειλος πληθουν, απο τροπων των θερινεων αρξαμενος, επι εκατον ημερας πελατας δε ες τον αριθμον τετρεων των ημερων ὀπισω απερχεται.—Herod. l. 2. c. 19. p. 112.

Ægyptum Nilus irrigat, & cum totâ æstate obrutam opletamque tenuit, cum recedit, mollitos atque oblimatos agros ad ferendum relinquit. Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 2. c. 52. p. 1230.

As the chief increase of the Nile was, when the sun was passing through Leo; the Egyptians made the lion a type of an inundation, as we learn from Johannes Pierianus. He says that all effusion of water was specified by this characteristic. And he adds, that from hence has been the custom of making the water, which proceeds from cisterns and other reservoirs, as well as spouts from the roofs of buildings, come through the mouth of a lion.—Apud gentes omnes uno jam concensu receptum, ut canales, tubique et siphones qui aquam eructant per terebrata foramina in leonina capita ad id locis opportunis adsculpi solita, aquam immittant, quæ inde ex leonis rictibus evomi videatur. l. 1. c. 13. p. 9. See the whole, which is curious.

See Marci Frid. Wendelini Admiranda Nili, c. 7. p. 55—also Orus Apollo, c. 21. p. 37.

the river began to subside and the meadows to appear. ¹ Cum autem sol per Cancris fidus cœperit vehi, augetur ad usque transitum ejus in Libram, diebusque centum sublatius fluens, minuitur postea, et equitabiles campos ostendit. They are the words of Marcellinus, who had been in that country; and he agrees with other writers. Theon the scholiast upon Aratus speaks nearly to the same purpose. Τῷ Παῳφί παύεται ὁ Νεῖλος, ὅς ἐστι κατὰ Ῥωμαίους Οκτωβρίος. *The Nile stops, and subsides in the month Paophi, which answers to October among the Romans.* Diodorus Siculus places the commencement of its decrease more truly at the autumnal equinox, as he does its first rising at the solstice. ² Τῆς πληρωσεως την αρχην απο θερινων τροπων ποιουμενος αυξεται μεν μεχρι της ισημεριας της μεθοπωρινης. It continued subsiding for a long time; but soon after the ³ equinox and during

¹ L. 22. p. 259.

² L. 1. p. 32.

³ *The time when the Nile is highest is about the middle of September.* Pocock, p. 201. Soon after it began to sink. Strabo seems to make it for forty days in a state

during the month of October the ground began to appear; which being covered with slime, and mud, produced flies and all kinds of insects. These generated at that season in the swamps and moist places; particularly in the bodies of rats and mice and other animals, not (as the ancients thought) half-formed; but half putrified: from whence they proceeded in swarms. The œstrum is well known to be generated from hence.

• Οἰστρον εκ των εν τοις ποταμοις επιπλεοντων ζωαριων απογενναιται. I believe most of the tribes of gnats and flies arise from swamps and rivers. And bees, wasps, and hornets, which proceed from grubs in the ground, or else in hollow trees, never come forth, till the weather is very warm.

Now the children of Israel took their of equilibre during its greatest height; and then gradually to subside as it arose. l. 17. p. 1137.

• Scholia in Apollon. l. 1. v. 1265. The Scholiast upon Homer speaks to the same purpose. Ὁ οἰστρος απογενναιται εκ των εν τοις ποταμοις πλαγγων ζωαριων των επιπλεοντων τα υδατα διο. και πλεισα περι αυτα γινεται. Homeri Odyss. χ. v. 299. — Ὁ οἰστρος ὁ λεγομενος μυωψ. Ibid. v. 300.

journey from Egypt at a different time of the year. They set out after an interval of winter upon the fifteenth of the month Abib, which answers, according to our computation, to the first of April. Some of the plagues brought upon the Egyptians were doubtless in a series somewhat antecedent to this season. They were ten in number: consequently there were nine intervals between them: but of what duration each of these judgments were; and what portion of time is to be allotted to each interval is uncertain. It is intimated, that there was *a respite*: and we are told, in the first instance, after the river had been turned to blood, that this respite amounted to a week.—*And seven days were fulfilled, after that the Lord had smitten the river.* c. 7. v. 25. If then this were the portion of time inclusive from one event to another (and I think, it could not have been less) we shall find, that the first wonder displayed must have happened two months before the ultimate: and the three which succeeded, were proportionably antecedent. But the duration of each judgment
 must

must be likewise taken into the account; which however may be difficult to be ascertained. The death of the first-born, which was the last, could not have taken up many hours. All was well at even: and the cry was at midnight. The darkness which preceded lasted three days inclusive: and if we allow the same term for the other plagues one with another; the first operation must have happened near three months before the Exodus. We are in consequence of this carried back from the first of April to January and February for the times, when some, the first in order, of these judgments were brought about. But these were the ¹ coldest months in Egypt; and the most ungenial of any; so that, as I have before said, none of those noxious animals brought upon the country, could have been produced at such a season in the natural ² way. This must have been ap-

¹ The coldest time here is about the beginning of February. Pocock, p. 195.

² Whether the flies came from wood, or from water, this was not the season for their swarming.

parent not only to the Egyptians, but to the Israelites: for whose sakes these judgments were displayed: and who must have seen the hand of God triumphing visibly over the powers of darkness. For the season in which the frogs appeared, and these insects swarmed, was contrary to all experience. They used to be produced in Egypt at a different, and for the most part an opposite, time of the year: and before this season, they were either diminished, or extinct. As many authorities have been brought from ancient writers concerning Egypt, and its wonderful river, I will now apply to the evidence of a modern, that curious naturalist, Frederick Hasselquist, who will illustrate very much what I have been saying. ¹ *We went, says he, on the 17th of September, on board one of the vessels in the Nile.—The ground appeared cloathed with a charming verdure; a great part sown with Turkey wheat; and some parts, though but few, with lucern: the latter not being commonly sown, before the water has entirely decreased.* The water therefore had begun to subside; and

¹ P. 85,

had *entirely decreased* upon those spots, where this grain was sown: and this was upon the 17th of September. He saw a variety of birds, but none attracted his attention so much as the crane, or ibis. *A person, says he, who has the least knowledge of nature's œconomy, may easily find the Creator had ordered that bird to come in such numbers to the marshy fields of Egypt at this time. Here they find in great abundance their proper food from the number of frogs, which cover the country, when the waters decrease: and multiply extremely during the time of the flood.—* The water in the channel at Cairo had on the 24th of September evidently decreased, &c.—Flies were now seen in much greater numbers.— Upon the 12th (of October) we are told that the country was in full beauty, the water being in great measure drained from the fields. February or Mechir seems to

² p. 94.

He mentions gnats near Rosetta in June. *The rice-fields, because they are constantly under water, occasion a swamp, fit for the support of these vermin; and in these they lay their eggs.* p. 54.

have

have been the wintry month. The 22d is mentioned by Haffelquist ¹ as very cold: at which time *the trees lost their leaves*; but began to put forth new. Agreeably to this, Pocock says—*The coldest time is about the beginning of February.* p. 195. In another place he mentions February, when the weather is coldest. p. 96.

It is indeed said by Haffelquist, that flies are always to be found in Egypt. The same is observable in Great Britain: and we must necessarily expect to meet with them in a country above twenty degrees to the South, But still the time above mentioned, a ² wintry month, was not the season for them to breed and swarm; nor for frogs to multiply,

¹ p. 106.

² It has been said, that in Egypt the days are at all times warm: and the earth has a constant verdure. However Pocock tells us, that—in winter nights and mornings are very cold. p. 195. There were seven days in particular, which the Arabians called—Berd il Agiuz, or *the cold of the old hag*. They begin about the 7th of February, and continue till the 14th. The mornings are then very cold, the sky cloudy: and the winds are commonly boisterous. Vansles, p. 22.

and to cover the whole land: to have been in such numbers, that when they died, they lay in heaps; so that the whole country was polluted with the stench.

The change wrought in the waters of the Nile, when they were turned to blood, might in like manner by sceptics be imputed to a natural cause. It is certain that the stream has sometimes a ¹ red colour; and the same is said of the river ² Adonis, near Biblus in Phenicia. But this appearance is always during violent inundations; when the rivers, by the exuberance of their waters, wash away ocre, and other minerals, from the sides of their banks. This circumstance in Egypt never happens but in summer; when the Nile is rising; at which times the waters are turbid. In Tybi, or January, the river is not only reduced to its channel; but is ³ lower than in any of the preceding months, and particularly pure and wholesome. The same is

¹ See Pocock, p. 199. *The Nile red about June.* Also p. 200.

² Maundrell, p. 34. 35. Lucian de Syriâ Deâ, p. 880.

³ Βραχὺς τὸν χειμῶνα ἅπαντα διατλάει ἕως (ὁ Νεῖλος). Herod. l. 2. c. 19. p. 112.

observable in Machir, or February, the month immediately following. This change therefore mentioned by Moses, and its consequences, could not have been produced by any natural cause; such as mineral tincture, and common pollution: the season of the year shews the contrary.

The three first judgments brought upon the land were experienced by the Israelites as well as by the Egyptians. They were not so ^a grievous as those, which succeeded.

^a How intolerable a plague flies can prove, may be known, from places near lakes and pools, which have been on their account deserted, and rendered desolate. Such was the fate of Myuns in Ionia, Pausan. l. 7. p. 527. and of Atarnæ. *ibid.* The inhabitants were forced to quit these cities, not being able to stand the flies and gnats with which they were pestered. Trajan was obliged to raise the siege of a city in Arabia, before which he had sat down, being driven away by the swarms of these insects. Dion Cassius, l. 68. p. 1145. *The fly of Egypt* seems to have been proverbial.—Hence Isaiah says—*The Lord shall hiss for the fly of Egypt.* c. 7. v. 18. We are told by Moses—that the hornet drove out the Canaanite: by which we may infer, that before the coming of the Israelites several cities had been evacuated through the terror of this insect. Μύων (or rather μυίων) πληθος ανεστησε Μεγαρεας, Φασηλιτας, δε σφηκες. *Ælian de Animal.* l. 11. c. 28. p. 641,

Yet

Yet they were sufficient to teach the inhabitants of Goshen, that there was no illusion in these mighty operations: which perhaps they might have suspected, had they not seen and felt, and born some share in the evil. On the other hand Pharaoh and his servants, when they saw God's people involved in the same calamities with themselves, might have fancied, that there was nothing particular in the judgments; and in consequence of it not so distinctly seen, to whom they were directed. Hence the scope of Providence would have been defeated. It therefore pleased God in the plague of flies, and in those, which came after, to separate the land of his own people: and preserve them from these evils.—*I will sever in that day the land of Goshen, in which my people dwell, that no swarms of flies shall be there; to the end thou mayest know that I am the Lord in the midst of the earth. And I will put a division between my people and thy people: to-morrow shall this sign be.*—The
Israelites

¹ Exod. c. 8. v. 22. The land of Goshen was part of that nome, called afterwards Heliopolis, which had been deserted

Israelites having experienced the former evils must have been more intimately affected with this immunity, by which they were distinguished. And they must in consequence of it have been more ready to follow their great leader; who was the immediate agent of Providence both to punish, and to preserve.

The Fifth Plague.

MURRAIN OF BEASTS.

EXODUS, Chapter ix.

V. 1. Then the Lord said unto Moses, Go in unto Pharaoh, and tell him, Thus saith the Lord God of the Hebrews, Let my people go, that they may serve me.

V. 2. For if thou refuse to let them go, and wilt hold them still,

deserted by the shepherds, and lay vacant, when the children of Israel came into Egypt. It was a tongue-like piece of land, where the Nile first divided at a place called Cercasora. Said, or Upper Egypt, lay above: and Mesre, or Lower Egypt, was in a line downward. Nothing but a miracle could have preserved this intermediate land from flies, which swarmed both above and below.

H

V. 3.

V. 3. Behold, the hand of the Lord is upon thy cattle which is in the field, upon the horses, upon the asses, upon the camels, upon the oxen, and upon the sheep: there shall be a very grievous murrain.

V. 4. And the Lord shall sever between the cattle of Israel, and the cattle of Egypt: and there shall nothing die of all that is the children's of Israel.

V. 5. And the Lord appointed a set time, saying, To-morrow the Lord shall do this thing in the land.

V. 6. And the Lord did that thing on the morrow, and all the cattle of Egypt died: but of the cattle of the children of Israel died not one.

This judgment so precisely foretold, and so early carried into execution, must have had a great effect upon the minds of the Egyptians. And when they found, that the cattle of the Israelites were exempted from this evil, they could not but perceive the hand of God manifest throughout the whole operation. In consequence of which they must have been more ready to let the Israelites go, and to assist them at their departure, as soon as
the

the obdurate heart of their prince was finally softened. It must likewise have rendered the Israelites more willing to depart, and to leave the gods of the country; to which they undoubtedly had before an ^a attachment. And here we may observe a particular scope and meaning in this calamity, if we consider it in regard to the Egyptians, which would not have existed in respect to any other people. It is well known, that they held in idolatrous reverence the lion, wolf, dog, cat, ape and goat. As they bordered upon Lybia they must have been visited by wild ^b beasts, all which they esteemed sacred.

Εξσα δε Αιγυπτος ὄμβρος τη Λιβυη ³ ευ μαλα θηριωδης εσι. ταδε εοντα σφι ἀπαντα ιρα νενομισαι.

Herod. l. 2. c. 64. p. 134. Porphyry like-

wife tells us—εις θεοποιαν παρελαβον παν ζων.

p. 372.—ὄθεν και ὁ λεων ὡς θεος θρησκευε-

^a See Ezekiel, c. xx. v. 8.

^b The tiger, dubber, or athena are still to be found: but not common. Pocock. Egypt. p. 207. Probably since the use of fire-arms they have been kept at a distance.

³ So I should read, as the context seems to require, instead of ου.

ται. ib. p. 373.—μετα ταυτα και παντα τα ζωα—σεβουσιν. p. 374. *They admitted every animal as a representative of their gods.—Hence the lion is by them worshipped as a deity—and together with these specified they worship every living creature.* Hence Virgil very truly mentions

—Latrator Anubis

Omnigenûmque deûm monstra.

Lucian accordingly with much wit ridicules the inconsistency of their worship by showing how little any temple among them corresponded with the object, which it contained.— Κακει γαρ αυτος μεν ο νεως, καλλισος τε και μεγαισος, λιθοις τοις πολυτελεστιν ησκημενος, και χρυσω και γραφαις διηνητισμενος, ενδον δε ην ζητης τον θεον, η πιθηκος εστιν, η Ιβις, η τραγος, η αιλερος. *In Egypt the temple itself is found to be beautiful, and ample in its dimensions: built with choice stones: and ornamented with gilding and hieroglyphics. But if you pry within to find out the god, you meet with a monkey, or a crane: or else a goat, or a cat.* But they had gods, which were held in still greater

^c Εικονες. v. 2. p. 12. See also Θεων Εκκλησιας. v. 2. p. 956.

reverence, than these. Such were the ox or steer: the cow and heifer: and the ram. Among these the Apis and Mnevis are well known: the former of which was a sacred bull adored at Memphis; as the latter was at Heliopolis. There was also a cow or heifer, which had the like honours at Momemphis. Nor were these only the places, where this custom prevailed: it seems to have been adopted in some degree in most of the Egyptian nomes. *Εν δὲ τῷ Δέλτῳ, καὶ ἐξῶ αὐτῶν, τοῖς μὲν ἀρσῆν, τοῖς δὲ θηλείᾳ βῆς τρεφεταί.* They are the words of ¹ Strabo, who tells us that both in the region of Delta and in the country above, steers and heifers were maintained in the temples: and he adds, that these were only held sacred, and not adored: whereas the Apis and Mnevis were really esteemed gods, and had divine honours paid to them. The like were shewn to the cow or heifer at ² Momemphis; and

¹ L. 17. p. 1155.

² *Θηλεία βῆς ἱερά.* *ibid.* The cow and the heifer were universally esteemed sacred: and though the males were looked upon with reverence, yet not in the same degree as the females. *Τῆς δὲ βῆς τῆς ἐρσενῆς τῆς Ἐπαφῆ*

and to the ram at Thebes, and in the temple of Ammon. To these may be added the goat at Mendes; though perhaps not so celebrated as the others. This judgment therefore displayed upon the kine of Egypt was very significant in its execution and purport. For when the distemper spread irresistibly over the country, the Egyptians not only suffered a severe loss; but what was of far greater consequence, they saw the representatives of their deities; and their deities themselves sink before the God of the Hebrews. They thought, that the soul of Osiris was uniformly resident in the body of the bull Apis.—¹ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣΑΝΤΟΣ Οσιριδος εις τετον² (ταυρον) η ψυχη μετεβη, και δια

ΤΑΥΤΑ

ειναι νομιζουσιν. Herod. l. 2. c. 38. p. 121.—Της μεν ουν καθαρους εως της ερσενας, και της μοσχης οι παντες Αιγυπτιοι θυσι. τας δε θηλειας ου επι εξητι θυειν. αλλα ιραι εισι της Ισιος. Ibid. l. 2. c. 41. p. 123.

Of Apis see Herod. l. 2. c. 131. p. 166. l. 3. c. 27, 28. p. 208.

¹ Diodorus, l. 1. p. 76. β.

² Ως ευμορφον εικονα χρη νομιζειν της Οσιριδος ψυχης τον Απιν. Plut. de Is. et Osir. p. 362. D.

³ Sometimes he is stiled μοσχος. So Herodotus speaks of him—ο μοσχος ο Απις καλεομενος. Herod. l. 3.

c. 28.

ταυτα διατελει μεχρι τε νυν αι. κ. τ. λ. A notion, not unlike that concerning the Deli¹ Lama in Eluth, Tangut, and Thebet. But Osiris had no power to save his brute representatives. Both the Apis and Mnevis were carried off by the same malady, which swept away all the herds of deities, those Dii stercorei, who lived on grass, and hay. There is reason to think, that both the camel, and² afs, were held in some degree sacred; who were involved in the same calamity. Hence it is said by the sacred writer—*upon their³ gods also the Lord executed judgment.* Numb. c. 33. v. 4. See Exod. c. 12. v. 12.

These events, we may well imagine, had

c. 28. p. 208. Sometimes Βεϛ. Βεϛ Απιϛ, οϛ εϛιν ο αυτοϛ Οϛιριϛ. Strabo, l. 17. p. 1160. See P. Mela, l. 1. c. 9. p. 59. concerning this deity.

¹ Some say, that this very custom of worshipping a deified man, prevailed in Egypt.—Ανθρωπον σεβασιν, κατα Ανδριν κωμην, εν η και τετω θυεται, και επι των Γωμων τα ιερεια καιεται. Porphyry περι αποχ. l. 4. p. 374.

² The Afelli made a part of the ancient sphere.

³ In consequence of this, when the history is told to Jethro, he very truly says: *Now I know that the Lord is greater than all gods: for in the thing wherein they dealt proudly, he was above them.* Exod. c. 18. v. 11.

a happy influence upon the minds of the Israelites: to whom the worship of the Egyptians must at this time have appeared in a most contemptible light, and their gods despicable. Their separation too, and exemption, during the time of these evils, must have had still greater weight. It rendered them more ready to quit a people, from whom they were in so salutary a manner distinguished; and to embrace a better, and more rational religion, whenever it should be offered.

The Sixth Plague.

OF BOILS AND BLAINS.

C. ix. v. 8. And the Lord said unto Moses, and unto Aaron, Take to you handfuls of ashes of the furnace, and let Moses sprinkle it towards the heaven in the sight of Pharaoh:

V. 9. And it shall become small dust in all the land of Egypt, and shall be a boil breaking forth with blains, upon man, and upon beast.

V. 10.

V. 10. *And they took ashes of the furnace, and stood before Pharaoh; and Moses sprinkled it up toward heaven: and it became a ^{*} boil breaking forth with blains, upon man, and upon beast.*

V. 11. *And the magicians could not stand before Moses, because of the boil: for the boil was upon the magicians, and upon all the Egyptians.*

This plague, like those, which preceded, was particularly well calculated to confound the Egyptians, and to confirm the faith of the Israelites. For as the latter are not said to have been involved in the calamity, we may fairly infer, that they were exempted from it. This immunity therefore must have increased their confidence in the God of their fathers, and in his servant Moses. This instance likewise of divine punishment was of such a nature, as particularly shewed the baseness and imbecillity of the Egyptian deities, who could neither ward off the evil, when impending; nor afford any alleviation,

^{*} Ἐλη φλυκτιδες. Sept.

when

when it was brought on. Yet the Egyptians had many gods, and those of high rank, who were supposed to preside over pharmacy and medicine: and to these the people looked up with great confidence in all those pains and maladies, to which the human frame is liable. Among these deities Esculapius was held in particular honour for his skill in this science. * *Æsculapius deus medicinæ et medicorum.* He was supposed by many to have been originally a mortal, and to have first found out the art; and to have taught it in Egypt. † *Medicinam Ægyptiî apud ipsos volunt repertam.——Æsculapius Memphitis inter primos hominum numeratur, qui opinione humanâ dii facti sunt.* He was particularly worshipped at Memphis. *Urbs Memphis præsentia nûminis Æsculapii clara.* Marcellinus, l. 22. p. 257. Some make Apollo, the same as Osiris, to have invented medicine: and suppose Esculapius to have been his son: and from hence to have obtained

* Albricus Philos. p. 928.

† Pliny, l. 7. c. 56. p. 414.

his knowledge—Πολλα παρα τε πατρος των εις
ιατρικην μαθοντα προσεξευρειν, την τε χειρουργιαν και
τας των φαρμακων σκευασιας, και ριζων δυναμεις.
κ. τ. λ. Diod. l. v. p. 341. D. Others af-
firmed, that he learned the science of Apis.

¹ Ιατρικην-Απιν, Αιγυπτιον αυτοχθονα, —(επινοη-
σαι), μετα δε ταυτα Ασκληπιου την τεχνην αυξησαι
λεγουσιν. Others carried the invention of
medicine much higher; and supposed that
Isis contributed very much to this science.

² Την Ισιν—Φαρμακων πολλων προς υγειαυ ευρετην.
Her salutary influence was thought to be
very prevalent. ³ Κατα γαρ τας υπνες εφισα-
μενην διδουαι τοις καμνουσι βοηθηματα προς τας
νοσες, και τας υπακυσαντας αυτη παραδοξως
υγιαινεσθαι, και πολλες μεν υπο των ιατρων δια
την δυσκολιαν τε νοσηματος απελπισθεντας, υπο
ταυτης σωζεσθαι. συχνους δε παντελωσ πηρωθεντας
τας ορασεισ, η τινα αλλων των μερων τε σωματοσ,
οταν προς ταυτην την θεου καταφευγωσιν εις
την προυπαρξασαν αποκαθιστασθαι ταξιν. For
this goddess used to reveal herself to people

¹ Clemens Alex. Strom. l. i. p. 362.

² Diodorus. l. i. p. 22.

³ Ibid

in their sleep, when they laboured under any disorder, and afford them relief. Many, who placed their confidence in her influence, were wonderfully restored. Many likewise, who had been despaired of, and given over by the physicians on account of the stubbornness of the distemper, were reinstated by this goddess. Numbers, who had been deprived of their eyes, and other organs of their bodies, recovered them by their application to Isis. She was farther reported to have found out a medicine, that would render people immortal: and to have bequeathed all her knowledge to her son Orus; who is said—¹ τὴν τε ἰατρικὴν καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Ἰσιδος διδαχθῆναι—to have learnt the science of physic as well as of prophecy from his mother Isis. The Egyptians had many books of great antiquity upon this subject: many of which were attributed to Seforthrus or rather Toforthrus, who was supposed by some to have been the same as Esculapius above mentioned—² ὁ δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸς

¹ Diodorus, l. i. p. 22.

² Eusebii Chron. p. 14, l. 46. See Syncellus, p. 57.

παρα Αιγυπτίοις εκληθη δια ιατρικην. There was also a king named ¹ Athoth the son of Menis, of still greater antiquity, who is thought to have been the second prince who reigned in Egypt. It is said of him, that he was greatly skilled in all branches of physic; and to have left behind him treatises upon the structure of the human body.—² *Ἰατρικὴν τε ἐξήσκησεν, καὶ βιβλῶν ανατομικῶν συνεγράψεν.* Euseb Chron. p. 14. Syncellus speaks of these medicinal books of Athoth—³ *ὧ φερονται βιβλοὶ ανατομικαὶ, ἰατρος γὰρ ην.* What are stiled books and treatises are supposed to have been originally hieroglyphical writings upon obelisks; or else in the syringes or sacred recesses, which were formed in rocks of Upper Egypt. They are by Manetho attributed to Hermes: of whom we have an account given by Clemens of Alexandria, that he composed forty two books concerning all sciences; of

¹ Expressed sometimes Athosthis—*Αθωσθις.*

² According to Seleucus they amounted to 20,000, according to another person to 36,525. But this is a mistake of the writer, by whom we have it mentioned.—See Jamblichus, sect. 8. p. 157.

³ Syncellus. p. 54.

which

which six related to medicine.—¹ Δυο μὲν οὖν
καὶ τεσσαρακοντα αἱ πανυ ἀναγκαιαὶ τῷ Ἑρμῇ
γεγονασὶ βιβλοὶ, ὧν τὰς μὲν λς τὴν πᾶσαν
Αἰγυπτίων περιεχούσας φιλοσοφίαν οἱ προειρημένοι
ἐκμανθάνουσι. τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἕξ, οἱ ² πάσοφοροι,
κατρικᾶς οὐσας, περὶ τε τῆς τῶ σωματος κατασκευῆς,

¹ Strom. l. vi. p. 758.

² Οἱ πάσοφοροι (ἐκμανθάνουσι), from hence I should
judge, that the Pastophori were physicians; if the word
be of Grecian etymology.

Clemens describes a sacred procession in Egypt: in
which different persons have particular things to carry.
Among others the * Pastophori have delegated to them the
six medical books of Hermes. They are supposed to be stiled
Pastophori from carrying the *pastum*, or robe, of Isis. But
I should think, that they were so named from the things,
which they, at the very time, bore in their hands, the
treatises of physic. Πάσα, καταπάσα, ἐπιπάσα, are all terms
used in physic: and from hence I imagine both the books,
and the priests, that bore them, were denominated.
Pastillus is a diminutive from *pastus*, πάσος; and plainly
relates to pharmacy, as we learn from Celsus. Malag-
mata, atque emplastra, *pastillique*, quos τροχίσκους
Græci vocant. l. 5. c. 17.

Οὐδὲν ποττον ἐρωτᾶ πεφυκεὶ φαρμακὸν ἄλλο,

Νικία, ἅτ' ἐγχερίστον (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ) ἅτ' ἐπιπάσον.

Theoc. Idyl. xi. v. 1.

Πάσοφοριόν, τὸ τὸν πάσον φέρον. Hesych. Σὸ πάσοφορειόν, τὸ
φέρον τὸν πάσον. Suidas.

* See Clemens Pædagog. l. 3. p. 253

καὶ περὶ νοσῶν, καὶ περὶ ὀργάνων, καὶ φαρμακῶν,
καὶ περὶ ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον περὶ τῶν
γυναικείων. *There are forty two books of great
consequence, which are ascribed to Hermes. Of
these thirty-six contain all the philosophy of the
Egyptians; and from these the persons before
mentioned get their information. With the
remaining six the Pastophori are particularly
concerned: for they relate to pharmacy: and
are treatises concerning the management of the
body: also about different distempers: about
medical instruments: and medicines: and com-
plaints of the eyes: and lastly concerning femi-
nine disorders.*

That this learning was originally consigned
to the cryptæ or sacred caverns of Egypt, and
to obelisks, is mentioned by Manetho of Se-
bennys, which shews its great antiquity:

Ἐξ ἀδύτων ἱερῶν βιβλῶν, βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαίει,
καὶ κρυφίμων σήλων, αἷς ἔγρατο πανσοφὸς Ἑρμῆς,

* * * * *

Μυριοῖσι μιτοῖσι λαλὸν τὸ μαθημα καθέυρον.

In consequence of this the Egyptians were
always famed for their knowledge in medi-

² Αποτελεσματ. 1. 5. γ. 1.

cine ; and their physicians were held in great repute. We find even in later times, when their country was in a manner ruined, that a¹ king of Persia, upon a grievous hurt received, applied to the adepts in Egypt for assistance in preference to other countries. Herod. l. 3. p. 262. And though they did not in this case succeed ; yet we learn so much from the history, that they had not yet lost their pristine reputation. They were in great numbers in Egypt : each distemper having its proper physician, to which his practice was confined.—² Μιης νοσθε εκάστος ιητρος εσι, και ου πλεονων. Παντα δε ιητρον εσι πλεα. *Each physician is confined to one disease ; and engages with no more. The whole country abounds with the professors of medicine.* The people seem to have been liable to many distempers ; some of which were epidemical : as we find them to be at this³ day. The Egyptians were continually providing against disorders ; and they had persons, who

¹ Darius, upon a luxation of his ankle.

² Herod. l. 2. c. 84. p. 141.

³ See Prosper Alpinus, l. 1. c. 13, 14. p. 23, 24.

pretended

pretended to foretel their coming both upon man and beast. In the time of Moses we read of a particular distemper called the ² *botch of Egypt*: and the diseases of the country are mentioned in more places than one of ³ scripture. In consequence of this the people were in a continual state of ⁴ purgation; and reposed a great confidence in their physicians: who were maintained at the expence of the ⁵ public. These joined astrology to physic; by which they founded their pretended foresight in respect to impending maladies; and in consequence of it they were continually prescribing antidotes and preventives to the people.

¹ ——— ΕΤΙ ΔΕ ΝΟΣΟΥΣ ΚΟΙΝΑΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΣ Η ΕΘΣΚΗΜΑΣΩ ΕΣΟΜΕΝΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΗΜΑΙΝΩΣΙ. Diod. l. 1. p. 73. D.

² Deuteron, c. 28. v. 27.

³ *The Lord will take away from thee all sickness, and will put none of the evil diseases of Egypt — upon thee.* Deut. c. 7. v. 15.

If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law — then the Lord will make thy plagues wonderful, &c. Moreover, he will bring upon thee all the diseases of Egypt. Ibid. c. 28. v. 58, 59, 60.

⁴ Herodot. 2. p. 139.

⁵ Diodor. l. 1. p. 74. A.

The Propriety of the Judgment.

I thought it necessary on many accounts to give this history of physic, as recorded by the ancient Egyptians. We find, that they believed it to have been found out by their gods and demi-gods: and from them to have been transmitted to particular persons in succession, who under their influence carried it on to the advantage of the nation. They therefore placed the greatest confidence in these deities; and in these their votaries, to whom this science was entrusted. Hence it pleased God to order his judgments accordingly: and to bring upon them a fearful disorder, which their deities could not avert, nor the art of man alleviate. He could have caused commotions in the earth, had it seemed fitting; and shaken their high edifices to their basis; or brought on a supernatural inundation, by which their cities had been swept to the deep. But this would not have been sufficiently significant. It seemed therefore good to divine wisdom to

be more particular in its judgments. Hence in this instance, as well as in those, which preceded, the Egyptians were not only punished; but were shewn the baseness of their worship; and the vanity of their confidence, where they most trusted. This, as it served for a warning to them, was very salutary to others, who were to learn by their example. They had before been pestered with flies and incommoded with vermin: and through the pollution of their river and the murrain of their cattle, been put to great inconveniences. But they could dig for water, and in some degree shelter themselves from flies: but there was no resource from this evil: which was brought more home to them. It was a taint of the human frame; a grievous internal malady, under which the priests as well as the people smarted, to their astonishment and confusion. Hence it appears, that the prince of the country was deserted of his wise men, as well as of his gods.—
And the magicians could not stand before Moses, because of the boil: for the boil was upon the magicians, and upon all the Egyptians, Exod. c. 9. v. 11.

*The Peculiarity observable in the scattering of
the Ashes.*

It is said, that when this evil was to be brought upon the Egyptians, Aaron and Moses were ordered to take ashes of the furnace; and Moses was to scatter them up towards heaven, that they might be wafted over the face of the country, Exod. c. 9. v. 8. This mandate was very determinate: and to the last degree significant. The ashes were to be taken from that fiery furnace; which in the scriptures was used as a type of the Israelites slavery: and of all the cruelty which they experienced in ' Egypt. The process has still a farther allusion to an idolatrous and cruel rite, which was common among the Egyptians; and to which it is

' Abraham saw in vision the bondage of his posterity under the emblem of *a smoking furnace and burning lamp*. Genesis, c. 15. v. 17.—*The lord hath taken you out of the furnace: i. e. out of Egyptian thralldom*. Deut. c. 4. v. 20. *I have chosen thee in the furnace of affliction*. Isaiah, c. 48. v. 20.—*For they be thy people and thine inheritance, which thou broughtest forth out of Egypt, from the midst of the furnace of iron*. The words of Solomon. 1 Kings, c. 8. v. 51.

opposed

opposed as a contrast. They had several cities stiled Typhonian, such as Heliopolis, Idithyia, Abaris, and Busiris. In ~~the~~ ^{these} ~~feat~~ particular seasons they sacrificed ¹ men. The objects thus destined were persons of bright hair, and a particular complexion: such as was seldom to be found among the native Egyptians. Hence we may infer, that they were foreigners: and it is probable that, while the Israelites resided in Egypt, they were chosen from their body. They were burnt alive upon an high ² altar: and thus sacrificed for the good of the people. At the

¹ Και γαρ εν Ιδιθυιας πολει ζωντας ανθρωπους καταπιμπρασαν, ως Μανεθων ιστορηκε, Τυφωνιας καλεντες. και την τεφραν αυτων λιμμωντες ηφανισον, και διεσπειρον. Αλλα τειτο μεν εδρατο φανερωσ, και καθ' ενα καιρον εν ταις κυνασιν ημεραις. Plut. Is. et Osir. v. 1. p. 380. D.

² It was probably stiled Toph-On, Λοφος Ηλις: and from hence both the cities, and the persons sacrificed, had the name of Typhonian. That they were foreigners seems to be farther intimated, by the tradition recorded by Ovid.

Cum Thrasius Busirin adit, monstratque piari

Hospitis effuso sanguine posse Jovem.

De Arte Amand. l. 1. v. 649.

Diodorus says—των μεν Αιγυπτιων ολιγες τινας ευρισκεσθαι πυρρως· των δε ξενων τους πλειους. l. 1. p. 79.

close of the sacrifice the priests gathered together the ashes of these victims, and scattered them upwards in the ¹ air: I presume, with this view; that where any atom of this dust was wafted, a blessing might be entailed. The like was done by Moses with the ashes of the fiery furnace: but with a different intention. They were scattered abroad; that wherever any the smallest portion alighted, it might prove a plague and a curse to this ungrateful, cruel, and infatuated people. Thus there was a designed contrast in these workings of Providence: an apparent opposition to the superstition of the times. The powers of darkness were foiled: and the priests and magicians confounded: all which was salutary to the people of God. But the heart of Pharaoh was still hardened.

¹ Plutarch, above.

The Seventh Plague

OF RAIN, HAIL, AND FIRE, ATTENDED
WITH THUNDER.

Exod. C. ix. V. 13. And the Lord said unto Moses, Rise up early in the morning, and stand before Pharaoh, and say, unto him, Thus saith the Lord God of the Hebrews, Let my people go, that they may serve me.

V. 14. For I will at this time send all my plagues upon thine heart, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people: that thou mayest know, that there is none like me in all the earth.

V. 15. For now I will stretch out my hand, that I may smite thee, and thy people with pestilence; and thou shalt be cut off from the earth.

V. 16. And in very deed for this cause have I raised thee up, for to shew in thee my power; and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth.

V. 17. As yet exaltest thou thyself against my people, that thou wilt not let them go.

V. 18. Behold, to-morrow about this time,

I will cause it to rain a very grievous hail, such as hath not been in Egypt, since the foundation thereof even until now.

V. 19. Send therefore now, and gather thy cattle, and all that thou hast in the field: for upon every man and beast which shall be found in the field, and shall not be brought home, the hail shall come down upon them, and they shall die.

V. 20. He that feared the word of the Lord amongst the servants of Pharaoh, made his servants and his cattle flee into the houses.

V. 21. And he that regarded not the word of the Lord, left his servants, and his cattle in the field.

V. 22. And the Lord said unto Moses, Stretch forth thine hand towards heaven, that there may be hail in all the land of Egypt, upon man, and upon beast, and upon every herb of the field, throughout all the land of Egypt.

V. 23. And Moses stretched forth his rod toward heaven: and the Lord sent thunder and hail, and the fire ran along upon the ground: and the Lord rained hail upon the land of Egypt.

*V. 24. So there was hail, and fire mingled with the hail, very grievous, such as there was
none*

none like it in all the land of Egypt since it became a nation.

V. 25. And the hail smote throughout all the land of Egypt all that was in the field, both man and beast: and the hail smote every herb of the field, and brake every tree of the field.

V. 26. Only in the land of Goshen, where the children of Israel were, was there no hail.

V. 27. And Pharaoh sent and called for Moses and Aaron, and said unto them, I have sinned this time——

V. 28. Intreat the Lord——

V. 31. And the flax and the barley was smitten: for the barley was in the ear, and the flax was balled.

V. 32. But the wheat and the rie were not smitten: for they were not grown up.

V. 34. And when Pharaoh saw, that the rain, and the hail, and the thunders were ceased, he sinned yet more, and hardened his heart, &c.—

He stifled the dictates of conscience, and acted against conviction.

In the foregoing instances I have endeavoured to shew the aptness of each judgment in respect to the people upon whom it was brought. This likewise, of which I am going

going to treat, will be found equally significant and proper. It was foretold to Pharaoh by Moses, that upon the very next morning there should be a grievous rain, attended with hail, and thunder. This must have been a circumstance of all others the most incredible to an Egyptian. For in Egypt there fell no rain: the want of which was supplied by dews; and by the overflowing of the Nile. Hence Tibullus speaking of the blessings accruing from that river, says,

Te propter nullos tellus tua postulat imbres,
Arida nec pluvio supplicat herba Jovi.

Mela likewise calls the country—*terra expers imbrum*. l. i. c. 9. Modern travellers however say, that this is not precisely true. Hasselquist and other writers mention, that upon the sea coast below, near Damietta, and Alexandria, showers are not uncommon: and that even as high up as Cairo a few drops will sometimes fall from a chance cloud, which passes² over. Pocock goes so far as to say, that at Faiume, which is in the ancient

¹ L. i. Eleg. 7. v. 25.

² Hasselquist, p. 453.

nome of Arfinoe, it both rained, and hailed, for the greater part of a ¹ morning. But Faiume is, I believe, a day's journey from any portion of ² Delta or Egypt Proper, and borders upon the high lands of Libya. This is certain, that no country upon earth, to which we have access, has so little rain, as Egypt: and particularly the upper part of it. *Ουκ ομβριον υδωρ.* *No moisture of the air,* says ³ Plutarch, *is ever here condensed into showers.* And Herodotus assures us, that the air and seasons of this country are always the same. He acknowledges, that at one time there was an instance of rain in Upper ⁴ Egypt. It was at Thebes, and in the reign of Phammenitus: but he styles it *αναρσιον πρηγμα,* *something unnatural, and alarming;* and adds, that it never happened before nor after. A person, who had resided some time in these parts, told

¹ p. 59.

² Ibid. p. 49.

³ De Facie in Orbe Lunæ, p. 939.

⁴ L. 3. c. 10. p. 198.

¹ Aristides, that he never saw a cloud in summer. And even at Alexandria, where there is rain, it seems to be never of long duration. Hence Marcellinus in his account of this city tells us—² *nullo pæne die, incolentes hanc civitatem solem ferenum non vident—the inhabitants hardly ever see the sun obscured by a cloud.* But this serenity was more apparent in the upper parts; whence Claudian very truly styles the country—³ *Ægyptus sine nube ferax—Egypt is fruitful without any cloud to afford rain.*

Farther Propriety in these Judgments.

The Egyptians therefore must have perceived themselves particularly aimed at in these fearful events; which were so contrary to all experience. For they were witnesses to not only deluges of rain, but hail mingled with rain; and these attended with thunder and fire, to their great amazement.—For the

¹ Tom. 3. p. 569.

² L. 22. c. 16. p. 265.

³ Claud. de Nilo, v. 5.

Lord sent thunder and hail, and the fire ran along upon the ground.—Again—*Hail, and fire mingled with the hail, very grievous, such as there was none like it in all the land of Egypt since it became a nation.* Now the Egyptians were superstitious above all people upon earth. We learn from ¹ Herodotus that they were particularly addicted to the observance of portentous appearances. Every uncommon circumstance was esteemed of this class. But as these were imaginary portents, which arose merely from a superstitious dread, it pleased God to punish their blind credulity by bringing upon them some real prodigies; some preternatural evils, to which they had never been witnesses. Such was the rain, and hail; and the fire, which ran on the ground to their great amazement and ruin. It's coming was determinately foretold: nor could all the deities of Egypt prevent its fearful effects. Those of the people, who took warning, were preserved: but all who neglected the caution, and who did not shelter themselves, were both man and beast destroyed.

¹ Herodotus, l. 2. c. 82. p. 142.

There seems farther a great fitness and propriety in the Egyptians being punished by fire, and by water; as they were guilty of gross idolatry towards these elements; and adored them, as deities. Porphyry intimates that this was a very ancient worship, and adds,—¹ *ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ ἀνοίξει τῆς ἁγίας Σεραπιδος ἢ θρησκεία δια πυρός καὶ ὕδατος γινεται.* *Even at this day, when they open the temple of Serapis, the worship commences by fire and water.* And he gives a reason—² *ὕδωρ καὶ πῦρ σεβόντες μάλιστα τῶν στοιχείων.* It seems, that of all elements they shewed the greatest reverence to fire and water. They esteemed Isis, as the deity, which presided over all ³ fluids: and looked upon Osiris to be the lord of the contrary element: though some give the precedence to Hephæstus or Vulcan. ⁴ *Το δε*

¹ *Περὶ ἀποχ.* l. 4. p. 374.

² *Ibid.* p. 373.

Eusebius also says—*ὕδωρ καὶ πῦρ σεβασί.* *Prep. Evan.* l. 3. p. 95.

—*Aquam, quam colis.* *Jul. Firmicus,* p. 5.

³ *Plut. Is. et Osir. passim.*

In some places Canobus was looked upon as the God of Water.

⁴ *Diodor. Sic. l. 1. p. 11. B.*

πυρ, μεθερμηνηνομενον Ἡφαιστων ονομασαι (της Αι-
 γυπτιας) νομισαντας μεγαν ειναι Θεον. *The Egyp-
 tians esteemed fire, which they called Hephaistus,
 to be a great God.* They went so far as to
 think it to be really a living animal, endowed
 with a soul—¹ νενομισαι το πυρ θηριον ειναι εμ-
 ψυχον. Hence we find, that not only the pre-
 siding deity, but the elements themselves, were
 held in idolatrous veneration. The propriety
 of the punishment is therefore conspicuous.

We are farther told, that *the flax and the
 barley was smitten: for the barley was in the ear,
 and the flax was balled.* Exod. c. 9. v. 31.
 These circumstances may to some appear of
 little consequence. And it may be asked, *when
 it is intimated, that men and cattle were slain
 in great abundance, what occasion was there
 for adding this trivial article about flax and
 barley?* I answer, it is by no means trivial:
 but of great moment. The Egyptians were
 doomed to undergo many terrors: and be-
 side these to suffer no small losses: and
 scarcely any thing could have distressed them
 more than the ruin of the former article. I

¹ Herod. l. 3. c. 16. p. 202.

have before mentioned that the Egyptians above all nations affected outward purity and cleanliness. On this account the whole nation wore ¹ linen garments: and the priests never put on any other kind of clothing. This linen was manufactured from that fine flax; for which the country was particularly famous. The Athenians, who were originally from Sais in Egypt, for a long season wore garments of this sort; and ² Thucydides says, that it was not long before his time, that the custom was laid aside. The flax and linen of Egypt are celebrated by ³ Herodotus, ⁴ Pliny, Apuleius, and many other writers. It was in great request in other countries: on which account we read in the scriptures of its excellence.—In the Proverbs a person is introduced saying ⁵ *I have decked my bed with the fine linen of Egypt.* And in Ezekiel men-

¹ Qui grege linigero circumdatus et grege calvo
Plangentis populi currit derisor Anubis.

Juvenal, Sat. 6. v. 532.

² L. 1. c. 6. p. 6.

³ Χιτωνας λινεας. Herod. l. 2. p. 121. c. 105. p. 151.

⁴ L. 19. c. 1. p. 156, 7.

⁵ C. 7. v. 16.

tion is made of ^a *fine linen and embroidered work from Egypt*. And though the Egyptians did not themselves trade abroad, and carry on any foreign commerce, yet they suffered other nations to come to them: and this they permitted very early. For not only the Israelites were permitted to come to Egypt: but we read also antecedently of the sons of Ismael going thither with their caravans; and this as early as the time of Joseph. The manufacture of their flax is still carried on in this country: and many writers take notice of it. Egmont, and ^a Hayman speak of it particularly, and say that it is of a *beautiful colour, finely spun; so that the threads are hardly discernible*. Hence the demolition of

^a C. 27. v. 7.

^a The soil of Egypt is also very proper for raising flax.—The Egyptians, besides the extraordinary beautiful colour of their flax, spin it so remarkably fine, that the threads of their linen are scarce discernible. The vestments of their priests were wholly made of it, &c.—The Byssus, which was the finest sort, was frequently dyed purple, which raised it to so great a price, that few could purchase it. Vol. 2. p. 222.

their flax was attended with great inconvenience, and must have proved a heavy loss: so that this judgment particularly affected this people above all other nations: and their priests more particularly suffered.

*The History illustrated from the Climate,
and Seasons.*

The ruin of their barley was equally fatal, both in respect to their trade (for Egypt seems very early to have been the granary of the world) and to their private advantage. They had few vines ¹ in Egypt: but instead of the juice of the grape, they made a liquor called by ² Herodotus—*οἶνος κριθίνος*, *barley wine*; undoubtedly a kind of beer: which was particularly serviceable during the time, that the Nile was turbid, and not so fit to be drank. These advantages were lost to them now through the devastation made by the rain,

¹ They are however mentioned in Psalm 78. v. 47. *He destroyed their vines with hail, and their sycamore trees with frost.*

² Herod. l. 2. c. 77. p. 139.

hail, and fire: and they could not but have been severely felt. As this calamity came upon them towards the time of barley harvest, we may form a judgment of the month, when it happened. We are told by modern travellers that corn in Egypt is fit for mowing or reaping in ¹ March, and April: that is, the barley comes to maturity first, and is cut down in the former month; and the wheat in the latter. When Le ² Bruyn was in that country he observed the whole to be over at Cairo upon the 19th of April. This agrees with the account given by the sacred writer, who says, that *the barley was in the ear*; though, as is intimated, not quite fit to be mowed: but *the wheat and the rie were not grown up*. Exod. c. 9. v. 32. This judgment therefore must have happened about the beginning of March, before the precise time of harvest: so early as to leave room for the three suc-

¹ Egmont and Hayman, vol. 2. p. 223.

Wheat ripens in March, and harvest over in April. Hasselquist, p. 453.

² Levant, p. 134. b.

ceeding plagues to take place. These were over by [the 15th of Abib, which answers to the first of April; at which time the Israelites went forth from the land of Egypt. The history by these means is wonderfully authenticated: and the divine purpose in each operation more plainly discovered.

THE THIRD PART.

LOCUSTS, DARKNESS,

And DEATH OF THE FIRST-BORN.

The Eighth Plague.

LOCUSTS.

Exod. C. x. V. 3. And Moses and Aaron came in unto Pharaoh, and said unto him, Thus saith the Lord God of the Hebrews. How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me? let my people go, that they may serve me.

V. 4. Else, if thou refuse to let my people go, behold, to-morrow will I bring the locusts into thy coasts:

V. 5. And they shall cover the face of the earth, that one cannot be able to see the earth: and they shall eat the residue of that, which escaped, which remaineth unto you

from the hail, and shall eat every tree which groweth for you out of the field—&c. &c.

V. 13. And Moses stretched forth his rod over the land of Egypt, and the Lord brought an east wind upon the land all that day and all that night: and when it was morning, the east wind brought the locusts.

V. 14. And the locusts went up over all the land of Egypt, and rested in all the coasts of Egypt: very grievous were they; before them there were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such.

V. 15. For they covered the face of the whole earth, so that the land was darkened; and they did eat every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees which the hail had left: and there remained not any green thing in the trees, or in the herbs of the field, through all the land of Egypt.

V. 16. Then Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron in haste; and he said, I have sinned against the Lord your God, and against you.

V. 17. Now therefore forgive, I pray thee, my sin only this once, and intreat the Lord your God, &c. &c.

V. 19. And the Lord turned a mighty strong

strong west wind, which took away the locusts, and cast them into the Red sea, &c.

In this instance, as well as in others, which preceded, the time of the approaching calamity was precisely foretold by God's servants, which plainly pointed out the hand, from whence the judgment proceeded. To some however it may appear strange, that after such a display of terror, *Exod. c. 9. v. 23. 24.* God should introduce the locust or grasshopper, seemingly a poor instrument of divine vengeance: whose effects after such a general devastation could not have been very material, however they may be represented. But the case was far otherwise. A swarm of locusts is a very fearful evil, though not outwardly accompanied with any alarming appearance: and the consequences of their introduction were very fatal to the Egyptians.

We may perceive, that it was not the purpose of God to complete every punishment at once: but to carry on these judgments in a series, and by degrees to cut off all hopes, and every resource, upon which the Egyptians depended. By the hail and thunder

and fire mingled with rain, both the flax and barley were entirely ruined: and their pastures must have been greatly injured. But the ¹ wheat, and the rie, were not yet in ear; and such was the fecundity of the soil in Egypt, that a very short time would have sufficed for the leaves of the trees, and for the grafs of the field to have been recruited. To complete therefore these evils, and to confound the stubborn prince and his magicians, it pleased God to send an host of locusts, to devour every leaf, and blade of grafs, which had been left in the former devastation: and whatever was beginning to vegetate. It is hard to conceive, how widely the mischief extends, when a cloud of these insects come upon a country. Though it were a paradise before, it soon is rendered a desert. They devour to the very root and bark: so that it is a long time before vegetation can be renewed. Scarcely any

¹ They sowed in October: and the time of the different grain coming to maturity mentioned Exodus, c. 9. v. 31, and 32. agrees with the account in Pliny. In *Ægypto hordeum sexto a satu mense, frumenta septimo, metuntur.* l. 18. c. 7. p. 106.

² misfortune can so effectually damage a land, but that room will be left for them to add to the mischief. How dreadful their inroads at all times were, may be known from a variety of ² authors, both ancient and modern: and they describe them as being brought on upon a country by one wind; and carried off by another: and speak of their numbers as past all conception. The wind, by which they are brought on, generally comes from a morassy country. They swarm greatly in Asia, and Africa: and the lower parts of Europe towards the south-east are by no means free from their invasions.

Instances concerning Locusts and their Depredations.

In respect to Europe ³ Thevenot tells us, that the region upon the Boristhenes, and

¹ By the author of the Book of Wisdom, they are supposed to have killed by their bite—*ὄντες μὲν γὰρ ακριδῶν καὶ μυιῶν ἀπέκτεινε ἄνθρωπα, καὶ οὐκ ἔυρεθῆ ἰάμα τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν.* c. 16. v. 9.

² Barbot, Vander Brock, Cada Mosta, Loyer, St. Andre Brene, Nieuhoff, Bouvet, Lettres Edifiantes, Le Bruyn's Voyage to the Levant, p. 179. 280. Rufsel's Hist. of Alepo, p. 62.

³ Relation des Cosaques.—See Voyages, vol. 1. p. 12. particu-

particularly, that inhabited by the Cossacs, is greatly infested with locusts, especially in a dry season. They come in vast clouds, which extend fifteen and sometimes eighteen miles: and are nine to twelve in breadth. The air by their interposition is rendered quite obscure; however bright the day may have been before. In two hours they devour all the corn, wherever they settle: and oftentimes a famine ensues. At night, when they repose upon the earth, the ground is covered with them four inches deep, and more. And if a carriage goes over them, and they are mashed under foot, the smell of them is scarcely to be borne, especially when they are reduced to a state of putrefaction. They come from Circassia, Mingrelia, and Tartary: on which account the natives rejoice in a north or north-east wind; which carries them into the Black Sea, where they are intercepted and perish.

The Sieur de Beauplan has afforded us a similar account of this country (the Ukraine) and of the frequent inroads of these destructive animals.—¹ *Next to the flies let us talk of the*

¹ Churchill's Collect. v. I. p. 471. 472.

*

grasshoppers,

grasshoppers, or locusts: which are here so numerous, that they put one in mind of the scourge of God sent upon Egypt, when he punished Pharaoh. I have seen this plague several years, one after another: particularly in 1645, and 1646. These creatures do not only come in legions; but in whole clouds, five or six leagues in length: and two or three in breadth: and generally come from Tartary, especially in a dry spring. For Tartary and the countries east of it, such as Circassia, and Mingrelia, are seldom free from them. These vermin being driven by an east wind, or a south-east wind, come into the Ukraine, where they do much mischief; eating up all sorts of grain and grass: so that wheresoever they come, in less than two hours they crop all they find; which causes great scarcity of provisions.

—It is not easy to express their numbers; for all the air is full, and darkened: and I cannot better represent their flight to you, than by comparing it to the flakes of snow driven by the wind in cloudy weather. And when they alight to feed, the plains are all covered. They make a murmuring noise as they eat: and in less than two hours they devour all close to the ground.

ground. Then rising they suffer themselves to be carried away by the wind. When they fly, though the sun shines never so bright, the air is no lighter, than when most clouded. In June. 1646, having staid in a new town called Novogrod——I was astonished to see so vast a multitude: for it was prodigious to behold them. They were hatched here last spring: and being as yet scarcely able to fly, the ground was all covered: and the air so full of them that I could not eat in my chamber without a candle: all the houses being full of them, even the stables, barns, chambers, garrets, cellars, &c. After they had consumed all that grew in the country for a fortnight, and having gathered strength to fly; the wind took them up, and carried them away to do as much mischief in another place. I have seen at night, when they sit to rest themselves, that the roads have been four inches thick of them one upon another. ——By the wheels of our carts, and the feet of our horses bruising these creatures, there came from them a stink, which not only offended the nose, but the brain. I was not able to endure the stench; but was forced to wash my nose with vinegar: and to hold an handkerchief dipped

dipped in it to my nostrils perpetually.——
 These vermin increase and multiply thus. They
 generate in October: and with their tails make
 an hole in the ground: and having laid three
 hundred eggs in it, and covered them with
 their feet, die: for they never live above six
 months and an half. And though the rains
 should come, they would not destroy the eggs;
 nor does the frost, though never so sharp, hurt
 them. But they continue to the spring; which
 is about mid April: when the sun warming the
 earth, they are hatched, and leap about; being
 six weeks old before they can fly.——When
 stronger and able to fly, they go wherever the
 wind carries them. If it should happen, that
 the north-east prevails, when they first take their
 flight, it carries them all into the Black Sea.
 But if the wind blows from any other quarter;
 they go into some other country to do mischief.——
 ——I have been told by persons, who under-
 stand the languages well, that these words are
 written in Chaldee characters upon their wings,
 Boze Guion, the scourge of God. For the
 truth of which I rely on those, who told me so,
 and understand the ² language.

² Norden mentions, that there were supposed to be
 hieroglyphical marks upon their heads. v. 1. p. 58.

The vast region of Asia, especially the southern part, is liable to the same calamity: as we learn from Nieuhoff, Bouvet, Le Bruyn, Ruffel, and others. China is particularly infested; and the natives use various means to obviate the evil, which is generally too powerful to be evaded. But the most fearful accounts are from Africa; where the heat of the climate and the nature of the soil in many places contribute to the production of these animals in astonishing numbers. The consequences are so terrible, that they would not gain belief, were it not, that authors of very different countries, and likewise of different ages, afford so particular, and uniform evidence, that it cannot be called in question. Ludolphus speaking of the serpents, with which Ethiopia abounds, adds—¹ *But much more pernicious than these are the locusts: which do not frequent the desert and sandy places, like the serpents; but the places best manured, and orchards laden with fruit. They appear in prodigious multitudes, like a thick cloud, which obscures the sun: nor plants, nor trees, nor*

¹ Hist. of Ethiopia. b. i. c. xiii. p. 67.

*shrubs appear untouched: and wherever they feed, what is left appears, as it were parched with fire. Sometimes they enter the very bark of trees: and then the spring itself cannot repair the damage. A general mortality ensues: and regions lie waste for many years.*¹

The account given by Leo Africanus deserves to be mentioned, as it confirms what is said by others. *Locustarum plerumque tanta conspicitur in Africâ frequentia, ut instar nebulæ volantes solis radios operiant. Arbores ipsas pariter cum frondibus ac fructu esitant. Discessuræ ova relinquunt, quibus aliæ, tametsi non volant, pullulant; et quibus in locis offenduntur, omnia ad cortices arborum exedant; magnamque annonæ caritatem, præcipue in Mauritaniâ, relinquunt.* vol. 2. p. 769. edit. Elzevir. It is wonderful, that persons of learning should be at all in doubt, what the locusts were, upon which John the Baptist fed. For we may be assured, that they were real locusts, as they were by no means an uncommon sort of food. The *Ακριδοφαγοι* are mentioned by se-

¹ See Purchas, v. 2. book vii. c. 5. p. 1046, 7, 8.

veral ancient authors: and many nations still feed upon these animals, as we learn from modern travellers. The author above, having spoken of locusts as a curse, adds—*verum Arabiae Desertæ et Libyæ populi locustarum adventum pro felici habent omine: nam vel elixas, vel ad solem deficcatas, in farinam tundunt, atque comedunt.* Agatharchides of Cnidus speaks to the same purpose—*περι Ακριδοφαγων. Ὑπο δε την εαρινην ισημεριαν —παρμεγεθων ακριδων πληθος αμυθητον εκ της ανισορητης μετα των ανεμων παραγινηται χωρας:* and he says, that they served for food to the natives. *Geog. Græci Min. v. 1. p. 42.* Diodorus Siculus seems to have borrowed from hence his account of the same people.—*Κατα την εαρινην ωραν παρ' αυτοις Ζεφυρος και Λιβυες παρμεγεθεις εκριπττασιν εκ της ερημης πληθος ακριδων αμυθητον. —εκ ταυτης δαψιλεις τροφας εχουσι απαντα του βιον. l. 1. p. 162.* Ælian says the same of the *τεττιξ*, or cicada.—*τεττιγας επι δειπνον. Hist. Animal. l. xii. c. vi. p. 667. τεττιγων αφειδως εχουσι. ibid, See also Hasselquist, p. 232.*

Francis Alvarez speaks of the same calamity, in his account of the country of

Prester

Prester John. In this country, and in all the dominions of Prete Janni, there is a very great and horrible plague. This arises from an innumerable company of locusts, which eat and consume all the corn and trees. And the number of these creatures is so great, as to be incredible: and with their number they cover the earth and fill the air in such wise, that it is an hard matter to see the sun: and if the damage which they do, were general through all the provinces, and realme of Prete Janni, the people would perish with famine. But one year they destroy one province: sometimes two or three of the provinces: and wherever they go, the country remaineth more ruined and destroyed, than if it had been set on fire. The author says, that he exorcised them, upon their invading a district, where he resided: and, if the reader will believe him, it was attended with a very salutary effect. He proceeds—*In the mean time there arose a great storme and thunder towards the sea: which came right against them. It lasted three hours, with an exceeding great shower and tempest; and filled all the rivers. And when the water ceased, it was a dreadful thing to behold the dead locusts; which we measured to be above two fathom high upon the*

*banks of the rivers.—At another time I went with the ambassador Zaga Zabo—to a town and mountain called Agoan: and we travelled five days journey through places wholly waste and destroyed.—The trees were without leaves; and the barks of them were all devoured; and no grass was to be seen. And if we had not been warned and advised to carry victuals with us, we and our cattel had perished. The country was all covered with locusts without wings; and they told us, that they were the seede of them, which had eaten up all: and that as soone as their winges were growne, they would seeke after the old ones. The number of them was so great; that I will not speake of it, because I shall not be believed.—While we abode in the same signorie of Abugunn, in a place called Aquate, there came at another time such an infinite swarm of locusts, as it is incredible to declare. They began to come about three of the clock in the afternoon; and ceased not till midnight.—The next day in the morning they began to depart; so that by nine there was not one of them left: and the trees remained without their leaves. The same day came another squadron: and these left
neither*

neither bough nor tree unpilled. They continued the space of five days.—The compass that these locusts took was nine miles.—The country did not seem to be burnt up: but rather to be covered with snow by reason of the whitenesse of the trees: which were all pilled.

All the western coast of Africa about Congo and Angola: the regions also about the Gambia and Senegal, and of Northern and Southern Guinea, are liable to the same misfortunes. Barbot accordingly tells us in speaking of Upper Guinea—¹ *Famines are some years occasioned by the dreadful swarms of grasshoppers, or locusts: which come from the eastward; and spread all over the country in such prodigious multitudes, that they darken the air, passing over head like a mighty cloud. They leave nothing, that is green, wherever they come: either on the ground or trees, and they fly so swift from place to place, that whole provinces are devoured in a short time. Thus it*

¹ Churchill's Collection, vol. 5. p. 33. The like in South Guinea mentioned by Barbot, p. 221. also in the Atlantic, p. 539. See also Nieuhof's Account of the Gold Coast, Astley's Collection, vol. 3. p. 420. and Cada Mosta.

may rightly be affirmed, that dreadful storms of hail and wind (he might have added— of rain, and thunder; and of fire mingled with rain) and such like judgments from heaven are nothing to compare to this.

But the most grievous calamity of this kind happened to the regions of Africa in the time of the Romans; and particularly affected those parts, which were subject to their empire. It is mentioned at large by Orosius, from whom I will quote it. *' In the*

' Marco Plautio Hypsæo, et Marco Fulvio Flacco eofs. vixdum Africam a bellorum excidiis quiescentem, horribilis et inusitata perditio consecuta est. Namque cum per totam Africam immensæ locustarum multitudines coaluissent, et non modo jam spem cunctam frugum abradissent, herbasque omnes cum parte radicum et folia arborum cum teneritudine ramorum consumpsissent, verum etiam amaros cortices, atque arida ligna perrossissent, repentino arreptæ vento, atque in globos coactæ, portatæque diu per aerem, Africano pelago immersæ sunt. Harum cum imensos acervos longe undis urgentibus fluctus per extenta late littora propulissent; tetrum nimis atque ultra opinionem pestiferum odorem tabida et putrefacta congeries exhalavit: unde omnium pariter animantium tanta pestilentia consecuta est, ut avium pecudum et bestiarum, corruptione aeris dissolutarum, putrefacta passim cadavera, vitium

the consulship of Marcus Plautius Hypsæus, and Marcus Fulvius Flaccus (about the year of Rome 628 : and 123 years before the Christian æra) when Africa had scarcely recovered itself from the miseries of the last Punic war, it underwent another desolation, terrible in its effects, and contrary to all experience. For after that immense numbers of locusts had formed themselves in a huge body all over the region, and had ruined all hopes of any fruits of the earth : after they had consumed all the herbage of the field without sparing the roots ; and the leaves of the trees with the tendrils, upon which they grew : and had gone so far as to penetrate with their teeth through the bark, however bitter ; and into the dry and solid timber : by a sudden blast of wind they were wasted away in different portions ; and having for a while been supported in the air ; they

vitium corruptionis auferent. At vero quanta fuerit hominum lues, ego ipse, dum refero, perhorresco. Siquidem in Numidiâ, in quâ tum Micipsa rex erat, octingenta millia hominum : circa oram maritimam, quæ maxime Carthaginensi atque Uticenci litori adjacet, plusquam ducenta millia, periisse traditur. Pauli Orosii contra Paganos Hist. l. 5. c. xi.

were ultimately all plunged in the sea. After this the surf threw up upon that long extended coast such immense heaps of their dead and corrupted bodies, that there ensued from their putrefaction a most unsupportable and poisonous stench. This soon brought on a pestilence which affected every species of animals: so that all birds, and sheep; and cattle; also the wild beasts of the field, died: and their carcasses being soon rendered putrid by the foulness of the air, added greatly to the general corruption. In respect to men, it is impossible without horror to describe the shocking devastation. In Numidia, where at that time Micipsa was king, eighty thousand persons perished. Upon that part of the sea coast which bordered upon the region of Carthage, and Utica; the number of those, who were carried off by this pestilence is said to have been two hundred thousand.

The prophets in describing cruel and destructive nations often borrow their allusions from ² locusts: so great was the terror of them. Hence Joel, when he mentions the inroad

² See Bochart Hierozoic. pars posterior, l. iv. c. 3. p. 463, 464.

of the Assyrians and their confederates, upon Israel, accompanies it with references to this purpose——C. 1. v. 6. *A nation is come up upon my land, strong, and without number——*

V. 7. He hath laid my vine waste, and barked my fig tree: he hath made it clean bare, and cast it away (i. e. made it quite useless): the branches thereof are made white.

V. 12. The vine is dried up, and the fig-tree languisheth, the pomegranate-tree, the palm-tree also, and the apple tree, even all the trees of the field, are withered: because joy is withered away from the sons of men.

C. 2. V. 2. A day of darkness and of gloominess: a day of clouds and thick darkness,——

V. 3. A fire devoureth before them, and behind them a flame burneth: the land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness,——

V. 9. ——They shall run upon the wall, they shall climb up upon the houses; they shall enter into the windows like a thief.

V. 10. The earth shall quake before them, the heavens shall tremble; the sun and the moon shall be dark, and the stars shall withdraw their shining.——In the book of Nahum, c. 3.

v. 15. the prophet describing the ruin of the Assyrian monarch, and the various nations of his empire, makes use of the same allusions. *There shall the fire devour thee: the sword shall cut thee off, it shall eat thee up like the canker worm: ¹ make thyself many as the ² canker worm, make thyself many as the locusts.*

V. 17. *Thy crowned are as the locusts, and thy captains as the great grasshoppers, which camp in the hedges in the cold day, but when the sun ariseth they flee away, and their place is not known, &c.* The author of the book of Proverbs takes notice, that the *locusts have no king, yet go they forth all of them by bands,* c. 30. v. 27. These bands are very formidable, while they survive: and even in their dissolution destructive.³

Of

¹ The meaning is—*though thou shouldst increase and multiply like these insects, yet thou shalt be soon annihilated; and thy place known no more.*

² The canker worm (the *ἑρπυξ* of the LXX.) seems to be the locust (*αγκυς*) in its first stage upon the earth: before it can fly.

³ See Isaiah, c. 33. v. 4.—*Your spoil shall be gathered like the gathering of the caterpillar (or *ἑρπυξ*): as the running to and fro of locusts shall be run upon them.*

Of the Deities invoked in such Calamities.

The Egyptians had gods, in whom they trusted to free their country from these terrible invaders. This we may infer from the Grecians: whose theology, as I have before observed, was borrowed from the people of Egypt. Hercules was a deity of this department; by whose mediation the cicadæ, or locusts, were said to have been silenced, and ultimately driven away. Something of this sort we meet with in ¹ Antigonus Carystius: who mentions the like of Perseus. Diodorus says, that they ² disappeared, and never returned. This is supposed to have happened in the lower part of Italy near

Νυν δε συναχθησεται τα σκυλα υμων, μικρα και μεγαλα, ου τροπον εαν τις συναγαγη ακριδας· ετως εμπαιξουσιν υμιν. Versio Græca Sept. The difference between the original and Greek version is very considerable: but the allusion to locusts is the same in both.

¹ C. 1. and c. 2. See in Photius Cononis διηγησις πεμπτη, p. 426.

² ————— μη μονον κατα το παρον αφανεις γενεσθαι αλλα και κατα τον υτερον χρονον απαντα μηδενα κατα την χωραν φαινεσθαι τεττιγα. l. iv. p. 229, 230.

Rhegium: and the like is ¹ mentioned to have been recorded by the people of Mount Cæta. They stiled locusts κορνοπες, *cornopes*; which the other Grecians called *parnopes*: and they worshipped Hercules under the title of *Cornopion*, for having freed their country from locusts. We may suppose, that the same department was assigned to Apollo by the Æolians of Asia; who worshipped him under the title of ² Parnopius: and we know, that upon this coast he was esteemed for driving away flies and ³ vermin. The locust, at least the species of it stiled τεττιξ by the Greeks, was esteemed ⁴ sacred. The Athenians wore golden cicadæ, or grasshoppers, in their hair to denote the antiquity of their race: and particularly to shew, that they were, αυτοχθονες και γηγενεις, of the

¹ Και γαρ απο των παρνοπων, ἐς οἱ Οἰταιοι κορνοπας λεγασι, Κορνοπιωνα τιμασθαι παρ' εκεινοις Ἡρακλεα απαλλαγης ακριδων χαριν. Strabo, l. 13. p. 912.

² Θυσια συντελειται Πορνοπιω Απολλωνι. Strabo, ibid.

³ Hence called Σμινθευς.

⁴ Both sacred and musical. — τεττιγας ιερας και μουσικας. Plutarch. Sympos. viii. p. 727. Of Euromus and the Grasshopper see Clemens Alex. Cohort, p. 2.

earth-born breed: a title much respected, and of long standing.

The Egyptians trusted much to the fecundity of their soil; and to the deities Isis and Sarapis who were the conservators of all plenty. They likewise placed great confidence in other gods, who were the directors of their times and seasons. But these powers could not stand before Moses, the servant of the true God. He brought upon them an host of enemies, who laid waste the fruits of their ground; and rendered all their confidence vain. As Egypt is in great measure bounded to the east and north by seas: and is far removed from those ¹ regions in Africa where locusts particularly generate, it is not much ² infested with them. However, at the time spoken of, an east wind prevailed *all day and all night*; and the whole country in the

¹ *These insects are common in Arabia——scarce in Egypt.* Hasselquist, p. 233.

² *The grasshopper or locust is not formed for travelling over the sea.* Hasselquist's Letters, p. 444. He mentions seeing a number of them coming towards his ship in the Mediterranean off the Spanish coast. *For one that came on board, an hundred were certainly drowned, though we were within pistol shot of the shore.* p. 445.

morning' swarmed with these insects. Hence we know, that they came from Arabia : and that they must have passed the Erythrean, or Red Sea, which was the barrier to the east. *Before them there were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such.* Exod. c. 10. v. 14. Hence Pharaoh called *for Moses and Aaron in haste*; acknowledged his sin; and begged to be delivered *from this death*, v. 17. *And the lord turned a mighty strong west wind, which took away the locusts, and cast them into the Red Sea.* They were now filled; and not so easily buoyed up in the air : hence they were all lost in that gulph. The storm, which carried them away, served to bury them in the waters.

The Ninth Plague,

PALPABLE DARKNESS.

EXOD. C. 10.

V. 21. And the Lord said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand toward heaven, that there may be darkness over the land of Egypt, even darkness which may be felt.

V. 22. And Moses stretched forth his hand toward heaven: and there was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt three days.

V. 23. They saw not one another, neither rose any from his place for three days: but all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings.

This judgment was very extraordinary: nor had any thing similar been ever experienced by this, or any other, nation. It was certainly directed with a particular view: and bore a strict analogy with the sentiments and idolatry, of the people, who suffered. They were a wise, and learned nation; with minds much enlightened. Hence to shew
the

the great extent of Solomon's knowledge, it is said, that *his wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the east country: and all the wisdom of ¹ Egypt.* They had traditions transmitted of the principal events from the commencement of time: and had been acquainted with the history of creation: and we may from particular traces perceive that they knew the mode, in which it was carried on; and the hand by which it was effected. But they chose to express every thing by allegory: and these allegories were again described by symbols, and hieroglyphical representations: to which they paid an idolatrous reverence. By these means the original object became obscure: and the reality was lost in the semblance. They looked upon light, and upon fire, the purest of elements, to be proper types of the most pure God. And they regarded the sun, the great fountain of light, as a just emblem of his glory: and likewise of his salutary influ-

¹ *Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.*
—Acts, c. 7. v. 22.

Ægyptus artium mater. Macrob. Sat. 1. 1. c. 15.
p. 180.

ence upon the world. This was specious : but of a dangerous tendency ; as it drew away their attention from the proper object of worship : which became by degrees obscured, and was at last totally effaced. Both the name and idea of the true God was lost ; and all adoration was paid to the sun, and to the earth, under the titles of ¹ Osiris, Ammon, Orus, Isis, and the like. The sun in consequence of it was esteemed to be the soul of the ² world : and Diodorus Siculus mentions that the ancient Egyptians supposed this luminary and the moon to rule all things by their influence : and that they were through all ages (απο της αιδιδε και παλαιας γενεσεως) the chief ³ deities ; and the conservators of all things. And not only the conservators, but the ⁴ creators. Hence it is said, that they
esteemed

¹ The titles were various.

Te Serapim Nilus, Memphis veneratur Osirim.

Martianus Capella, Hymn. 2.

See Ausonius, Epigram. 30.

² The same notion prevailed in other parts. Sol mens mundi. Macrob. Sat. l. 1. p. 69. and 204.

³ Solem et lunam deos esse. ibid. p. 210.

⁴ Τους δ' ουν κατ' Αιγυπτον ανθρωπους, το παλαιον γενο-
μενους, αναβλεψαντας εις τον κοσμον, και την των ολων φυσιν
καταπλαγεντας,

esteemed the sun as, ¹ mundi caput, *the principal being in the universe*; by whom all things were produced. Homer, who borrowed from Egypt, ascribed to the sun intellect, and universal perception.

Ἡελίος, ὅς παντ' εφορα, και παντ' επακχει,

Odyss. l. 12. v. 108.

Of the Adoration paid to the Sun, and to Fire.

Not only the Egyptians, but the Ethiopians, Persians, Phenicians, Syrians, Rhodians, and other nations, esteemed themselves Heliadae, or descendants of the Sun: and they worshipped him both as their sovereign and parent. Hence Persina, the queen of Ethiopia, is introduced by Heliodorus, as invoking the sun in the following manner. ² ΕΠΙΚΕΚ-

καταπλαγεντας, και θαυμαζοντας, υπολαβειν ειναι δυο θεος αιδισ τε και πρωτες, τον τε Ηλιον και την Σεληνην, αν τον μεν Οσιριν, τον δε Ισιν ονομασαι. l. 1. p. 11.

¹ Solem mundi caput, rerumque fatorem. Macrobi. Sat. l. 1. p. 204.

Τατες δε τες θεος υφισανται τον συμπαντα κοσμον διοικειν. Diodor. l. 1. p. 11.

² Æthiop. l. 4. p. 175. See Xenophon Κυρηαιδεια, l. 8. p. 233.

ἄησθω μάρτυς ὁ γενναρχῆς ἡμῶν Ἥλιος. *Let the Sun, the great author of our race be invoked, as a witness upon this occasion.* A like address is made by a person called Hydaspes to both luminaries at a sacrifice. ¹ Ω Δεσποτα Ἥλιε, καὶ Σελήνη δεσποινά—*Our Lord the Sun: and our Governess, the Moon.* The Egyptians had a great connection with the Ethiopians: their rites and institutes, and their manner of writing were in great measure the ² same. In consequence of which we find this luminary invoked by them, as the principal fountain of all human being. ³ Ω δεσποτα Ἥλιε, καὶ θεοὶ πάντες, οἱ τὴν ζῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων δόντες, προσδέξασθε με, καὶ παραδοτέ τοῖς αἰδίοις θεοῖς συνοίχον. They are the words, which it was usual for the priest to speak at a funeral in the person of one deceased. At the same time he held up towards heaven an ark, in which

¹ Heliod. l. 10. p. 518.

The author styles himself—ἀνὴρ φοινῆς, Ἐμεσηνός, τῶν ἀφ' Ἥλιε γένεας.—Ἡλιοδωρος, p. 519.

² Ταδε πλείστα τῶν νομιμῶν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ὑπαρχεῖν Αἰθιοπικά, τηραμένης τῆς παλαιᾶς συνθεῖας παρα τοῖς ἀποικισθεῖσι.—κ. τ. λ. Καὶ πολλὰ τοιαυτ' ἕτερα—Αἰθιοπῶν ὑπαρχεῖν. Diodorus Sic. l. 3. p. 144. See also p. 145.

³ Porphyry de Abst. l. 4. p. 379.

the remains of the deceased were deposited. *O, sovereign Lord, the Sun, and all ye other deities, who bestow life upon mankind; receive me, I beseech you; and suffer me to be admitted to the society of the immortals.*

They worshipped also the elements, and particularly fire and water. *Ετι και νυν εν τη ανοιξει τε αγια Σεραπιδος η θεραπεια δια πυρος και υδατος γινεται.* *Even at this day, says¹ Porphry, at the opening of the sanctuary of the holy Serapis, the service is performed by rites both of fire and water.* And he gives a reason for their acting in this manner—² *υδωρ και πυρ σεβοντες μαλιστα των σοιχειων.* *It seems, that water and fire were two of the chief objects, which they worshipped.* Hence fire and water mingled were no improper judgment, as has been observed before. They thought, that fire was a living animal—³ *Αιγυπτιοισι*

¹ Porphry de Abst. l. 4. p. 374.

² Ibid. p. 373.

Περσαι πυρι, και Αιγυπτιοι υδατι θυεσι. καιτοι μεν απασι καινον τοις Αιγυπτιοις το υδωρ. Lucianus in Jove Tragædo, vol. 2. p. 223.

³ Herodot. l. 3. c. 16. p. 202. Fire was esteemed a god by the Persians. *Περσαι γαρ θεον νομιζουσι ειναι το πυρ.* *ibid.*

δε νενομισται πυρ το θηριον ειναι επιψυχον. *The Egyptians esteemed fire to be a living informed animal.* But in general they had a still higher notion of this element, as we learn from ¹ Diodorus.—Το δε πυρ μεθερμηνευομενον Ηφαιστον ονομασαι, νομισαντες μεγαλην ειναι θεον, και πολλα συμβαλλειν πασιν εις γενεσιν τε και τελειαν αυξησιν. *They denominated fire Hephaistos, esteeming it a mighty deity; which contributed largely towards ² generation, and the ultimate perfection of beings.* The true Egyptian name seems to have been Φθα, Phtha; or rather ³ Φθας, Phthas. It is however expressed Phtha by Jamblichus: who mentions this elementary deity, as, ⁴ δημιουργικος νους, *the divine intellect,* by which all things were fashioned. They looked upon him as the chief guardian of

¹ L. i. p. 11.

² This opinion was followed by Heraclitus.

Εκ πυρος τα παντα συνεσθαι, και ες τειτο αγαλυεσθαι. Diog. Laert, l. 9. p. 551. also by the Stoics—Omnia vestri, Balbe, solent ad igneam vim referre. Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 3. p. 1238.

³ Φθας, ο Ηφαιστος παρα Μεμφιταις. Suidas. The name was in use all over Egypt.

⁴ De Myster. sect. 8. p. 159. Φθα.

their country. ¹ Pthas, custodem Ægypti. In respect to the adoration of the element, ² Diodorus endeavours to apologize for the custom, by saying that the divine title of Hephæstus or Vulcan, was given to fire, *εις μνήμην και τιμην αθανατου*, by way of honour, and to be a perpetual memorial, of the great and true benefactor, the god of fire. But unfortunately this learned writer was not apprised, that the real benefactor, the only true God, was antecedently obscured, and at last banished from the hearts of men. In consequence of this he was abridged of the honour due to him, and to him only. For when a blind reverence was paid to the element as a symbol, and representative; it degenerated quickly into a lower and more vile idolatry: the primary object being lost in its emblem: and the deity supplanted by the substitute.

I have mentioned, that the Egyptians were a people of great learning: who seem to have been superior in science to any na-

¹ Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 3. c. 22. p. 1241. It is sometimes expressed wrongly—Opas.

² L. 5. p. 341. c.

tion upon earth. But they prostituted these noble gifts; and through an affectation of mystery and refinement they abused the knowledge afforded them: for by veiling every thing under a ^{*} type they at last lost sight of their original intelligence. They at first looked upon *light* and *fire*, and the great fountain of light the *sun*, merely as proper emblems of the true deity, the god of all purity and brightness. But such was the reverence, which they paid to them, that in process of time they forgot the hand by which these things were framed; and looked upon the immediate means and support of life, as the primary efficient cause; to the exclusion of the real creator. What then could be more reasonable, and apposite, than for a people, who thus abused their intelligence, and prostituted their faculties; who raised to themselves a god of day, their Osiris: and instead of that intellectual light,

^{*} Orpheus composed his chief deity out of visible elements—

Πυρ, και υδωρ, και γαια, και αιθηρ, νυξ τε και ημαρ. Orphic. Frag. p. 366. edit. Gesner. also Euseb. P. E. l. 3. c. 9. p. 100. and p. 103. C.

the wisdom of the Almighty, substituted a created and inanimate element, as a just object of worship: I say, what could be more apposite, than for people of this cast to be doomed to a judicial and temporary darkness? The judgment bore a strict analogy with the crime: and as it was a just punishment to them; so it was a proper warning to others, not to give way to the like mystery and illusion.

Night adored as a primary Deity.

Nor was this all. As the Egyptians betrayed an undue reverence for the sun, and light: so they shewed a like veneration for night and darkness, and in this they were followed by other nations. It is said, that

* Ælian mentions a mark upon the sacred steer, *ἵπερ αἰνιττεται τε φωτος ειναι το σκοτος προεσχυτερον.* By which was intimated, that darkness was prior to day. It is expressed *σκενος*: which is a blunder of the printer: for the translator evidently read *σκοτος*, as appears from its being rendered *tenebræ*. Ælian de Nat. Animal. Londini 1744. l. xi. c. x. p. 617.

— *την νυκτα προτερευειν.* Orpheus apud Eusebium Chron. p. 4.

they

they paid a religious regard to the Mugale, a kind of mole, (supposed to be the mus araneus) on account of its imagined blindness: and from its state of darkness they thought it a proper emblem of night. For night was esteemed by them sacred, as being more ancient than day. ¹ Την μεν γαρ μυγαλην εκτεθειασθαι λεγουσιν ὑπο Αιγυπτιωων τυφλην εσαν, ὅτι το σκοτος τε φωτος ἡγευτο πρεσβυτερον. Hesy-chius mentions a temple of Venus Scotia in Egypt, whose rites we may presume had some reference to night. ² Αφροδιτης Σκοτιας ιερον κατ' Αιγυπτον. The Egyptian name of Venus was ³ Athor: and one of her principal places of worship was ⁴ Athor-Bet, expressed by the Grecians *Athribis*; the inha-

¹ Plutarch Sympos. 1. 4. q. 5. p. 670.

² Hesy-ch. Σκοτια

³ — την Αφροδιτην Αιγυπτιοι καλεσιν Αθωρ. Etymolog. Mag. Αθωρ.

⁴ Herodotus styles it Αταρβηχης, Atarbechis: and adds, that it was in the nome Prosopitis—εν δε αυτη Αφροδιτης ιερον αγιον ιδρυται. *In this province stood a temple much revered, dedicated to Venus.* 1. 2. c. 41. p. 123.

What is stiled Beth by some writers, was expressed Bech by others, being strictly synonymous, and denoting a city or place. What is named Balbec by some, is called Balbeth by others. See Gulielmus Tyrius. Bec is at this day in Coptic a city. Βακι, Baki, πολις, *urbs*. Copt. Dict. of the learned Mr. Woide, p. 11.

bitants of which were the *Athribitæ*. These were the persons, according to Strabo, who worshipped the Mugale, that emblem of primeval darkness. ¹Μυγαλην Αθριβιται (τιμωσι). From hence we may be pretty certain, that here the rites were celebrated of *Nocturnal Venus*: and that her chief votaries were the priests of Athribis: and the Mugale was her representative. The same rites were probably practised at the city Butus: for here those animals, when they died, were solemnly ²buried. Diodorus Siculus mentions a temple of Hecate ³Scotia, denominated in like manner from *night*: which stood to the west of Memphis near the Acherusian plains.

The Phenician theology was in great measure borrowed from ⁴Egypt: according to which the wind Colpias and his wife Baau, esteemed the same as ⁵*night*, were the

¹ Strabo. l. 17. p. 1167.

² Herod. l. 2. c. 67. p. 135.

³ L. 1. p. 87. There was also a temple of Venus Σκοτια at Phæstum in Crete. Etymolog. Mag. Κυθερεια.

⁴ See Lucian de Syriâ Deâ: and Plutarch Isis and Osiris.

⁵ Βααυ—ταυτο δε νυκτα ερμηνευειν. Sanchoniath. apud Eusebium P. E. l. i. c. x. p. 34.

authors of the first beings. But the Egyptian notions upon this head may be more plainly discovered from the early Grecians: who under the titles of Danaidæ and Melampodes; of Cadmians and Orphites, introduced into their new settlements the religion of the country, they had quitted. In the poetry attributed to Orpheus, we find many instances of night, not only personified, but esteemed the chief cause, from whence all things proceeded. We have accordingly the following address in one of the hymns.

¹ Νυκτα θεων γενετειραν αεισομαι ηδε και ανδρων.
 Νυξ γενεσις παντων.—

I will sing of Night, the parent of gods and men: Night the origin of all things.

He addresses again this fable deity in a passage preserved by Proclus.

² Μαια θεων υπατη, Νυξ αμφοτε—

O, immortal Night, who first brought the gods into being.

¹ Orphic hymn the second. Of Orpheus bringing his notions of the gods from Egypt, see Euseb. P. E. l. 3. c. 9. p. 103.

² Orphic Fragments, edit. Gesneri, p. 377.

Damascius

Damascius having inquired, *περι της πρωτης αρχης*, about what was the first principle in the world, gives this as an ancient Egyptian doctrine.—¹ *μαλλον δε και οι Αιγυπτιοι αῤῥητον ανυμνηασι. ΣΚΟΤΟΣ γαρ αγνωσον αντην ωνομακασι, τρις και τετο επιφημιζοντες.* *The Egyptians have chosen to celebrate the first cause as unspeakable. They accordingly stile it darkness unknown: and mention it with a threefold acclamation.* Again—² *εἶπω γεν και Αιγυπτιοι ΣΚΟΤΟΣ αγνωσον εκαλεν, Σκοτος ὑπερ νοησιω πασαν.* *In this manner the Egyptians stiled the first principle an inconceivable darkness: night and darkness past all imagination.* This is perfectly consonant to passages from the same author quoted by the very learned ³ Cudworth.—*Ἡ μεν μια των ὄλων αρχη Σκοτος αγνωσον ὑμνεμενη, κ. τ. λ.* *There is one origin of all things; celebrated by the*

¹ From some extracts out of a MSS. of Damascius, communicated for my perusal by that truly learned man, and my excellent friend, Dr. John Chapman, archdeacon of Sudbury, &c.

² From the same extracts.

³ Cudworth, b. 1. c. iv. p. 414. properly 354. See also the learned Jablonski.

Pantheon Ægypt. l. 1. c. 1. p. 14, 15, 16.

name of *unknoσwn* (incomprehensible) *darkness*. Again—¹ Πρωτην αρχην Σκοτος ὑπερ πασαν νοησιν· Σκοτος αγνωσον. *They hold, that the first beginning or cause of things was darkness beyond all conception; an unknowen darkness.* Cronus was esteemed the first deity; and he is said to have been nursed, and brought up by this ancient personage, *Night*.

² Εκ παντων δε Κρονον Νυξ ετρεφεν ηδ' ατιταλλεν.

³ Ἡ Νυξ βασιλευει παντων γενων. *Night is sovereign of all creation.* Aristotle mentions it as the opinion of many ⁴ theologists, that all things were conceived and produced by *Night*. And of the things thus produced the mundane egg according to ⁵ Aristophanes was the first: and in this were contained the rudiments of other beings.

⁵ Τικτει πρωτισον ὑπηνεμιον Νυξ μελανοπτερος Ωον.

¹ Cudworth, above.

² From the extracts above.

³ Ibid. Proclus speaks of the demiourgic deity, as παντα παραγων κατα τας υποθηκας Νυκτος. In *Timæum*, l. 2. p. 96.

⁴ Καιτοι—ως λεγασιν οι θεολογοι, οι εκ Νυκτος γενιωντες (τα παντα.) κ. τ. λ. *Metaphys.* l. 14. c. 6. p. 477.

⁵ Ορνιθες. v. 696. ωον ὑπηνεμιον, ovum ventosum—ovum sine concubitu.

Those emigrants from Egypt, who first settled in Greece, introduced not only the mythology, but the worship of this deity. Hence we read of a very ancient temple, where this goddess gave out oracles; and which we may infer from several circumstances to have been at Delphi, the seat of the Pytho.—¹ Μαντείου, εν ᾧ πρώτη ἡ Νυξ ἐχρησµωδῆσεν, εἶτα Θεµις. It was an oracular temple, in which the goddess Night first gave out responses, and afterwards Themis. Pausanias mentions a sanctuary of the same sort dedicated to her at Megara².—Το τῆς Νυκτος ἐπικαλούµενον Μαντείου—(εν Μεγαροῖς). The title of Venus ³ Μελανίς, (or Μελαινίς) Melanis, the *black* or *dark*, is mentioned by the same writer: and is thought by some to have been a translation of the Egyptian ⁴ Athor, which was of the same purport. There

¹ Mentioned by the Scholiast, author of the Περὶ Προλεγόμενα to the Pyth. Odes of Pindar. edit. Oxon. p. 163.

² L. I. p. 97.

³ Ibid. l. 8. p. 610. p. 763.

⁴ Athor, Nox: the opinion of the learned Jablonsky, l. I. c. I. § 7. & § 13. Pantheon Ægyptiac. See the whole treatise, which is replete with learning.

were several temples to the ¹ goddess under this denomination.

I am sensible, that some of these histories did not relate to chaotic and primeval darkness; but to an event much later, yet of high antiquity. Whatever the reference may have been, it is certain, that Night was made a deity, and ² worshipped. The Egyptians were once possessed of the real truth, contained in these allusions: but their priests so veiled it in types and allegories, to prevent its being profaned by the ³ vulgar, that they
lost

¹ One temple near Corinth, Paus. l. 2. p. 115. another near Mantinea in Arcadia, l. 8. p. 610. a third at Thespiæ, ibid. l. 9. p. 763. *Αφροδίτης Μελανιδας ιερον.* Also at Ephesus a temple.

² It is said, that the usual sacrifice to this goddess was a cock. *Huic ubi sacrificaretur, mos fuit, ut gallus immolaretur; tanquam animal silentio adversarium, ut in libro secundo de Diis Theagenes. Natalis Comes, l. 3. c. xii. p. 119.*

³ Proclus speaks in favour of these figurative and symbolical references of the Egyptians; which were copied by Pythagoras and Timæus; and he gives this remarkable history of Plato, who disapproved of writing or speaking too plainly—*προς δε τῆτοις και αυτος Πλατων*

lost sight of it themselves, and could never recover it. The whole nation through mystery and refinement were led into irretrievable error: and all partook of it, who borrowed from them.

Night and shade are mere negatives. But we have seen, that the Egyptians introduced them, as real, sensible, and substantial beings; and gave them a creative power. They were therefore very justly condemned to undergo a palpable and coercive darkness: such as prevented all intercourse for three ¹ days.

In

εν αλλοις ητιασατο τας παντα εκ τε προχειρα λεγοντας ινα και τοις σκυτοτομοις, φησι, καταδηλον αυτων ποιησωσι την σοφιαν. In *Timæum*, l. 1. p. 40. *Besides the philosophers above mentioned Plato too blamed those who disclosed their knowledge off hand, or at once; because at this rate every cobbler would get acquainted with their meaning.* Strange! as if the more widely truth were diffused, the less would be its excellence, upon the same principles, if a man were a mendicant Plato would abridge him of the light of the sun. This selfish pride and these contracted notions were the cause of much doubt, and ignorance; and of infinite error. How much more noble is the gospel principle; and that universal and beneficent ordinance—*Go—and teach all nations.*

² It is said,—*neither rose any from his place for three days.* Exod. 10. 23. This seems to have been a phrase, by

In short they suffered a preternatural deprivation of light, which their luminary Osiris could not remedy: and were punished with that essential night, which they so foolishly had imagined: and at last found realized.

Recapitulation.

Before we conclude this article, let us look back and consider some of the leading features in the general character of this people. They abounded with emblematical deities, and were beyond measure attached to them: and their learning, as well as their outward sanctity, made their religion very specious; and captivating to those, who were witnesses of their rites. I have mentioned the character given of them by Herodotus—' θεοσεβείας δε

by which was signified, to exert one's self, in order to set about any operation. Hence we read—*Arise, go over Jordan.—Arise, and be doing.—Arise, O Lord, save me.—I will arise, and go to my Father.—Arise, and let us go up to Zion.*—Many more instances to this purpose may be found.

* Herod. l. 2. c. 37. p. 120.

περιστως——μαλιστα παντων ανθρωπων—that of all people upon earth they were the most extravagantly devoted to their gods and religion. They were likewise scrupulous observers of signs and omens. The same writer says of them—
 * ΤΕΡΕΤΑ ΤΕ ΠΛΕΩ ΣΦΙ ΑΝΕΥΡΗΤΑΙ, Η ΤΟΙΣΙ ΑΛΛΟΙΣΙ ΑΪΠΑΣΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΣΙ. ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΕ ΓΑΡ ΤΕΡΑΤΟΣ ΦΥΛΑΣΣΑΣΙ ΓΡΑΦΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΩ ΠΟΒΑΙΝΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΗΝ ΚΟΤΕ ΎΣΕΡΟΝ ΠΑΡΑΠΛΗΣΙΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΓΕΝΗΤΑΙ, ΚΑΤΑ ΤΩΥΤΟ ΝΟΜΙΣΑΣΙ ΑΠΟΒΗΣΕΣΘΑΙ. *They have distinguished more portents and prodigies, than all people in the world collectively. And when any thing esteemed a prodigy happens, they observe and write down whatever ensues upon it. And if in process of time, any similar appearance should occur; they imagine, that the same consequences will follow.* If such then was the disposition of this people: and they were out of a superstitious fear continually attending to portents and presages, and making false inferences, to the great abuse of their own reason, and the seduction of others: if this were the case; we then see a farther analogy and propriety in God's judgments.

* Herod. l. 2. c. 82. p. 141.

He with great wisdom as well as justice exhibited before their eyes some real prodigies, which could not be mistaken : and punished them in their own way for their credulity and superstition. It was not the occultation of a luminary ; the glancing of a meteor in the atmosphere ; much less an unusual birth ; or the fantastic flight of a bird ; which now demanded their attention. Their sacred river was universally polluted, and turned to blood. The very dust of their sanctified soil was rendered infectious, and produced nauseous boils and blanes. Their serene air became overcast ; and rain and hail, lightning and thunder, with fire mingled with rain, ensued : phænomena grievous to behold ; and fatal in their consequences ; such as before were never known in Egypt. Lastly the children of light, the offspring of the Sun, were condemned to a preternatural state of night. Their god, the luminary, rose at his stated times, and performed his function ; yet could not dispel this painful, oppressive, and impenetrable darkness. All these, as well as the other judgments commemorated, were real prodigies : and, as I

have repeatedly urged, they were all pointed and significant. Their force and purport would have been in great measure lost upon any other people: but they were particularly applicable to the Egyptians, as they bore a strict analogy with the superstitions and idolatry of that nation. There remains still one judgment, more terrible and affecting, than any which have preceded.

Tenth Plague.

DEATH OF THE FIRST BORN.

EXODUS, Chap. xi.

V. 4. And Moses said, Thus saith the Lord, about midnight will I go out into the midst of Egypt.

V. 5. And all the first-born in the land of Egypt shall die, from the first-born of Pharaoh, that sitteth upon his throne, even unto the first-born of the maid-servant, that is behind the mill; and all the first-born of beasts.

V. 6. And there shall be a great cry throughout all the land of Egypt, such as there was none like it, nor shall be like it any more.

V. 7. But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog move his tongue, against man or beast: that ye may know, how that the Lord doth put a difference between the Egyptians and Israel.

V. 8. And all these thy servants shall come down unto me, and bow down themselves unto me, saying, Get thee out, and all the people that follow thee; and after that I will go out.

Here should come in three verses of the preceding chapter (v. 27. 28. and 29) which

have been certainly misplaced.—*But the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart, and he would not let them go.*

And Pharaoh said unto him, Get thee from me, take heed to thyself, see my face no more: for in that day thou seest my face thou shalt die.

And Moses said, Thou hast spoken well, I will see thy face again no more.——And he went out from Pharaoh in a great anger.

In this interview Moses speaks with great dignity, as well as authority, in consequence of the high commission, which had been delegated by God to him. He gives public notice to all, that at midnight the first-born in every family, from the first-born of Pharaoh to the first-born of the maid, that worked at the mill, should be cut off. The working at the mill was looked upon as the lowest and severest drudgery: and was allotted to the meanest slaves. He says, that there shall be a great cry throughout all the land: such as they had never experienced before, nor would ever be witness to again. The calamity therefore must be great, and adequate to this extraordinary mourning, since no nation was so addicted to tears and lamentations

lamentations as the Egyptians. Hence in the Orphic Argonautics mention is made of

¹ Θρηνης τ' Αιγυπτίων και Οσιριδος ιερα χυτλα.

the ² mourning of this people, and the sacred libations at the rites of Osiris. The like was

observed at their ³ funerals, where they gave themselves up to all the extravagance of

grief. They ran about the streets in a most frantic manner, defiling their faces with

soil, and filling the air with their cries.

The whole was attended with beating of their breasts, and with stripes: and the same

process was observed upon the death of any sacred animal. Most of their ceremonies

were attended with weeping in memory of the tears of Isis: and there was the same

severe discipline observed. Herodotus mentions, that he was witness to thousands,

may, he says, to myriads, at a solemnity, who whipped themselves in this ⁴ manner. The

¹ V. 32.

² Παρ' Αιγυπτίοις ισοτιμίων εχει το θείον της τιμης και δακρυων. Max. Tyrius. Dissert. viii. p. 85.

³ Diodorus, l. 1. p. 81. C. Herod. l. 2. c. 85, 86. p. 141.

⁴ Τυπτονται γαρ δη μετα την θυσίαν παντες και πασαι, μυριαδες καρτα πολλαι ανθρωπων. l. 2. c. 60. p. 132. See Plutarch Isis et Osir. p. 366.

Julius Firmicius, p. 8.—also p. 20. 21.

Sidonians and Syrians used the same lamentations, and accompanied them with the like stripes in honour of Isis and ¹ Adonis; the latter of which was another name for Osiris. He was the same also as ² Thamuz, whose celebrity was always carried on with tears and mourning by the natives of Biblus and Sidon. These rites they borrowed in very early times from the people of Egypt. But the grief of the Egyptians, at the season here foretold, was to exceed every thing, either real or artificial, that had ever preceded. It was not the loss of Osiris, a remote and imaginary misfortune, which they were to lament; but a more intimate and affecting evil. Their first-born, the pride and solace of each house, was to be cut off: so that their sorrow was to be from the heart, real, exuberant, and universal. They

¹ Lucian de Syriâ Deâ, vol. 2. p. 878.

² Θαμυζ, ὅπερ ἐρμηνεύεται Ἀδωνις. Chron. Paschale, p. 130.

The women of Israel were tainted with this infectious idolatry, as we learn from Ezekiel. *Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house which was towards the north, and behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz.*

c. 8. v. 14. Καὶ ἰδὲ ἐκεῖ γυναῖκες καθήμεναι θρηνῶσαι τοῦ Θαμυζ. Versio LXX.

were to be indulged in grief to satiety: and glutted with tears and lamentations.

Of all this there was a proper warning given, which must have served with many towards anticipating the calamity by a fearful expectation: and must have rendered the people in general more ready to afford the Israelites their dismissal; through whose detention they suffered.

Of the sacred Ordinance which preceded this Event.

But there was a meaning in this judgment of greater consequence, than in any, which had preceded. The destroying angel was to pass through the land of Egypt, and to display his power over the people. And the Israelites were also liable to be cut off; unless they observed a particular caution prescribed, the only means of their salvation. In consequence of this it pleased God to institute the Passover, by the observance of which they were to be secured for the present: and a secret intimation given of greater blessings hereafter. Each family was to take a ¹ lamb without spot or blemish, upon the

¹ See Exodus, c. xii. v. 3, 4. to verse 28.

tenth day of the first month; and then to kill it upon the fourteenth in the evening. They were to dress it by fire with bitter herbs: and to eat it in a posture of standing, with their loins girded, their shoes upon their feet, and their staves in their hands. The whole process was that of persons, who were sojourners, and pilgrims; and who were setting out upon their passage through a wilderness to a place of bliss, called Canaan; where their toil and travel were to end. But to secure to themselves these advantages, and to save their lives from the destroying angel; they were to take the blood of the blameless lamb, which they sacrificed, and with a bunch of hyssop dipped in the blood sprinkle it upon the posts and pillars at the entrance of their houses, and upon the thresholds: and by this token they were to be preserved. They were likewise to take care that not a bone of it should be broken. At the same time they were ¹ *to eat nothing leavened. In all your habitations shall ye eat unleavened bread.*

Exod. c. xii. v. 14. *And this day shall be unto you for a memorial; and you shall keep it a feast to the Lord, throughout your generations:*

¹ Exodus, c. xii. v. 20.

you shall keep it a feast by an ordinance for ever.

V. 23. For the Lord will pass through to smite the Egyptians: and when he seeth the blood upon the lintel, and on the two side-posts, the Lord will pass over the door, and will not suffer the destroyer to come in unto your houses to smite you.

V. 28. And the children of Israel went away, and did as the Lord had commanded Moses and Aaron, so did they.

When the people had thus performed the sacred ordinance, which had been enjoined them; they waited for the great event, which was to bring about their deliverance. At last the cry was up. For (v. 29.) *it came to pass, that at midnight the Lord smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh that sat on his throne, unto the first-born of the captive that was in the dungeon; and all the first-born of cattle.*

V. 30. And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he and all his servants, and all the Egyptians; and there was a great cry in Egypt; for there was not a house, where there was not one dead.

It may be urged, as each dead person was confined to a particular house: the grief upon
upon

upon the occasion must have been in like manner limited and confined: and there could not be that general display of it, as has been intimated. But this is a mistake. It has been shewn, that the Egyptians of all nations upon earth were most frantic in their grief. When any person died in a family, all the relations, and all the friends, of the deceased cooperated in a scene of sorrow. And the process was to quit the house; at which time the women with their hair loose and their bosoms bare, ran wild about the streets. The men likewise with their apparel equally disordered kept them company: all shrieking, and howling, and beating themselves, as they passed along. This was upon the decease of a single person. But when there was one dead in every family, every house must have been in great measure vacated; and the streets quite filled with mourning. Hence we may be assured that these violent emotions were general: and at the same time shocking past all imagination. The suddenness of the stroke, and the immediate and

* See before.—Herod. l. 2. c. 85, 86. p. 141.

universal cries of death at midnight, that particular awful season, must have filled every soul with horror. It was therefore very truly said by the prophet of God—*There shall be a great cry throughout all the land of Egypt, such as there was none like it, (before) nor shall be like it any more.* Exod. c. xi. v. 6.—*And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he and all his servants, and all the Egyptians; and there was a great cry in Egypt.* c. xii. v. 30.

One manifest purpose of providence in these signs and judgments was to punish the Egyptians by a series of evils: and this on two accounts. In the first place, because they were blest with noble parts, and great knowledge: which they prostituted to a shameful degree. And secondly, because, after their nation had been preserved by one of the Israelitish family, they had contrary to all right, and in defiance of original stipulation, enslaved the people, to whom they had been so much indebted. And not contented with this, they had proceeded to murder their offspring: and to render the people's bondage intolerable by a wanton exertion of power. It had been told them,
that

that the family of the Israelites collectively were esteemed as God's ' first-born: for from that family Christ was to proceed, *who is the first-born of every creature.* Therefore God said to them, *Let my son go, that he may serve me: and if thou refuse to let him go, behold, I will slay thy son, even thy first-born.* Exod. c. 4. v. 23.

But they heeded not this admonition: hence these judgments came upon them; which terminated in the death of the eldest in each family: a just retaliation for their disobedience and cruelty.

CONCLUSION.

These judgments were stiled signs, as well as wonders: and very justly. For they were not introduced merely as arbitrary marks of power: but had a particular scope and meaning, as I have attempted to shew. I

* *Thus sayeth the Lord, Israel is my son, even my first-born.* Exodus, c. 4. v. 22.

was aware of an objection, which might be made—that I try to prove the ancient rites and customs of the Egyptians by those of later date: and I wrote a short treatise at the beginning to take off this objection. There are besides many passages in scripture, which will shew the antiquity of that idolatry, and of those customs, from whence my arguments are drawn. Many prohibitions in the law directly point this way. The second commandment in the decalogue seems to have been framed with a view to the worship of Egypt. To any people, who had not been conversant in that country, it had been sufficient to have said—*Thou shalt make no graven image, nor frame any similitude of things.* But the commandment is dilated, and the nature of the objects pointed out, for the sake of the Israelites. They were not to make to themselves an *image* or *likeness of any thing that is in heaven above; or that is in the earth beneath: or that is in the water under the earth:* nor were they to bow down, or worship them, either real or represented. By this is intimated, that they were not to make a likeness of the sun, or
of

of the moon: of man, or of beast: of fly, or creeping thing: of fish, or of crocodile; *which are in the waters beneath.* How prone the Israelites were to this symbolical worship; and how necessary it was to give them warning, may be seen by the threat, and by the blessings, which immediately ¹ follow. For though they are applicable to every one of these ordinances, yet they are introduced here, and particularly subjoined to this second commandment, that it may be in the strongest manner enforced.

The attachment of this people to the rites of Egypt may be farther seen by the repeated admonitions of their great lawgiver; and particularly by the cautions, which he gives at large in the fourth chapter of Deuteronomy. He there intimates by his fears, how liable the people were to lapse into this mode of idolatry.

V. 15. Take ye therefore good heed unto

¹ *For I the Lord, thy God, am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them, that hate me: and shewing mercy unto thousands of them, that love me and keep my commandments.*

your-

yourselves ; for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire.

V. 16. Lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female,

V. 17. The likeness of any beast that is on the earth, the likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the air,

V. 18. The likeness of any thing that creepeth on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the waters beneath the earth ;

V. 19. And lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven, thou shouldest be driven to worship them, and serve them, &c.

Whoever is at all acquainted with the ancient religion of Egypt, will see every article of their idolatry included in this address. He will likewise perceive the propriety of these cautions to a people, who had so long sojourned in that country.

I have mentioned, that this worship was of very early date : for the Egyptians very soon gave into a dark and mystic mode of devotion ;

votion; suitable to the gloom and melancholy of their tempers. To this they were invincibly attached, and consequently averse to any alteration. They seldom admitted any rite or custom, that had not the sanction of their forefathers. Hence Sir John Marsham very truly tells us concerning them '— Ægyptii cultûs extranei nomine detestari videntur, quicquid οἱ γονεῖς ἔπαρθεύσαν, parentes non commonstrârunt. *The Egyptians under the notion of foreign worship seem to have been averse to every thing, which had not been transmitted by their ancestors.* They therefore for the most part differed in their rites and religion from all other nations². These borrowed from them; and also adopted the rites of many different people. But the Egyptians seldom admitted of any innovation.

This is what I thought proper to offer concerning the wisdom, and design, witnessed in these judgments upon the Egyptians: and concerning the analogy, which they bore to the crimes and idolatry of that people.

¹ Sæc. ix. p. 155.

² Concerning this difference see Herodotus, l. 2. c. 35. 36. p. 119.

FOURTH PART.

A DISSERTATION

UPON THE

DIVINE MISSION *of* MOSES.

Concerning this Divine Mission.

MOSES was the immediate agent of God, in all those mighty operations, which took place during his residence with the Israelites in Egypt, as well as in those, which ensued. The destination of this people, was to the land of Canaan; and though the history of their journeyings may not be uniformly attended with the same astonishing prodigies, as they had experienced in Egypt; yet in every movement, throughout the whole process, there are marks of divine power and wisdom, by which they were at all times
O conducted.

conducted. For no man could have formed such a system; much less have carried it on in the manner, by which we see it at last completed. For the process was oftentimes contrary to human prudence, though consonant to divine wisdom. My meaning is, that the Israelites in their progress to Canaan were led into scenes of distress, in which no person, who had the charge of them, would have permitted them to have been engaged. No leader in his senses would have suffered those difficulties and embarrassments to have arisen, into which the people were at times plunged: and when they were brought into these straits, no human power was adequate to free them from the danger. In short, through the whole process of the history every step seems contrary to what human foresight, and common experience, would have permitted to take place. But I speak only in respect to man. With God it was far otherwise. He can raise, and he can depress: he can kill, and he can make alive. If he led the people into difficulties and dangers he could remedy those difficulties; and free them from those dangers.

' For my thoughts, says the Almighty, are not your thoughts : neither are your ways my ways. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways ; and my thoughts, than your thoughts. It therefore seemed good to divine wisdom to bring the Israelites into perils of various kinds, from whence there seemed no opening for escape : no subterfuge, which could avail them. And this was done, that they might manifestly see, that their safety was not effected by any human means : but that it was a far higher power, which both conducted and preserved them. Upon these principles I purpose to shew ; that the authority, by which Moses acted, was of divine appointment : and his mission immediately from God. And my chief reason I bring within this small compass—*because no man, of common prudence, would have acted, as Moses did, unless directed by a superior influence.*

A person,* who was of great eminence in the church, and of knowledge equal to his high station, took a different method to ascertain the same truth. He observed that in all civilized countries the legislators had

* Isaiah viii. 9. x *Bp Warburton.*

introduced future rewards and punishments as a sanction to their laws. But nothing of this sort is to be found in the laws of Moses. They were therefore of divine original: for he would have availed himself of the same advantage, had he been the real institutor and compiler. Upon this basis he founded his system: and in every stage of it are marks of that genius, and acuteness, which distinguish his writings. But as he has not barred any other openings, which may offer, towards the prosecuting of the same views; I shall take the liberty to proceed upon a different principle; and make my inferences, not from what was omitted, but what was done. It will be my endeavour, as I before mentioned, to shew, that the great law-giver and leader of the Israelites in numberless instances acted contrary to common prudence: and that the means used seemed inadequate, and oftentimes, opposite, to the end proposed. Hence the great events, which ensued, were brought about not only without any apparent probability, but even possibility, of their succeeding by human means.

*Of the Birth of MOSES, and his wonderful
Preservation: also the Servitude of the
ISRAELITES in Egypt.*

In order more clearly to disclose my purpose it will be proper to consider the history of Moses from the beginning; and the situation of the Israelites in his time. He was the son of Amram of the tribe of Levi: and born about one hundred and three years after the death of Joseph and a hundred and seventy-five from the first descent of the Israelites into Egypt. At this season there had arisen a king, who did not acknowledge any obligations to this people; nor to the memory of the person, through whom they had been introduced into that country. He conceived the same cruel policy against the Israelites, which the Lacedemonians practised against their unfortunate Helots. This was to oppress them with the most severe bondage; and as they increased in numbers to cut them off, lest they should prove dangerous to the state.

Come on, said the prince, let us deal wisely with them: lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that when there falleth out any war, they

join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land. Exod. i. 10.

V. 11. Therefore they did set over them task-masters, to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities, Pitbom and Raamses.

V. 12. But the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew. And they were grieved because of the children of Israel.

V. 13. And the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigour.

V. 14. And they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar, and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field: all their service wherein they made them serve, was with rigour.

The Israelites are represented as a refractory and stiff-necked people; whom God chose not on their own account; but for the sake of their fathers, to be the keepers of his oracles, and to preserve his name. For this purpose they were to be brought out of Egypt. But they were so pleased with their situation, and habituated to the customs of the Egyptians, that, without these severities, neither the importunities of Moses, nor the display of miracles, which they experienced, would have induced them to quit
the

the country. Even when they were upon their progress to the land of Canaan they often looked back with too much satisfaction upon the fruits and plenty of Egypt. This weakness and partiality brought on an irreverence towards the God of their fathers, which could not be remedied but by the severe discipline, which they experienced: and it was kept up with great rigour. *Ye shall no more, says the prince of the country, give the people straw to make brick, as heretofore: let them go and gather straw for themselves.* Exod. c. 5. v. 7.

V. 8. And the tale of the bricks which they did make heretofore, ye shall lay upon them, &c.

V. 9. Let there more work be laid upon the men——

V. 12. So the people were scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt, to gather stubble instead of straw. Such were the severities with which they were treated: yet they multiplied greatly notwithstanding. The fruitfulness of the women was wonderful: a circumstance observable in all the women of that country. For it is said, that

the soil and air of that climate, and particularly the ¹ waters, co-operated greatly to this purpose. But the sojourners seem in this respect to have surpassed the natives: and to have caused a general alarm among them for fear they might one day be outnumbered. This produced that cruel edict of the king, who is said not to have *known* Joseph. And the consequence of it was the destruction of numberless innocents, who were sacrificed to the jealousy of the Egyptians. *And Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, Every son that is born ye shall cast into the river.* Exod. c. 1. v. 22.

About the commencement of these cala-

¹ Strabo accordingly says, that the Nile was esteemed of a fecundifying nature: and that women had sometimes four children at a birth: and that Aristotle mentioned a woman that had seven.—Και τον Νειλον δ' ειναι γονιμον μαλλον ετερων.—Τας δε γυναικας εσθ' οτε και τετραδυμα τιχτειν τας Αιγυπτιας. Αριστοτελης δε και επταδυμα τινα ισορει τετοκεναι. l. 15. p. 1018. Aulus Gellius gives the same account from Aristotle, but instead of seven children at a birth speaks only of five. Aristoteles philosophus tradidit mulierem in Ægypto uno partu quinque enixam pueros. l. 10. c. v. p. 503. Hence Casaubon alters επταδυμα to πενταδυμα. See his notes. See also Aristot. de Generat. Animal. l. 4. c. 4.

mitous times it was the fortune of Moses to be born. His mother was too well acquainted with the fatal orders, which had been given: but her natural affection got the better of her fears, and led her to elude, what she could not oppose. She therefore privately nursed her child, till it at last grew too large to be concealed. At the expiration of three months she found, that his life must be given up; and her own would at the same time be forfeited: for there was now no avoiding a discovery. But, that she might not be the immediate cause of her child's death, she formed a scheme of exposing him upon the waters. She accordingly constructed an ark, or floating machine, of rushes: and having disposed of him in it, and covered it over for security, she placed it carefully near a bank of the Nile among the flags; that it might not be carried away with the stream. At the same time her daughter stood at some distance to observe the event; and see, what would become of her infant brother. It was now early in the morning: and it happened that Pharaoh's daughter with several female attendants came
down

down towards the side of the river to bathe herself. As she came near, she perceived the ark among the flags, and ordered one of her maids to fetch it out of the water. She opened it herself, and to her surprise perceived the child, which immediately wept. This providentially touched the heart of the king's daughter. It is *one of the Hebrew's children*, says the princess: and at the same time intimated her compassion. The child's sister, who stood by, took hold of this favourable opportunity: and desired to know, if she might go for an Hebrew nurse; that the infant might be preserved, towards whom the princess had shewn such compassion. *And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her, Go. And the maid went and called the child's mother.* Here we see an amazing concurrence of circumstances; and those of great moment, and highly interesting: which could not be the effect of chance. They were certainly brought about by that divine wisdom, which can influence our hearts, and order our goings, and make us subservient to the will of God. Which often

† Exod. c. 2. v. 8.

makes use of a series, and evolution of events, simple in themselves and obvious; but wonderful in their texture and combination, towards the accomplishment of his high decrees.

When the very mother of the infant was thus covertly introduced to be his nurse, Exod. c. 2. v. 9. *Pharaoh's daughter said unto her, Take this child away and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages. And the woman took the child, and nursed it.*

V. 10. *And the child grew, and she brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son. And she called his name Moses: and she said, Because I drew him out of the water. For Mo and Mos, in the ancient Egyptian*

* There are some very curious extracts from the ancient Egyptian histories concerning these events, which have been transmitted by Artapanus. These, though mixed with fable, afford very interesting intelligence. See Eusebius Præp. Evang. l. ix. p. 434.

* Το γαρ ὑδωρ μως ονομαζουσιν Αιγυπτιοι. Philo in Vitâ Mosis, v. 2. p. 83.

Το γαρ ὑδωρ μου ονομαζουσιν Αιγυπτιοι. Clemens Alex. l. 1. p. 412.

Το γαρ ὑδωρ μου οἱ Αιγυπτιοι καλεσσι. Josephus Antiq. l. 2. c. 9. p. 100. see also contra Apion. v. 2. l. 1. p. 465. Μων.

tian tongue, as well as in other languages, signified water. Thus we see, through the disposition of providence, a helpless and forlorn child rescued from a state of death; and, after having been in a wonderful manner restored to the bosom of the mother, who had exposed him, we find him at last brought to a state both of security, and honour, being adopted into the family of Pharaoh. But this station, though it ensured his safety, yet was rather unfavourable to the purposes, for which he was designed. He might by these means become learned in all the knowledge of the Egyptians: but at the same time he was liable to be initiated in their rites and religion, and forget the God of his fathers. His being adopted by the chief princes of Egypt would give him influence, and authority to succour his brethren: but it might possibly take away the inclination. But these evils were remedied, and all these fears

Clemens expresses it Möu; and it is to be found still in the Coptic. See Lexicon Copt. p. 57. published by Mr. Woide $\epsilon\epsilon\omega\upsilon\tau$. He is therefore very rightly styled Μωυσοϛ , Moïsus by Artapanus. Euseb. P. E. l. 9. p. 432.

rendered

rendered abortive by the zeal of Moses for that deity, by whose blessing he had been preserved. His faith was so lively, that ^a *when he came to years, he refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter. Choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season.* This we may well suppose was owing to the private instructions of ^b Jochebed his nursing mother: by whom he must have been thoroughly informed of his own history, and the history of his forefathers; and have been confirmed in the belief of the One True God. He had likewise intimations of his calling; and of the great purposes, for which God had raised and preserved him. This seems to have been uppermost in his mind; and to have created in him an undue impatience to have the great work effected. When therefore he had given up all right of adoption, and sacrificed every view of Egyptian grandeur; he went over to his brethren, and waited for the time of their deliverance. The burdens, under

^a Hebrews. c. xi. v. 24, 25.

^b Exodus. c. 6. v. 20.

which they groaned, excited his compassion: and when he one day ¹ *spied an Egyptian smiting* (or as some interpret it, *killing*) *an Hebrew, he slew the Egyptian, and hid him in the sand.* ² *For he supposed his brethren would have understood how that God by his hand would deliver them: but they understood not.*

And they might well mistake his intention in the deed; for it does not seem to have proceeded from God. The action might be just, but was not prudent. He appears to have acted without command: and was certainly wrong in his opinion, if he thought that it was an arm of flesh, and his own particular prowess, which were to effect the deliverance of Israel. By this one mistake his whole purpose was ruined; and all views of freeing his brethren, as far as human foresight could judge, were intirely at an end. The consequence was such as no human power could remedy. The very persons, for whose sake he had acted, were the first to betray him. They refused his arbi-

¹ Exodus, c. 2. v. 11.

² Acts, c. 7. v. 25.

tration, where he more properly interfered: and asked him in opprobrious terms—*Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? intendest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian?* Exodus, c. 2. v. 14. Thus the secret was out, and reached the ears of the king: who resolved to have Moses put to ^a death. There was nothing left but to flee away: and Moses accordingly fled from the face of Pharaoh: he left the land of Egypt; and having passed the great desert, with which the country was bounded, betook himself to the land of Midian. This region lay upon the farther of the two inlets of the Red Sea, to the east of the wilderness of Sin and Etham; about eight days journey from Egypt. The whole route was through a desert.

^a The voluntary killing a person was according to the laws of Egypt certain death to the aggressor——
 Εἰ δὲ τις ἐκβασίως ἀποκτείνει τὸν ἐλευθέρου, ἢ τὸν δούλου, ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτὸν οἱ νόμοι προσέταττον.—Diod. l. 1. p. 70. β. Of what antiquity this law may have been, is uncertain. We know so much, that all the laws of Egypt are said to have been very ancient.

Of Moses in Midian.

He was now far separated from the place of his nativity, and the house of his fathers. And he was still more estranged from them by becoming incorporated with a tribe of people, with which the Hebrews had not the least connection. They appear to have been of the Cuthite race: but respectable and moral: and their ruler was named Jethro: and he is stiled the priest of Midian. Moses seems here to have given up all his former views. The zeal which he had shewn for the deliverance of his people subsided: and all his hopes were extinct. Year after year passed on, and he does not appear to have had any intelligence about his brethren in Egypt. Indeed it was not easy to be obtained: for in those early times there was but little intercourse between nation and nation: and the only correspondence kept up, seems to have been by caravans and merchants. But the Midianites, to whom he joined himself, lay rather out of the way
for

for any communication. He probably imagined, that God had given up his purpose of freeing the Israelites; at least of using him for an agent. He, in consequence of it, married a wife of the ' Cuthite race: one of the daughters of the priest of Midian. This was contrary to the usage of his forefathers; and of the Hebrews in general: and seems to intimate, that he thought himself quite alienated from them. We see him now from the rank of a prince brought down almost to the state of an hireling: and feeding sheep in the wild near Horeb; instead of leading the armies of Israel. This would not have been his lot, if he had set out originally upon worldly principles: and followed the dictates of human sagacity. He would then never have foregone the advantages of adoption: which would have procured him respect, and power. Had he remained in Egypt his residence among the Israelites might have afforded him the means

¹ Exod. c. 2. v. 21.—*And Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses, because of the Ethiopian woman whom he had married: for he had married an Ethiopian woman.* Numbers, c. 12. v. 1. The word in the original is Cushman, or Cuthite.

of planning many things in their favour: and his authority among his brethren might have induced them to comply with his schemes. But the wisdom of man is foolishness with God: and this great work of deliverance was not to be effected by human means. He is said to have been ¹ forty years old, when he first came into this country: and now forty years more were ² lapsed: and the Israelites still in bondage without the least prospect of redemption. In respect to Moses, had he the will, yet in what possible manner could he exert himself? If he fled away at first without hopes, what new expectations could be produced after a lapse of forty years? In this long interval, what little influence remained at his departure must have been utterly extinct. The elders of the people, in whom he confided, were probably dead: and all memory of him was in great measure

¹ In the original it is intimated that he took his flight from Egypt, *when he was full grown*; or as the Seventy express it—*μεγας γενομενος*. In the Acts of the Apostles it is said to have happened, *when he was forty years old*. c. 7. v. 23. If we were to suppose him at this time to have been younger, the interval will be in consequence of it longer; and the difficulties proportionally greater.

effaced. If it were possible for him to make himself known to the prince of the country, the recollection would probably be fatal to him. And, if he applied to his own people, what reason was there for their accepting of him for their judge and leader now; whom they had rejected forty years before? Yet the children of Israel were delivered: and Moses was destined to bring about that deliverance.

Of his being appointed by God to free his People.

Moses was now eighty years old; and, in an humble and recluse state, took care of the sheep of his father-in-law, the priest of Midian.—Exodus, c. 3. v. 1. *And he led the flock to the backside of the desert, and came to the mountain of God, even to Horeb.*

V. 2. And the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he looked, and behold the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed.

V. 3. *And Moses said, I will now turn aside, and see this great sight, why the bush is not burnt.*

V. 4. *And when the Lord saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the midst of the bush, and said, Moses, Moses. And he said, Here am I.*

Upon this it pleased God to assure him, that he had not forgot his people: that he had been witness to their affliction: and their cry was come up before him. He would therefore put an end to their servitude: and they should be brought out of Egypt: and be placed in the land of Canaan, in the country of the Hittites, Perizzites, Amorites, and other nations.

V. 10. *Come now therefore, and I will send thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring forth my people the children of Israel out of Egypt.*

V. 11. *And Moses said unto God, Who am I, that I should go unto Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt?*

Moses was frightened, when he heard his destination. He started back; from a just sense of the greatness of the undertaking; and

and a fearful consciousness of his own inability. It pleased God to assure him of his guidance, and protection: and he added, *V. 12. This shall be a token unto thee, that I have sent thee; when thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon this mountain.* This was a circumstance, were it not for the person, who promised, and appointed it, scarcely to be believed. For what connection had Horeb with the borders of ^a Canaan? When however this was afterwards accomplished, it was a sure token, that the mission of Moses was from God. Moses however is still in a state of uncertainty, and dreads some illusion.—He accordingly says, *V. 13. Behold, when I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall say to me, What is his name? what shall I say unto them?* By this I should imagine, that the Israelites were far gone in the idolatries of Egypt; so as to have forgotten the Lord Jehovah: or else Moses was not quite assured of the person, before whom

^a The road from Egypt was in a quite different direction.

he stood; and apprehended some illusion. The Lord upon this told Moses, that the title and character, by which he would be made known to the people, should be,—*'I am that I am:—Thus shalt thou say unto the Children of Israel, I Am hath sent me unto you.*

Observations upon this Order.

The reason, why it pleased God to be described in this particular manner, seems to have been owing to the false worship of the Egyptians, whom the Israelites copied; and to the abuse of this divine title, which it was necessary to remedy. The chief deity of Egypt was the Sun, who was improperly called On: as by that term I conceive, was denoted *the living God*. That this was a title given to the Sun we may learn from Cyril upon Hoseah. ² Ων εστιν ὁ Ἥλιος.—

▪ Exodus, c. 3. v. 14.

* p. 145.

Ὀν δὲ ἐσὶν παρ' αὐτοῖς (τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις) ὁ Ἥλιος.
The term On among the Egyptians signifies the sun. Hence the city On of Egypt was uniformly rendered Heliopolis or the City of the Sun. Theophilus upon the authority of Manetho of Sebennis in speaking of this place says, Ὀν, ἣτις ἐσὶν Ἡλιεπολις. *On, which is Heliopolis, or the City of the Sun:* and the authors of the Greek version afford the same interpretation. When mention is made of Potiphra, or rather Petephre, the Priest of On, it is rendered Πετεφρη ἱερέως Ἡλιεπολεως: *Petephre, the Priest of Heliopolis.* The same occurs in another place. Ἀσενεθ θυγατρὸς Πετεφρη ἱερέως Ἡλιεπολεως. *Aseneth, the daughter of Petephre, the priest of On, or Heliopolis.* It is also to be found in the Coptic version, where the same city is described — ὠη εἶτε ἠβδκι, ρεφρη πε: *On, which is the city of Ree, the Sun.*

From hence it is manifest that the term

¹ Ad Autolyicum, l. 3. p. 392.

² Gen. c. 41. v. 45.

³ Gen. c. 41. v. 50.

⁴ Coptic Lexicon by Mr. Woide, p. 118.

On among the Egyptians, in those times and afterwards, was applied to Helius, the same as Osiris, *the Sun*: but how properly remains to be considered. I have mentioned it to be my opinion, that by this term was denoted originally the *Living God, the self-existing Being*. And in this opinion I am confirmed by Plato, and many other Greek Writers, who, whenever they allude to this Egyptian name, express it by the terms ¹ το Ον: which signify by way of eminence, *The Being*: or in other words—*the great first cause*. These writers derived their theology from Egypt: and from hence we may infer, that they knew well the purport of the name. This, I think, may be farther proved from the Coptic language; in which are undoubtedly to be found the remains of the ancient Egyptian. Here the same words, which the Greeks rendered ον, and ων, denote both ² *life* and *to live*: *to exist*, and *to be*. They are expressed in the Coptic cha-

¹ ΑΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΙΣΟΝ, ΑΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΚΑΛΟΝ, ΑΥΤΟ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ, Ο ΕΣΤΙ ΤΟ ΟΝ——
Plato in Phædone, v. I. p. 78.

ΤΟ ΟΝ. Plutarch Is. et Osiris, p. 352. A.

² See Coptic Lexicon published by Mr. Woide, p. 189. 193.

acters with a final aspirate $\text{ον}\zeta$ and $\text{ων}\zeta$, Onh , and Onh with an omega: also with the prefix, $\text{πιων}\zeta$. Hence the terms $\text{πιων}\zeta$ $\text{πεπ}\zeta$ signify *vita æterna*. Plato therefore with great justice rendered the term in his own language by το Ον , when he treated of the first cause, the *Lord of Life*: for the name among the Egyptians was perfectly analogous to ον , οντα , εοντα , ειναι , among the Greeks. It was the name of the true God; of whom the Egyptians at first made the sun only a type. But when the substitute was taken for the original, it was then adapted to the luminary: at least so far, as that the city of On was called the city of the Sun: and the orb of day was worshipped as the *living God*. For I do not believe that the term On related literally to the sun; which I think is plain from its standing in need of explanation. ων , ετε θβακι ρφρη πε . *On which is the city of Phre,* THE SUN: and in the Greek,— ον , η εσω Ηλιεπολις , *On, which is Heliopolis*. From hence we may justly infer, that the living God was

† Exodus. c. i. v. ii. Sept.

originally

originally worshipped at On under the semblance of the *Sun*. But the true name of the luminary both among the ancient and modern Egyptians was *Ree*. This may be farther proved from the name of his priest; who was stiled Potiphera, Potiphra, and Petiphre; which I do not imagine to be a proper name; for the former part of the compound signified a *priest*; and the latter the *Sun*. It was expressed ΠΕΤΕΦΡΗ, Petephre, by the authors of the Coptic ¹ version; and ΠΕΤΕΦΡΗ ἱερεύς in the time of the Greek version, and פּוֹטִי פִרְעֵ Pytah phry in the days of Moses. I have thought proper to state these things; as we may from hence perceive the purport of the injunction given to ² Moses; and explain those remarkable

¹ See Coptic Lexicon, p. 157. There were two words in the ancient Egyptian language, which denoted a priest—ΠΕΤΕ and ΠΟΠΤ—They were probably two departments in the same office of priesthood: but their precise meaning cannot be now ascertained.

This person is said to be Pete-phre, Cohen On; that is *a priest of the Sun, who officiated at the city On, to distinguish him from a priest of the same order who might be of Moph, Theba, or any other place.*

² Genesis, c. 41. v. 45. and v. 50.

words—*I am that I am*: and *I am* hath sent thee.

Some farther Considerations upon these Words.

It is remarkable, that the Samaritan version accords implicitly with the original in this instance and it is closely copied in the Vulgate, where the passage is rendered—*Ego sum, qui sum*. But the Greek translation differs in the mode of expression, and instead of—*Ἐγώ εἰμι, ὅς εἰμι*, which would afford the literal purport, we meet with—*Ἐγώ εἰμι, ὁ Ων*. How came the authors of this version so industriously to vary from others? I answer: because they were Jews of Egypt: and knew the true object alluded to. And, as the Egyptian term *Ων*, the same as *Ens*, corresponded with the like word in Greek, they have preserved it in their translation, as, from this correspondence of terms, they could give the true meaning of the original. In consequence of this, instead of *Ἐγώ εἰμι, ὅς εἰμι*, which would

¹ Exodus, c. 3. v. 14.

have been the obvious interpretation of *I am that I am*: they render it—*Εγω ειμι ο Ων*. I am the *Ens*, the truly *existing being*: the living God. And that we might not mistake the meaning of the term *Ων*, used by the Seventy, and also by the Platonists; many learned persons have been at the pains to further explain it: and to shew, that by *On* was signified *Ens Entium, the Being of Beings, the self-existent God*. Hence Hesy-chius defines *ο Ων*, by *θεος αιει ζων, υπαρχων*. *God, who lives for ever: that exists everlastingly*. We find the like in Suidas. *ο Ων, ο αιει ων, θεος ημων*. *By On is denoted, the God, that lives for ever, whom we acknowledge for our particular deity*. The learned Alberti, in his notes to Hesy-chius, quotes from a manuscript Lexicon a passage to the same purpose. *ο Ων, ο ζων, ο υπαρχων, ο αιει ων τετεσι θεος*. *By this term is meant the Being, who lives, and exists: the Being, who lives for ever: that is God*. It is therefore plain, that the purport of this Egyptian word, when explained by the Grecians, related uniformly to *life*, and the God of *life*, the self-existing being. We have seen, that the justness of these interpretations is con-

firmed

firmed by the Coptic. The same is observable of the *το ον* of Plato, which was borrowed from the same source. *Ακηκως γαρ εν Αιγυπτω τον Θεον τω Μωυση ειρηκεναι, Εγω ειμι ο Ων, εγνω, οτι ου κυριον ονομα εαυτε ο Θεος προς αυτον εφη*—They are the words of Justin Martyr¹, who says, that Plato learnt in Egypt, that the deity represented himself to Moses under the character of *ο Ων*, or *the living God*: and that Plato knew, it was not a proper name: by which is intimated, that he rendered it, as an attribute, and described the cause of all things by his self-existence. He mentions farther², that the different manner of expressing the term, which was both *Ον* and *Ων*, amounted to little; as both were equally apposite. *Ο μεν γαρ Μωυσης ο ων εφη, ο δε Πλατων το ον εκατερον δε των ειρημενων τω αι οντι Θεω προσηκειν φαινεται. For Moses expresses the word ων, and Plato το ον: but each of the terms appear*

¹ Just. Martyr. Cohort. p. 21. c.

By the ancient philosophers, the deity was stiled *το εν*; and it was said—*το εν παντα*. Plato changed the term to *το ον*, as we learn from Simplicius, Plotinus, and others.

² Ibid. 23.

to be truly applicable to the living God, who alone may be said to exist. Eusebius, Cyril, Augustine, and many other writers suppose, that Plato got his intelligence in Egypt: and I think there can be no doubt of it. But they go farther, and think, that he obtained it from the history of Moses: which does not appear probable. They seem all to have imagined, that he got his information from the words *Εγώ εἰμι ὁ Ὄν*, *I am He, that is, i. e. the living God*: which is a portion from the Greek of the Septuagint. But they did not consider, that this version was not made till after the death of Plato. He could not have had any light from hence. In short he borrowed his knowledge of the term *Ὄν* from the same fountain from whence the authors of the Septuagint afterwards borrowed; which was from the natives of Egypt. He resided three years at Heliopolis, the very place called On or City of the Sun: and was very conversant with the priests of the place, the most intelligent of any in the whole * nation.

* The people of Heliopolis were particularly famous for their knowledge. *Οἱ Ἡλιεπολιταὶ Αἰγυπτίων λογιώτατοι.* Herod. l. 2. c. 3. p. 104.

He could not fail of learning the purport of the name: and was certainly informed, that the city of On was denominated from the self-existent being: and that the temple of On was properly the sanctuary of the living God; though the title was abused, and conferred upon Osiris, the Sun. Hence Plato in his Inquiry concerning the Nature of the Supreme Being asks, ¹ Τι το Ον μεν αει; γενεσιν δε εκ εχον. *Explain to me that deity On, which ever IS, and who never knew beginning nor production?* In this, and all other instances to the same purpose, he alludes to the Egyptian term, which signified *life and being*.

A farther Consideration.

It may be proper to remark, that, when Moses was directed to make known to the Israelites the One true God under the character of *I am*, or the Being of Life, the original word is ² אֲנִי־הוּא. This was a new

¹ In Timæo, vol. 3. p. 27.

² Exodus, c. 3. v. 14.

title, by which the deity chose to be distinguished. It is to be observed, that there is very little difference between this, and the more common name; the sacred tetragrammaton of the Jews. The one was יהוה, Jehovah: and the other newly appointed אהיה, which some express Jehevah. How truly it is rendered, I cannot pretend to determine. This, I believe, is allowed, that the latter is formed from the root, היה, or הוה, hejah or hevah: by which is signified to exist, live, and be. Some think, that by Jehovah is meant *I am*: and by Jehevah or Ehiah (as some render it) *I will be*. It is accordingly translated by some expositors in the future—ero, qui ero; and both by Aquila and Theodotion, Εσσομαι, Εσσομαι. We may at all rates be assured, that they both relate to life and existence; and cannot properly be applied to any Being, but one, ² *Thou, whose name alone is Jehovah*—³ Ὁ ὢν, και ὁ ἦν, και ὁ ἐρχομενος.

² Exodus, c. 3. v. 14.

⁴ Psalm, 83. v. 18.

³ Apocalyps, c. 1. v. 4.

Conclusion upon this Head.

We may therefore, I think, be assured of the true purport of that Egyptian title of the deity, which the Grecians expressed *On* and *Ων*. By *On* was signified *life*, and *being*: and by the deity of *On* (*Onz*) was denoted the *living* God: the truly *existing* Being. This title was grossly misapplied by the Egyptians: upon which account the real and only God is represented as inforcing this truth upon his people, that there was no deity but himself. He is therefore repeatedly styled in opposition to all pretended divinities,

* A very learned friend thought that the term *On* could not relate to *life* and *being*; because the city of *On*, in the Coptic version, has not the final aspirate: which the same word, when it signifies life or to live, has. But a variation so very slight between a primary word, and a derivative, might easily happen in such a length of time.

The difference is too small to have any objection founded upon it: especially as all the Grecian authors, who speak of the Egyptian term *On*, always refer it to *life* and *being*.

The Living God. In consequence of this we continually meet with this asseveration—*As I live, saith the Lord.* Hence Moses was ordered, when he made mention of the deity to the Israelites, to use the title above mentioned—*I am, that I am: I AM hath sent me unto you:* which answers precisely to Εγω ειμι το Ον of the Grecians: and to the sacred title ωηϑ , of Egypt. By this in other words is signified, *Let the children of Israel know, that you come from the only true and self-existent Being: from the living God, who was, and is, and will be for ever.* This was a character, to which no other being could pretend. Moses is further ordered to say to the Israelites—¹ *The Lord God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you: this is my name for ever.* This is the deity, who styles himself *I AM:* the *living God*, the *Jehovah* of the Hebrews. The prophet proceeds to intimate, that the divinities of Egypt had no claim to so high a title: and they would therefore fall before the *God of Israel:* and for this he had good as-

¹ Exod. c. 3. v. 15.

surance—[†] *Against all the Gods of Egypt I will execute judgment : I AM THE LORD.* These expressions are attended with peculiar energy, but without this explanation they seem to lose great part of their emphasis.

*Continuation of the Divine Interview, and
an Account of the Two Miracles exhibited.*

Many events are laid open to the legate of God ; and many promises are made to give him fortitude for the undertaking. But for a long time during this interview he hesitates ; and is alarmed at the difficulties which, presented themselves. It may seem strange, after such immediate assurances from God, that Moses should persist in his diffidence. He ought certainly to have trusted to the words of him, who cannot deceive ; and paid implicit obedience. But human nature

[†] Exodus, c. 12. v. 12.

is frail. His zeal had been damped by disappointments: and his faith ruined by his fears. He knew, that his life was ^a forfeited, if he returned to Egypt: and he moreover felt a want of ability to effect, what was enjoined him. Hence, though he knew the power of the Almighty, yet he could not sufficiently exert himself upon the occasion. He was like a person upon a precipice, who is ordered to throw himself down upon a promise of being supported; but though the assurance be from the voice of an angel, he cannot trust himself to the dreadful vacuity. It must likewise be considered, that he had formed some interesting connections, which though they may appear comparatively new, were in reality of long standing. He had been admitted for a long season into a family of morality and goodness; where he enjoyed ease and security. He had married a wife, with whom he was quite happy: and had a son by her. This peace and these connections were to be interrupted for the sake of a people, who had betrayed him; and from

^a See Diodorus Sic. l. 1. p. 70. quoted above.

whom

whom he had been estranged for forty years. He could not bring himself to have any trust in them. ¹ *Behold, says he, they will not believe me, nor hearken unto my voice: for they will say, The Lord hath not appeared unto thee.* His reasoning was just: for he was to go to a perverse and stubborn people: and, as I mentioned before, if he could not persuade them of old, he must necessarily have little influence after an absence of so long a date. In short, he had not power to execute such a mission; nor inclination to undertake it. His credentials therefore and authority could not proceed from himself; but must be derived from an higher power. It therefore pleased God, in order to create in him a proper faith and assurance, to display before his eyes a miracle of an extraordinary nature.———² *And the Lord said unto him, What is that in thine hand? and he said, A rod.*

V. 3. And he said, Cast it on the ground; and he cast it on the ground, and it became a serpent: and Moses fled from before it.

¹ Exod. c. 4. v. 1.

² Exod. c. 4. v. 2.

V. 4. And the Lord said unto Moses, Put forth thine hand, and take it by the tail. And he put forth his hand, and caught it, and it became a rod in his hand.

This was an assurance to Moses, that the same power, which could work such a wonder for his conviction, would do the like to convince his people hereafter: and that a sure trust might be reposed in his promises.

V. 6. And the Lord said furthermore unto him, Put now thine hand into thy bosom; and he put his hand into his bosom: and when he took it out, behold, his hand was leprous, as snow.

V. 7. And he said, Put thine hand into thy bosom again; and he put his hand into his bosom again, and plucked it out of his bosom, and behold, it was turned again as his other flesh.

First concerning the Symbolical Serpent.

The Egyptians, and likewise the Phenicians, who borrowed from them, made the serpent an emblem of divine wisdom, and power: also of that creative energy, by which all things were formed. It was supposed to have been first adopted for this sacred purpose by Thoth of Egypt: whom the people of Phenicia stiled Taut, and ¹ Taautus. There was nothing criminal in forming such a characteristick; if it were not misapplied, and made use of for idolatrous purposes. But emblems of this sort were in process of time abused; and gave rise to a base worship: which prevailed over all the world. In many places, not only in Egypt, but in Greece, and other countries, the natives preserved a live serpent; sometimes more than one; to which they paid divine honours.

¹ Την μὲν οὖν Δρακόντος φύσιν καὶ τῶν Οφίων αὐτὸς ἐξεθίασεν ὁ Τααυτός.—ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς τὸ αὐτὸ ζῷον, καὶ ἐν μυστηρίοις συμπαραλαμβάνεται. Philo Byblius from Sanchoniath. apud Eusebium P. E. l. i. c. x. p. 40, 41.

Hence Justin Martyr in speaking upon this head to the Grecians, tells them—¹ *παρα παντι των νομιζομενων παρ' υμιν Θεω, ογ Θεων, Οφης συμβολον μεγα και μυσηριον αναγραφεται.*—*Among all the things, which are held by you as sacred, and divine, the serpent is particularly marked as a wonderful emblem and mystery.* Two such were kept alive at Thebes in Upper Egypt—² *και τετοις (τοις Οφεσιν) θυσιας, και εορτας, επετελουν, και οργια, θεες τις μεγαυς νομισαντες, και αρχηγες των ολων*—*and to these serpents the people appointed a celebration of sacrifices, also festivals, and orgies: esteeming them the greatest of all gods, and sovereigns of the universe.* Many salutary qualities and effects were supposed to have been denoted by this emblem, particularly life, health, and victory, also the Being by which they were produced. It made a principal part in most rites and mysteries: and there were undoubtedly some very curious truths veiled under this characteristic. It was carried from Egypt to Thrace and Greece; and, accord-

¹ Apolog. i. p. 60. see Clemens Alexand. Cohort. p. 11.

² Euseb. P. E. l. i. c. x. p. 42.

ing to the current opinion, by Orpheus. Hence Tatianus ¹ Affyrius, speaking of the rites of Ceres, mentions Eleufis, where they were celebrated; also the myftic ferpent, which was a principal object: and Orpheus, by whom they were introduced. The worship of the ferpent at ² Epidaurus is well known: and Herodotus mentions one kept in the Acropolis of Athens — ³ οφιν μεγάλην, και φυλακὰ τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως — *a large ferpent, which was looked upon as the guardian of the place.* This animal was a facred appendage to the representations of many deities: but especially of Thoth, or Hermes, the divine phyfician. He was by the Grecians ftiled Efculapius: and in an ancient temple near ⁴ Sicyon live ferpents were maintained, and held in reverence; as they were at Thebes, Memphis, and other

¹ Ελευσις, και ὁ Δρακων, ὁ μυστικός, και Ορφεύς. p. 251.

² Pausan. l. 2. p. 175.

³ L. 8. c. 41. p. 638.

⁴ Pausan. l. 2. p. 137.

Serpents also were kept and revered at Pella in Macedonia. Lucian. Alexander, vol. 1. p. 663.

places

places in Egypt. One name given to the sacred serpent was ¹ Thermuthis : and it was made a constant attendant upon Isis. The deities, Cneph, Hermes, and Agathodæmon, were all described under this ² emblem : and the serpent itself had the name of the Good Dæmon.

*Of the Serpents in the Wilderness, and of the
Brazen Serpent.*

Thus much I thought proper to premise concerning the mystical serpent; and the reverence paid to it: as it may serve to illustrate some passages in the sacred history. For it is very certain, that the Israelites were tainted with the idolatry of the Egyptians during their residence among that peo-

¹ Ælian de Animal. l. 10. c. 31. p. 581.

² Φοινικες αυτο αγαθην δαιμονα καλεσσι. ομοιως δε και Αιγυπτιοι Κνηφ επονομαζουσι. Euseb. l. 1. c. x. p. 41.

ple. The prophet Ezekiel mentions, that
¹ *they committed whoredoms in Egypt:* and
 God declares by the mouth of the same
 prophet, that they persevered in their evil
 practices after they had left that country.
² *But they rebelled against me, and would not
 hearken unto me: they did not every man cast
 away the abominations of their eyes, neither
 did they forsake the idols of Egypt.* Of these
 idols, one of the most ancient, and most
 honoured, was the serpent. And it is pro-
 bable, that the Israelites upon account of
 this idolatry were punished by the ³ Sara-
 phim, or fiery serpents: in consequence of
 which many were slain. *And the Lord sent*
⁴ *fiery serpents among the people; and they bit
 the people: and much people of Israel died.*
 As this sort of worship prevailed so much, it
 was very proper to punish those apostates,

¹ Ezekiel, c. 23. v. 3.

² Ibid. c. 20. v. 8.

³ Numbers, c. 21. v. 6.

I should imagine, that the Cneph, or Caneph, and the Sar-eph, were of the same purport: and that they both denote Βασιλισκος, Basiliscus, or royal serpent.

⁴ בַּחֲשֵׁיִם שֶׂרָפִים.

who had lapsed into it, by the object of their adoration: at the same time to deter others from giving into it for the future. After this punishment had sufficiently taken place, it pleased God to order a brazen serpent to be made; and to be elevated upon a perch or standard: and he directed Moses to tell the people, that whoever looked up to that object, should live. ¹ *And the Lord said unto Moses, Make thee a fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole: and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live.*

And Moses made a serpent of brass, and put it upon a pole: and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived.

By this the people were taught, that their trust in Thermuthis, Agathodæmon, Hermes, or any serpentine divinity, was vain. All their resource was in another power; who was represented before them. But even to this emblem no adoration was to be paid. They were only to look upon it, and be

¹ Numbers, c. 21. v. 8, 9.

saved. The miracle therefore was well calculated to affect the people, before whom it was displayed: and with this we might rest satisfied. But it had certainly a farther allusion: and all the world is concerned in the happy consequences pointed out in this typical representation. It was undoubtedly an intimation of our being cleansed from all taint by our looking up to the person denoted under this emblem: and of our being preserved from utter death. It was not the design of providence to discover fully the meaning of these mysterious and wonderful works; which were exhibited in those days. But to those, who live in more enlightened times the purport cannot be mistaken. Had it pleased God to have explained his meaning by his prophet upon the spot, I presume, that in express terms it would have amounted to this. “ You have been
 “ devoted to serpent-worship; and I punish
 “ you by these very reptiles, which you have
 “ idly adored. You have esteemed the ser-
 “ pent the emblem of health, life, and divine
 “ wisdom: and under this symbol you have
 “ looked

“ looked up to an unknown power, stiled
 “ Thoth and Agathodæmon, *the benign*
 “ *genius*. For these things you suffer. But
 “ I will shew you a more just and salutary
 “ emblem, by which health and life, as well
 “ as divine wisdom, are signified. It is a
 “ type of the true Agathodæmon, that hu-
 “ man divinity, the physician of the soul ;
 “ by whom these blessings are one day to
 “ accrue. Behold that serpent upon a perch,
 “ or cross : whoever looks up to him, shall
 “ be saved from the present venom of the
 “ serpent, as well as from ^{*} primeval in-
 “ fection. This is an emblem of that be-
 “ nign power, that good genius, by whom
 “ the world will be cured of every inhe-
 “ rent evil.”

^{*} This was the opinion of some of the fathers : and particularly of Justin Martyr. Μυστηριον γαρ δια τετρα, ως προεφην, εκηρυσσε (Μωσης) δι' ο καταλυειν μεν την δυναμιν τε Οφως, τε και την παραβασιν υπο τε Αδαμ γενεσθαι εργασαμενε εκηρυσσε. σωτηριαν δε τοις πισευουσιν επι τετρον τον δια τε σημειν τετρα (δεικνυμενον) τετ' επι τον γαυρασθαι μελλοντα, απο των δηγματων τε οφως απερ εισιν αι κακαι πραξεις. κ. τ. λ. Dialog. cont. Tryph. § 94. p. 191. Some such word as δεικνυμενον seems to be wanting.

Objection.

Objection.

But it may be said ;—*Can we suppose, that the God of Israel would explain himself by the emblems of Egypt?* I answer: most undoubtedly. The revealing of his mind by Egyptian symbols was like writing in the characters of that country. It was in a manner speaking their language: and therefore attended with great fitness, and propriety. I have mentioned, that there was nothing reprehensible in the characteristics themselves. The only crime was in the misapplication. They had their meaning: and those, who had any knowledge in the wisdom of the Egyptians, must have understood their immediate purport. This emblem therefore was very properly introduced.

The true Purport of the Emblem.

From the circumstances with which this curious history is attended, we may perceive,
that,

that, when the serpent was lifted up before the eyes of the Israelites, it was not intended merely as a sign and means of their recovery: but its salutary purport had a relation to the whole world. It was certainly an intimation of our being cleansed from all taint and impurity, and saved from final ruin. Our Saviour plainly speaks of it, as a type of himself: and interprets it in the same manner; as alluding to our redemption, and to our being preserved from absolute death.

And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness; even so must the son of man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life.

The resemblance, I believe, was too striking not to be perceived by the Jews: especially when, after our Saviour's resurrection, his history and doctrines became more generally known. It afforded an argument much in favour of christianity: and this probably was the reason, why not a word is said by Josephus concerning the brazen serpent in the wilderness. He promised in his Antiquities, which are copied

¹ John, c. 3. v. 14, 15.

from the Bible, to leave out nothing material. Yet this important history is passed by, and seems to have been designedly omitted.

As mention was incidentally made some pages above concerning the history of this serpent, erected by divine order before the people; I have treated of it first, though second in time, on account of the light, which it may afford to the other.

The Rod of Moses.

We may therefore presume, that the serpent, into which Moses saw his rod changed, was not only equally significant, but had the same reference. It seemed to indicate, that divine wisdom and authority would be with him, and conduct him in all his ways: and that the particular person, from whom the Israelites, and the world in general, were to expect deliverance, was Jehovah, the Redeemer. In order to understand this perfectly,

fectly, let us attend to the process of this wonderful transaction. Moses was standing with his rod, an instrument both of support, and authority, in his hand: and he was ordered to cast it on the ground. He cast it on the ground: and it immediately became a serpent. He was ordered to lay hold of it with his hand, and he did so: and it was again restored to a rod. Now to know the scope of the miracle, we must attend to the meaning of the two objects, which are the principal in the operation. Concerning the serpent we have spoken already: and shewn that it was a favourite emblem, by which a human divinity, a benign genius, Agathodæmon, was signified. In what acceptation a rod was held by the Hebrews, and what it typically represented, can only be found from their own writings. And by these we may learn that it denoted support, and assistance; also rule, authority, and dominion. The Psalmist says, *Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death; I will fear no evil: for thou art with me, thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.* Pf. 23. v. 4. It here signifies plainly assistance and support. That it relates to au-
thority

thority and power we may perceive, by Moses being constantly ordered to take his *rod* in his hand. And we are accordingly told, when he left Jethro to return to Egypt, that he took *the rod of God* with him. Exod. c. 4. v. 20. When he appears before Pharaoh he is ordered to take *the rod which had been turned to a serpent in his hand*. Exod. c. 7. v. 15. The same injunction is given to his brother—*Say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and stretch out thine hand upon the waters*. v. 19. Its typical signification may be farther known from a variety of passages in scripture; out of which the following will suffice. Jeremiah speaking of the ruin of Moab, which had been in a flourishing state, says, *How is the strong staff broken, and the beautiful rod!* c. 48. v. 17. The same prophet, speaking of the Jewish theocracy, says—*Israel is the rod of his inheritance*, c. 51. v. 19. that is, the rule, government, and kingdom, of Israel belongs solely to God. Again—*The Lord said unto my Lord—The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion: rule thou in the midst of thine enemies*. Psalm, 110. v. 1, 2.—*There shall come*

forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse. Isaiah, c. xi. v. 1. From hence we may infer, that neither Moses, nor the Israelites, could mistake the purport of the miracle, when his rod was turned into a serpent. The immediate signification seems to have been, that human support should be improved to divine assistance: and, instead of the authority of man, the people should be under the guidance and authority of the ' Almighty. His kingdom should be established among them.

Concerning the Purport of the second Miracle.

But there was certainly a farther meaning, and a circumstance of more consequence intimated, though the people at that time might not apprehend it. In the history of this operation, as well as in that of the brazen serpent, mentioned above, we have

* St. Paul quotes the Psalmist concerning our Saviour.
 Ὁ θρονος σου, ὁ Θεος εἰς τον αιωνα τε αιωνος. Ραβδος ευθυτητος
 ⁂ ραβδος της βασιλειας σου. Hebrews. c. i. v. 8.

pointed out to us the Redeemer, that good physician, that benign human divinity, who was to heal us from all deadly infection; restore us to life; and cleanse us from every impurity. That this was the thing ultimately signified, we may perceive by what immediately follows. For Moses was ordered to put his hand into his bosom; and he did so: when upon taking it out again, it was found foul and loathsome; being infected with leprosy and *white as snow*. He was directed to put it into his bosom a second time; and when he drew it out, it appeared pure and wholesome: all taint and infection were cleansed away. From hence I should judge, that these miraculous representations had a covert meaning: and that they did not relate to the Israelites only and their deliverance from bondage: but to the redemption of the whole world; and to the means, by which it is to be effected. In short there are three things presented to our view—*the deity, the disease, and the cure*. However concise the history, the meaning cannot be mistaken.

Of the Miracle to be renewed.

It was farther enjoined to Moses, that, when he came among his people, he should act over again what he had now done, with his rod, and with his hand; and the same consequences were to follow. Each sign was to be precisely repeated for the conviction of the Israelites. And the Lord gave him this assurance—Exodus, c. 4. v. 8. *And it shall come to pass, if they will not believe thee, neither hearken to the voice of the first sign, that they will believe the voice of the latter sign.*

V. 9. *And it shall come to pass, if they will not believe also these two signs, (of the rod, and of his hand) neither hearken unto thy voice, that thou shalt take of the water of the river, and pour it upon the dry-land: and the water, which thou takest out of the river, shall become blood upon the dry-land.* Thus we find, that the whole of this mystery was to conclude in blood.

Of Moses an Oracle, and a reputed Divinity.

Moses heard all these assurances in respect both to Pharaoh and the Israelites: yet a diffidence of himself was still predominant: and he could not help uttering his unnecessary fears. *Exod. c. 4. v. 10. And Moses said unto the Lord, O my Lord, I am not eloquent, neither heretofore, nor since thou hast spoken unto thy servant: but I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue.*

V. 11. And the Lord said unto him, Who hath made man's mouth? or who maketh the dumb, or the deaf, or the seeing, or the blind? have not I the Lord?

It is said, that the Lord was displeas'd with this backwardness: yet, in compassion to human weakness, he condescended to assure him of farther assistance. That he would influence Aaron, his brother, who should certainly come with joy to meet him on his approach towards Egypt.

V. 15. And thou shalt speak unto him, and put words in his mouth: and I will be with

thy mouth, and with his mouth, and will teach you what ye shall do.

V. 16. And he shall be thy spokesman unto the people: and he shall be, even he shall be to thee instead of a mouth, and thou shalt be unto him instead of God.

By this is meant, that Moses should be like a divine oracle; whose responses were disclosed by his priest, or prophet. He was, as a divinity, to suggest, and another was to declare, his purpose. But the first suggestion was to come from God; by whom Moses himself was to be originally inspired. —¹ *Thou shalt speak unto him, (thy brother) and put words in his mouth.* But antecedently to this—*I will put words in thy mouth.* Thus Moses was made the oracle of God. This is very remarkable: for we find, that among the Egyptians he was stiled Alpha, or more properly Alphi, which signifies the ² *mouth or oracle of God.* We

¹ Ibid. c. 4. v. 15.

² אלפי. Vox Dei. This circumstance I have mentioned in a former treatise: but it is so necessary to the present purpose, that I am obliged to introduce it again.

are indebted to Ptolemy ¹ Hephestion for this intelligence : who however, not knowing the purport of the name, has done every thing in his power to ruin the history. He would interpret a foreign term by a Grecian etymology : and supposes it to be derived from *αλφος*, *alphos*, vitiligo. From hence he would insinuate, that Moses was infected with leprosy. If the prophet had been the least tainted with such a disorder, he must have been in no fit condition for such an embassy : as he would have had little chance of gaining access to Pharaoh, or being admitted to the elders of his own people. Let it then suffice, that—² *Μωσης, ὁ τῶν Ἑβραίων Νομοθετῆς Ἀλφᾶ ἐκαλεῖτο : Moses, the lawgiver of the Hebrews was called (among the Egyptians) Alpha.* Let us see, what was the purport of the title among the people, from whence he came ; or at least those of their neighbourhood, who were connected with them. The Phenicians came originally from Egypt ; and carried with them much of the religion of that

¹ Apud Photium, p. 485. sect. cxc.

² Ibid.

country. We accordingly are told,—*Αλφα, Βεs, ¹ κεφαλη Φοινικες.* *Among the Phenicians Alpha signifies an ox, or an head: i. e. a chief, or leader.* Again—*Αλφη, τιμη.* By ² *Alphe,* is denoted *value, and honour.* *Αλφησαι, ανθρωποι εντιμοι, βασιλεις.* ³ *Alphestæ* are *honourable personages: kings and princes.* Plutarch tells us, that Cadmus was supposed to have given the name of Alpha to the first letter of his alphabet in honour of the sacred bull or cow of ⁴ Phenicia: which was distinguished by this title. For this animal was by the Phenicians, as well as the Egyptians, esteemed sacred, and oracular: and therefore called *alphi, (אלפי) the voice of God.* This is in-

¹ Hefychius. So it is altered by the learned Borchart. Originally it stood—*αλφα βεος κεφαλη.* Geog. Saera. l. 2. p. 738.

² Ibid. See Scholia in Iliad. Σ. v. 593.

³ So the words should be placed. See Hefych.

⁴ (Καδμων) φασι το αλφα παντων (γραμματων) προταξας, δια το Φοινικας ετω καλειν τον βεν. Plutarch. Sympos. ix. 3. p. 738. Both the Apis, and Mnevis; also the Cow at Momemphis, were esteemed oracular. These animals were stiled Alphi on this account—as being interpreters of the will of the gods.

estimated by the story of Cadmus ; who is said to have been directed to his place of residence by a ¹ bull or cow : which went before him, and shewed him the way. By this was originally meant, that he formed his route in obedience to Alpha, *an oracle*. From these evidences it appears, that this term was used for an honourable, and prophetic title : and it was justly appropriated by the Egyptians to Moses : as he was appointed to be God's oracle, and Aaron, his interpreter.

—² *I will be with thy mouth:—and he, even he shall be to thee instead of a mouth, and thou shalt be to him instead of a god.* Again : —See ³ *I have made thee a god to Pharaoh : and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet.*

What could be more apposite, than for people to give to this prophetic personage the name of (אלפי) Alphi ; expressed by the

¹ Some writers speak of his conductor being a bull : others a cow. They were equally held sacred by the Phenicians : and Porphyry says, that this people would sooner have fed upon a human body than have tasted the flesh of any kine.

² Exodus, c. 4. v. 15, 16:

³ C. 7. v. 1.

Greeks *Alpha*: which precisely signifies—*The Mouth of God*. There was an account given by ¹ Helladius Besantinoüs of Moses being recorded by the Egyptians under this title: but he explained it in the same idle ² manner, as Ptolemy Hephæstion had done before. He also referred to Philo Judæus in support of his hypothesis: but there is nothing in Philo to his purpose. He is therefore justly condemned by ³ Photius for the falsity of his appeal. He is however a voucher, that the title *Alpha* was conferred, though he did not understand the purport.

Diodorus Siculus gave an ample account of Moses and the Israelitish nation, in his fortieth book; part of which is still extant. There are many things, which he has not truly represented: yet the account in general is curious: and the character of the prophet well maintained. And though he does not expressly tell us, that Moses was called

¹ Apud Photium, sect. cclxxix. p. 1578.

² He derived it from *Alpha*, *vutiligo*.

³ Φλαρει και ουτος τον Μωσην Αλφα καλεισθαι διοτι αλφοις το σωμα κατεσηρικτος ην. και καλει τε ψευδης τον Φιλωνα μαρτυρα. *ibid.* The words of Photius.

Alphi, yet he mentions, what amounts to the same purpose; that he had a communication with the deity; and spake, as he directed; so that his words were to be esteemed the voice of God; and the prophet himself his mouth. For he says, that, at the close of the laws given to the Jews, was subjoined, ¹ Μωσης ακεσας τε Θεε ταδε λεγει τοις Ιεδαιοις. The purport of which is plainly—*that the institutes given by the prophet were received by him immediately from the deity, whose will he made known to the people.* In another place mention is made of his receiving these laws from that God—² του Ιαω επικαλεσμενον, *who was called Iao, the same as Jehovah.*

¹ Τητον προσαγορευσιν Αρχιερα, και νομιζσιν αυτοις ευγγελον γενεσθαι των τε θεε προσταγματων. Diodori Frag. l. xl. p. 922.

² Ibid. l. i. p. 84.

*He was represented not only as an Oracle, but
as a Deity.*

I have mentioned a particular passage in Exodus, where these remarkable words occur —¹ *And the Lord said unto Moses, see I have made thee a God to Pharaoh.* This is said by ² Artapanus, and others, to have been in in some measure fulfilled: and that Moses was esteemed and recorded, as a deity. Philo seems to intimate the same. ³ Ἦνικα δὲ Αἰγυπτὸς τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσεβηθέντων δίκας ἐκτινεῖ, τὸ βασιλευντος τῆς χώρας Φαραῶ (προσηγορευθῆ) Θεός. *But when the people of Egypt suffered the punishments due to their crimes against heaven, he was there stiled the god of Pharaoh, the king of the country*

Josephus speaks nearly to the same purpose. ⁴ Τετον δὲ του ἀνδρα θαυμασον μεν

¹ Exodus, c. 7. v. 1. also c. 4. v. 15, 16.—*Thou shalt be to him (Aaron) instead of God.*

² —ὑπο τῶν ἱερέων ἰσοθεῖ τιμῆς καταξιωθέντα. κ. τ. λ. Apud Euseb. P. E. l. 9. p. 432.

³ Philo de Nom. Mutat. v. 1. p. 597.

⁴ Cont. Ap. l. 1. p. 464.

ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΙΟΝ ΝΟΜΙΖΟΥΣΙ. *They to this day look upon Moses as a wonderful and divine, person. We therefore need not be surpris'd, if he had a divine title.*

Of the Angel, which withstood him in his Way to Egypt.

We have hitherto perceived the doubts and diffidence of Moses: and his great backwardness towards undertaking the high office, which had been enjoined him. He proceeded so far as at last to incur God's displeasure. *And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Moses. Exod. c. 4. v. 14.* Alarmed at this he timely recollects himself; and resolves upon the performance of his duty. *And Moses went and returned to Jethro his father-in-law, and said unto him, Let me go, I pray thee, and return unto my brethren which are in Egypt, and see whether they be yet alive. v. 18.* This shews, that, during

during the time of his sojournment, he had received little or no intelligence concerning them. Jethro, who perhaps had been pre-admonished, gives an immediate consent by saying—*Go in peace.* Moses now, having received his final orders, and obtained fresh assurances of God's assistance, sets out for the land of the Mitzraim: and takes with him his wife Zipporah, and his children. And here a fresh embarrassment ensues; by which the divine displeasure was manifested a second time. God had pleased to make a covenant with Abraham; and ordained circumcision as a test of it; and as a badge to all those, who were admitted to his covenant. And it was enjoined in strong terms, and attended with this penalty to the uncircumcised person—*that soul shall be cut off from his people: he hath broken my covenant.* Gen. c. 17. v. 14. Of this breach, and neglect, Moses was apparently guilty, having been probably seduced by his Cuthite wife. Upon this account it is said, that *the Lord met him in his way towards*

* Exodus, c. 4. v. 24.

Egypt ; and offered *to kill him* for not having had this rite performed on his son. There seems to have been some hesitation on the part of the woman : but the alternative was death, or obedience. Alarmed therefore with her husband's danger, which was imminent ; she took a sharp stone, and performed herself the operation : concluding with a bitter taunt—' *a bloody husband art thou to me*. Moses by his acquiescence had brought down the necessary interposition of the deity. For how could it be expected, that a person should be a promulger of God's law ; who had been guilty of a violation in one of the first, and most essential articles ; and persevered in this neglect ?

* Exodus, c. 4. v. 25.

Of the Powers with which he was invested.

Moses now resumes his journey, determined to perform the great part, which had been allotted him. But some perhaps will after all say, *Had he in reality any such part allotted? The introduction of the deity may serve to embellish history: but could not every thing have been carried on without any supernatural assistance?* I shall therefore take this opportunity of recurring to the question, with which I set out: and consider this point of consequence—*Whether Moses had a commission from heaven: or acted merely from his own authority.* If we believe the scriptures, there can be no dispute: his appointment must necessarily have been from on high: and he was directed, and assisted through the whole by the hand of the Almighty. But since many, as I have intimated, may believe the history in general, and yet not give credence to the extraordinary part: let us see, whether the very facts do not prove the superintendence

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ence of a superior power. In order to shew this, let us consider whether any person so circumstanced as Moses, would have formed those schemes, which he formed, if he had nothing to influence him but his own private judgment. Whether it would not have been irrational, and mere madness, when he had entertained these views, to prosecute them after the manner, in which we find them carried on. For the nature of the operation, as I have before observed, oftentimes shews, that it could not have been conceived, much less brought to perfection, by human sagacity. As the process in many instances was contrary to human reason, the difficulties, with which it was attended, could not be remedied by the wisdom of man. Hence the divine assistance was throughout indispensably necessary: the great work could never have been compleated, nor even carried on, without it. Yet the difficulties were surmounted, and the great work compleated: we may therefore depend upon the truth of those extraordinary facts recorded; and of the repeated interposition of the deity. This will appear still more manifest, as we proceed.

Short Recapitulation.

We see now, the shepherd of Horeb, the man slow of speech, arrived upon the confines of Egypt, with a design to free his people. If we set aside all supernatural assistance, he stands single and unsupported, without one requisite towards the completion of his purpose. How can we suppose a person, so circumstanced, capable of carrying on a scheme so arduous in its execution? We must continually bear in mind the time, that he had been absent; and his ignorance of every thing, which had happened in that interval. We are assured, that he did not know, whether his brother Aaron was alive. Hence it is manifest, that previous to his departure from Midian, he had never sent to try the temper of his people; nor to know, how the prince of the country stood affected towards them. Great revolutions might have happened, during the time, that he had been away; and those, whom he intended to deliver, might not have stood in need of his assistance.

sistance. He purposed to lead them to another country, when they might have been contented with that, which they enjoyed: or they might already have migrated; and Moses not have been apprised of it. These were circumstances of consequence, of which he should have obtained some intelligence: but he seems not to have had power, or opportunity to gain it. His brother was alive, and appears to have resided in the court of Pharaoh. And there must have been among the elders of the people persons, who could consult for their brethren, and preserve them, if their deliverance were to be effected by human means. Moses sets out singly to perform, what their wisdom and experience jointly could not effect: and this without knowing for certain, that he had any friend or ally. Let us however suppose, that his zeal, which had been dormant for so many years, at last induced him to prosecute this scheme, and that having quitted his place of ease and retirement, and bidden adieu to his connections of very long standing, he arrived with his staff in his hand like a pilgrim in Egypt. He had here two diffi-

culties to encounter. The first was to get together some hundreds of thousands of people, who were scattered over the face of the country: and then to persuade them to follow him to Canaan. This was a real difficulty, as it could not be easy to collect them: much less to gain their confidence. Some of the tribe of Ephraim had upon a time made an invasion upon the land of Canaan; but were cut off by the natives of Gath. 1 Chron. c. vii. v. 21. This could not afford any encouragement to the remaining Israelites to undertake an expedition against the people of that country. The next difficulty was to get access to the prince, who reigned: and beg, or demand, the dismissal of so many useful subjects. Moses was quite a stranger at the Egyptian court: and not gifted with the powers of persuasion: and at the same time in character no better than a Midianitish shepherd. What plea could he use, or what art employ, which could in the least favour his purpose? All that he could say upon the occasion was, that he was a

* Exodus, c. 5. v. 12.

prophet of the Lord, the God of the Hebrews: and that he desired in his name to carry the people collectively, old and young, to sacrifice in the wilderness. But this would prove but a weak plea, when not supported by some sign, to shew, that it had the sanction of divine authority. What answer could be expected from a monarch upon such an occasion? Even the same, which was really given. Exod. c. 5. v. 2. *Who is the Lord, that I should obey his voice to let Israel go? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go.*—*Get ye unto your burdens.* And what was the consequence?—An imposition of double duty. V. 9. *Let there more work be laid upon the men, that they may labour therein: and let them not regard vain words.* They were in consequence of this to make bricks without the requisites; being denied straw. V. 12. *So the people were scattered abroad throughout all the land of Egypt, to gather stubble instead of straw.* Yet the same tale of bricks was demanded. This was enough to make the people detest the name of Moses. It must have ruined him in their opinion; and defeated all his views: for

the people, whom he wanted to collect, were separated more than ever. Their disaffection may be learned from their words, when Moses had delivered his message. *And they met Moses and Aaron, who stood in the way as they came forth from Pharaoh.*

And they said unto them, The Lord look upon you, and judge; because ye have made our savour to be abhorred in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of his servants, to put a sword in their hands to slay us. Exod. c. 5. v. 20, 21.

Thus we see from the wonderful texture of this history, that the deliverance of the Israelites could not be effected without the divine interposition. For these were difficulties, which neither the wisdom, nor ability of men could remedy. Yet they were remedied: but it was by a far superior power. It was by God himself; who suffered his people to be in this perplexity and distress, that they might wish for deliverance; and be ready to obey. Accordingly when upon the display of his wonders, they acknowledged the hand of the Almighty, and proffered their obedience to his prophet, they were delivered by him from those evils, from which no
power

power on earth could have freed them. Thus we see, that the same mode of acting may be wisdom in God; and folly in man.

Objection answered.

But it may be said, that these supposed miracles were casual, and fortunate events; of which Moses availed himself to soothe his brethren; and alarm the superstition of the king. In truth they are occurrences so interwoven with the history, and of such consequence, that it is not possible to set them aside. That they happened, either as casual prodigies, or artful illusions, must even by the sceptic be allowed. But they came too quick upon one another, and at the same time, as I have shewn, were too apposite in their purport, and too well adapted, to be the effect of chance: and as they were contrary to all experience, and wonderful in their consequences, they could not have been produced

duced in the common course of nature; much less by human contrivance. The Egyptians were a very knowing people; and though Moses was well instructed in all their learning, yet it cannot be supposed that he could blind their whole court, and deceive their wise men. The secret design and purport of the operations shews, that they could not be illusions. The last extraordinary occurrence was the death of the first-born: and the destroying angel passing over the dwellings of the Israelites, who were preserved. There was a rite ordained, as a memorial of this event; and as a type of a greater, which happened many ages afterwards. The reference is of the utmost consequence, and too plain to be mistaken. But this rite was instituted, before the judgment took place. It was observed immediately upon the spot, and is continued to this day; and cannot be contradicted. And though the purport of this ordinance is too plain to be mistaken now, yet it was a secret of old. There was a latent meaning and allusion, to which we have reason to think that Moses himself was a stranger. He therefore could not be the original institutor and designer,

designer, who knew not the design. Thus, I think, the history may be made to prove the miracles. In short, if he did know the secret purport, it must have been by inspiration: and this would prove, that he was under divine influence; and had his commission from God: the very thing we contend for.

*Observations upon the Route taken by Moses
and the Israelites upon their Departure.*

The Exodus now ensues, and the Israelites are delivered from the Egyptians. Let us again consider Moses at this crisis, as acting merely by his own authority: and not under the control, and direction of heaven. We shall find the whole process of his operations not only to be strange and unaccountable, but impossible to have been carried on. The Israelites are assembled in the land of Goshen; thoroughly prepared to
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depart

depart whenever the commission is given. At last it comes; and the wished-for deliverance ensues. They accordingly set out under the direction of their leader; and are to be conducted to the promised land, the country of the Amorites, and Perizzites, of the Jebusites, and Hittites, *a land flowing with milk and honey*, and the road is short and plain. We may then imagine, that Moses carried them to the place appointed, which had been of old promised to their forefathers. Not in the least. He led them a quite different route. He carried them from one wilderness to another: where, instead of milk and honey, they encountered hunger and thirst; and, for many years, saw neither city nor town, nor had a roof to shelter them.

It may be asked, as this disappointment must have been great, how could the people put up with it? They did by no means acquiesce. They vented their rage in upbraiding towards Moses; and were at times ready to stone him. Moses therefore, if he proceeded upon his own authority, acted most unaccountably; and contrary to justice

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tice as well as prudence : for he deceived the people. But, if the hand of heaven was concerned in this operation, the case is very different. The God of wisdom, who is the searcher of all hearts, can both foresee and remedy every difficulty, that may occur. The dispositions of people are open to him ; and he can anticipate the workings of their hearts, and provide accordingly. But all this is past the apprehension and power of man. When therefore the affair is attributed to the deity ; we see throughout both his wisdom and justice. We are accordingly told, Exodus, c. 13. v. 17. *when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near ; for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt.*

V. 18. *But God led the people about, through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea.* The regular route, was towards Gaza, and the other cities of Palestine : which were a portion of Canaan ; and at no great distance from the borders of Lower Egypt. But God would not permit them to take
 this

this course, though compendious, and easy. For he knew their refractory spirit, and how prone they were to disobey: and the proximity of this country to Egypt would lead them upon the first difficulty to return. Of this we may be assured from what did happen, when upon some disappointment they gave vent to their evil wishes. *Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the flesh-pots, and when we did eat bread to the full.* Exodus, c. 16. v. 3. *Would God that we had died in the land of Egypt, or would God we had died in this wilderness! And wherefore hath the Lord brought us unto this land, to fall by the sword?—Were it not better for us to return into Egypt?—And they said one to another, let us make a captain, and let us return into Egypt.* Numb. c. 14. v. 2. &c.

*The Encampment upon the extreme Point of
the Red Sea.*

We are told, that the children of Israel pursued their journey from Rameses and Succoth till they came to the border of Etham, a wilderness at the top of the Red Sea. This wilderness extended from this border to the west of that sea towards Midian and Edom eastward, and southward towards Paran: and upon the edge of it they encamped. Pharaoh had ordered his chariots and his horses to be got ready, and was now pursuing after them. But they would have escaped; for they had full time to have got into the wilderness of Etham, and secured themselves in its fastnesses. They would never have been pursued in such a region, when they had so far got the start. But Moses gave up this advantage: and stopping short led them out of the way into a defile; through which there was no outlet. Pharaoh therefore might well say—*They are intangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in.* Exo-
uds,

dus, c. 14. v. 3. When the enemy's army came at last upon them behind, they were every way inclosed, without possibility of escape. If Moses acted for himself, as a man, how can we reconcile this proceeding with human prudence? It is contrary to common sense, and incompatible with the knowledge and experience, which he had acquired. The necessary consequence of this ill conduct must have been the immediate resentment of the people: who, left to themselves, would not have scrupled to have stoned him. they accordingly upbraided him in bitter terms: c. 14. v. 11. *Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou, say they, taken us away to die in the wilderness? wherefore hast thou dealt thus with us? V. 12. Is not this the word that we did tell thee in Egypt, saying, Let us alone, that we may serve the Egyptians? for it had been better for us to serve the Egyptians, than that we should die in the wilderness.* This would have been very justly urged to Moses, as a man, if he had acted upon his own authority, and if these difficulties had been owing to his conduct. But, as the people had been witnesses to the

repeated

repeated interposition of the deity in their favour; and knew by whose direction their leader proceeded; they shewed a shameful diffidence: and betrayed that rebellious spirit, which marked their character throughout. Hence may be farther perceived their attachment to Egypt; and their degeneracy in preferring bondage to liberty: and we may be farther assured of the propriety in not suffering them to be carried the direct way northward to Canaan: but appointing them to be led at a greater distance and in a different direction through the wilderness. For even here they would, in all probability, have turned ¹ back, had the enemy made the least overtures, instead of pursuing them with terror, and driving them through the sea. If we consider this as the operation of the deity, who is superior to every difficulty, and can save out of the greatest distress, the whole will appear consonant to divine wisdom, as well as justice: as it tended to promote the great end, which God had proposed. This was, to manifest

¹ Of this we may be assured from their behaviour more than once afterwards. See Exod. c. 16. v. 3.

his power by punishing the Egyptians: and to make use of their perfidy and baseness, to cure his people of their prejudices; and to break off all connexions with Egypt.

Their preservation, as we are informed by the sacred writer, was owing to a miraculous passage through the sea. Some have thought, that there was nothing preternatural in this occurrence: though it is said, that the waters, contrary to the law of fluids, rose up perpendicular; so that *'they were a wall to the people on their right hand, and on their left.* Let us then for a while set aside the miracle and consider the conduct of Moses. He has, after many difficulties, and alarms, conducted his people, by some favourable means, to the other side of the sea: where he might have been some days before without any perplexity or distress. And what is his object now? undoubtedly, after this signal deliverance, to take the shortest course to Canaan. No, he sets out again in a quite contrary direction, southward towards Paran: and having led the

* Exodus, c. xiv. v. 32.

people through one barren wild, he brings them into another, still more barren and horrid. And, what is very strange, they reside in this desert near forty years, where a caravan could not subsist for a month. There must therefore have been an overruling power from above; which directed these operations: for no strength or sagacity of man could have accomplished what was done. Neither the mode nor the means were according to human prudence. It is moreover said, that in this state of travel for so many years their apparel lasted to the very conclusion of their journeying. The prophet accordingly tells them to their face, Deut. c. 29. v. 5. *I have led you forty years in the wilderness: your clothes are not waxen old upon you, and thy shoe is not waxen old upon thy foot.* It is farther said, that when they were afflicted with thirst, the solid rocks afforded them streams of ^a water: and that for a long season they were fed with a peculiar

^a *He brought streams also out of the rock; and caused waters to run down like rivers.* Psalm, 78. v. 16.

' food from heaven. And this must necessarily have been the case : for there was not subsistence in the desert for one hundredth part of their number. It is plain, therefore, that Moses was not the chief agent : but was directed throughout by the God of Israel.

Of their Arrival at Sinai.

In the third month from their departure they came into the wilderness of Sinai : and approached the mountain, of which God had apprized Moses ; that, when he *brought forth the people out of Egypt*, they should serve

' Moses speaks to Israel collectively, Deut. c. 8. v. 3. *And he humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna ; which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know ; that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live.*

V. 4. *Thy raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy foot swell these forty years.*

God upon that mountain. Here the law was given with all the magnificence and terror, that the human mind can conceive. Exod. c. 19. v. 16. *And it came to pass on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud; so that all the people that were in the camp trembled.—V. 18. And mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly.—C. 20. v. 18. And all the people saw (were witnesses to) the thunders, and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking: and when the people saw it they removed, and stood afar off.—v. 21. And the people stood afar off, and Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was.* Such was the splendid and terrific appearance, in which it pleased God to manifest himself to the people. The whole was calculated to produce a proper reverence and fear: and make the people more ready to receive the law; and to obey it, when delivered. For the law was of

such a nature; and contained such painful rites and ceremonies; and injunctions, seemingly so unnecessary and without meaning; that no people would have conformed to it; or even permitted it to take place, if there had not been these terrors, and this sanction to enforce it. A meaning certainly there was in every rite and ordinance: yet as it was a secret to them; there was nothing, which could have made them submit, but the immediate hand of heaven. A shepherd of Midian could never have brought about so great a work: though he had been joined by Aaron, his brother; and all the elders of Israel. But Aaron was so far from co-operating, that, even while the law was giving, while the cloud was still upon Sinai, he yielded to the importunities of the people, and made a golden calf; and suffered them to lapse into the idolatry of Egypt. Moses therefore stood single: he had not a person to assist him: unless the great God

Wherefore I gave them also statutes, that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live. Ezekiel, c. 20. v. 25.

of all; by whose command he in reality acted; and by whom the law was enforced.

An Attempt to get to the Land of Promise.

After the space of three months the children of Israel moved from Horeb in their way to the promised land. And, before they thought proper to invade it, they sent persons secretly to take a view of it; and to discover the strength of the cities, and the disposition of the natives: and likewise the nature of the soil. This inquiry, according to human prudence, should have been made, before they set out from Egypt. If we do not allow the divine interposition, nothing can be more strange than the blindness of the leader, and the credulity of the people. They had with much labour traversed two deserts, and come to the wilderness of Paran,

to take possession of a country, of which they had no intelligence; and to drive out nations, with whom they were totally unacquainted. ¹ *What king, going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first, and consulteth whether he be able to meet him? However, spies are at last sent, and after forty days return. Concerning the fertility of the land they brought a good report: but the inhabitants they described as a formidable race; and their cities as uncommonly strong. The people upon this gave themselves up to despair: and very justly, if they had no arm to trust to but that of Moses. For the spies told them very truly—*² *The people be strong that dwell in the land, and the cities are walled, and very great: and moreover, we saw the children of Anak there.—All the people that we saw in it are men of a great stature. And there we saw the giants, the sons of Anak, which come out of the giants: and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight.* Numbers, c. 13. v. 28. 32, 33. The people in consequence of this re-

¹ Luke, c. 14. v. 31.

² Numbers, c. 13. v. 28. 32, 33.

fused to invade the land ; for they were totally unacquainted with the art of war ; and the enemy seemed too strongly fenced, and in all respects too powerful. Their refusal therefore was well founded, if they had no trust, but in their leader. A party of them did however attack the enemy contrary to order ; and were presently driven back. How does Moses act upon this occasion ? If we consider him not as a prophet under God's direction, but merely as a man, his behaviour is strange, and contrary to reason. He does not, after this check, make another trial with a larger and more select body of the people : but turns away from the desired land, of which he had been so long in search. And, though his army is very numerous ; and he might by degrees have brought them to a knowledge of war, he does not make to any other part of Canaan, but turns back the contrary way, to Sin, which he styles, *that great and terrible wilderness*, where the people had so long wandered. He then passes the most eastern point of the Red Sea near Ezion Gaber ; and having gone round the
land

land of ¹ Edom, he after several painful journeyings brings the people to the plains of Moab near Mount Nebo. But in these wanderings, the whole of which took up near forty years, he had lost his sister Miriam : and had buried his brother Aaron in Mount Hor. And of all that numerous host, which came out of Egypt, excepting two persons, he had seen every soul taken off. If we consider these operations as carried on at the direction of the deity, we may perceive design, wisdom, and justice exemplified through the whole process. God would not suffer the land of promise to be occupied by a stubborn and rebellious people ; whom neither benefits nor judgments could reclaim : a people who could never be brought to place any confidence in him ; though he had shewn them, that he was superior to all gods : and had saved them by wonderful ² deliverances.

¹ *Then we turned, and took our journey into the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea, as the Lord spake unto me : and we compassed mount Seir many days. Deut. c. 2. v. 1. & v. 8. See Numbers, c. 33. v. 35, 36.*

² The apostle speaking of these judgments says, *Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples and they*

rances. Besides in these mighty works there was a view to future times : for the deity did not confine his purposes to the immediate generation. Hence the mode of acting, of which it pleased God to make use, was in every respect agreeable to his wisdom and providence. But, if we do not allow this interposition of the deity; but suppose, that Moses proceeded upon his own authority, as a mere man, his behaviour, as I have repeatedly said, is unaccountable; and contrary to experience, and reason. He acted continually in opposition to his own peace and happiness; and to the happiness, and peace of those, whom he conducted.

Moses, after he had seen the numerous bands, which he had led out from Egypt, die before him; at last closed the list by departing himself upon Mount Nebo. He was

they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come. I Corinth. c. x. v. 11. The great crime of the Israelites was a desire to return to the land of bondage; and their preferring slavery to freedom: and in consequence of it giving up all hopes and all wishes in respect to the land of promise. Hence their carcases fell by the way; and they never arrived at the place of rest.

just come within sight of the promised land after forty years; a point, at which he might have arrived in a far less number of days. But Moses certainly was a mere agent, and acted in subservience to a superior power.

The Procedure afterwards.

Upon the death of Moses, the command was given to Jesus, called Joshua, the son of Nun, and by him the great work was completed of leading the people after a painful pilgrimage to a place of rest. Under his conduct, after passing the river Jordan, they entered the land of promise. But it was to be won, before they could possess it. Of the occurrences, which ensued, I shall take no notice: except only two circumstances: which were among the first, that happened. And these I shall just mention, to shew, that no person, left to himself, could have acted, as Joshua did. He was arrived in an enemy's country; and it was necessary for him to keep the
people

people upon their guard, as they had powerful nations to encounter. What then was his first action when he came among them? He made the whole army undergo an ¹ operation, which rendered every person in it incapable of acting. The people of the next hamlet might have cut them to ² pieces. The history tells us, that it was by divine appointment: and so it must necessarily have been. The God, who insisted upon this instance of obedience, and faith; would certainly preserve them for the confidence and duty, which they shewed. But this was not in the power of their leader: the same conduct in him would have been madness. The last thing, which I purposed to mention, is the behaviour of the people before the city of Ai. This place could muster not much above six thousand men: against whom were to be opposed all the myriads of Israel. But an advanced body was defeated; and thirty-six of the Israelites slain: upon which it is said, Joshua, c. 7. v. 5, 6. *The hearts of the people melted, and became as water. And Joshua rent his clothes,*

¹ Joshua, c. 5. v. 3.

² See Genesis, c. 34. v. 25.

and fell to the earth upon his face before the ark of the Lord until the even-tide, he and the elders of Israel, and put dust upon their heads. But wherefore was all this humiliation shewn? and why this general consternation at so inconsiderable a loss? This was the people, who were led on with a prospect of gaining the land of the Hivites, and Amorites, and other powerful nations: who were to be opposed to the sons of Anak, men of great stature and prowess; and who had cities walled to heaven. We see, that they faint at the first check. How could any leader, with such people, and in such circumstances, entertain the least views of conquest? There were certainly none entertained by their leader either from himself, or from his people. All his confidence was in the God of his fathers: and the whole history must be set aside, unless the interposition of the deity be admitted. All the operations which, at first sight, may appear strange; are calculated for this purpose, to shew throughout, that God was the chief agent. This was particularly effected in the downfall of the city of Jericho; which was brought
about

about merely by the priests of God and the people going in procession round it for seven days, without the least military operation of the army. By these two events they were shewn plainly the great object, to which they were to trust: not to the prowess of man, but to the living God.

Arguments from the Law.

I have made use of the internal evidence of the Mosaic history; as far as was necessary for my purpose. More light may be still obtained, for it is a source of intelligence not easily exhausted. The texture and composition, however simple, shew infinite marks of wisdom: and, from what has been said, I flatter myself, it is very plain, that the history proves the miracles: and we may at every step cry out with the magicians of Egypt—*This is the finger of God.* The very nature of the Mosaic law shews the necessity

necessity of God's interposition: for, without his ordinance, and sanction, it could never have been established. And we might rest the argument for the divine appointment of Moses upon this sole foundation, that these rites and institutes could not have been either conceived, or enforced by him: nor could he possibly, unless commanded, have wished to have carried them into execution. They consisted of a code of painful rituals, and burdensome ceremonies: to the purport of which the people were strangers: and, if they were not enjoined by the deity, no good could possibly have arisen from them. For what reason therefore could Moses wish to impose upon his people so many rules and precepts, and bind them to such severe discipline: if it were in his power to have acted otherwise? The whole was a cumbersome yoke to the necks of those, who were obliged to submit: *a yoke, says the apostle, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear.* Acts, c. 15. v. 10. What one end could have been answered to Moses in framing these severe laws: or what good could

could accrue from them either to himself or the people?

But the chief question to be asked is, though he were ever so willing to frame them, how he could possibly enforce them? They must have appeared in many instances inexplicable; and even contrary to reason. What art or power could be used to bring the people to obey them: a people too, who were of a rebellious spirit, impatient of controul, and devoted to superstitions, quite repugnant to these ordinances? Human assistance he had none: for we find instances of his own sister and brother opposing him, and of the very children of Aaron being in actual rebellion. Laws are generally made, when people have been well settled; and they are founded upon many contingencies, which arise from the nature of the soil; the trade and produce of the country, and the temper, customs, and disposition, of the natives and their neighbours. But the laws of Moses were given in a desert, while the people were in a forlorn state, wandering

from place to place, and encountering
 ' hunger and thirst, without seeing any ultimate of their roving. These prescripts were designed for a religious polity when the people should be at some particular period settled in Canaan: of which settlement human forecast could not see the least probability. For, what hopes could a leader entertain of possessing a country, from which he withdrew himself: and persisted in receding for so many years? And, when at a time an at-

' Numbers, c. 20. v. 2. And there was no water for the congregation: and they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron.

V. 3. And the people chode with Moses, and spake, saying, Would God that we had died when our brethren died before the Lord.

V. 4. And why have ye brought up the congregation of the Lord into this wilderness, that we and our cattle should die there?

V. 5. And wherefore have ye made us to come up out of Egypt, to bring us in unto this evil place? it is no place of seed, or of figs, or of vines, or of pomegranates; neither is there any water to drink.

tempt was made to obtain some footing, nothing ensued but repulse and disappointment. Did any lawgiver pen directions about corn, wine, and oil in a country, that was a stranger to tillage and cultivation: or talk of tithes and first fruits, where there was scarcely a blade of grass? It may be answered, that these ordinances were given with a view to Canaan. True. But Moses was not acquainted with ¹ Canaan: and if providence were not his guide, there was little chance of his getting even a sight of it. He was in the midst of a wilderness: and so continued for near forty years. And in this place and at

¹ This is plain from the spies, which were sent, and the orders they received. Numbers, c. 13. v. 18, 19, 20. *See the land what it is—whether it be good or bad—whether it be fat or lean, whether there be wood therein or not.* Moses had been told that it was proverbially a *land flowing with milk and honey*: but with the real nature of the soil he was not at all acquainted. Whoever framed those laws relating to the fruits, &c. could not be ignorant of the country. The laws therefore were not framed by Moses; but he had them from the person, whose delegate he was; even from God himself.

this season he gave directions about their towns and cities, *and of the stranger within their gates*; while they were in a state of solitude under tents, and so likely to continue. He mentions their vineyards, and ¹ olives; before they had an inch of ground: and gives intimation about their future ² kings, when they were not constituted as a nation. These good things they did at length enjoy: and in process of time they were under regal government. But how could Moses be apprised of it? Was it by inspiration? If so; he was under the direction of an higher power: and his mission by divine authority: which is granting the point in question. Add to the articles abovementioned the various ordinances about burnt-offerings, peace-offerings, and fin-

¹ See Deut. c. 8. v. 8.

² Concerning this circumstance so many centuries before it happened we have the following prophetic threat, which must affect every unprejudiced person.—*The Lord shall bring thee, and thy king which thou shalt set over thee, unto a nation which neither thou nor thy fathers have known; and there shalt thou serve other gods, wood and stone.* Deuteron. c. 28. v. 36.

offerings :

offerings : also concerning offerings of atonement : and of general atonement to be made with blood by the high priest for all the people : the redemption of the ¹ first-born ; and the ransom, which every man was to pay for his own ² soul. Nor must the feasts, or festivals, be omitted : the feast of the Sabbath, of Pentecost, of the Passover, the feast of *Trumpets* ; and of the *New Moon* ; and the feast of *Expiation*. Also the *sabbatical* year, and year of *Jubilee* ; the redemption of *servants*, and the redemption of *lands* : and above all the redemption of ³ *souls*. I omit many other ordinances : to which we know of nothing

¹ Exodus, c. 34. v. 20. and Numb. c. 18. v. 15, 16.

² Exodus, c. 30. v. 12.

³ *And Aaron shall make an atonement upon the horns of it (the altar) once in a year, with the blood of the sin-offering of atonements : once in the year shall he make atonement upon it throughout your generations—to make an atonement for your souls.* Exodus, c. 30. v. 10. and v. 15.

And this shall be an everlasting statute unto you, to make an atonement for the children of Israel for all their sins once a year. Levit. c. 16. v. 34. also v. 11.

similar in Egypt, nor in any other country. The heart of man could not have devised them. If then there was a particular meaning in these laws, and a secret allusion: and they were not merely rites of arbitrary institution: the secret purport must relate to events in the womb of time, with which Moses was not acquainted. Or if he were acquainted; then the same conclusion follows here, as before: he must have had the intelligence by inspiration: and consequently what he did, was by divine appointment. The internal evidence, we see, is wonderful: and not to be controverted. The only way to get rid of it is to set aside the external: and say, that the whole is a forgery. But this is impossible: the law still exists, and must have had a beginning. It is kept up by people of the same race, as those, to whom it was first delivered: and from whom it has been uniformly transmitted without any interruption. This people have now lost their polity: and have been for ages in a state of dispersion. And, as there are many things in the books of Moses said concerning

concerning

concerning both them and their fore-fathers: every thing which was predicted, has been literally fulfilled. They are probably as numerous now, as they were of old; but widely diffipated: being in the midst of nations, yet separate from them: preserved by providence for especial purposes: and particularly to afford attestation to those divine oracles, in which they are so signally pointed out.

Farther Observations.

Let us make one or two inferences more, before we conclude. If these laws were of human invention, and this history of the Israelites the contrivance of Moses, what could be his reason for introducing so many difficulties and delays? Why did he not describe the Israelites as advancing to immediate conquest; and fix them at once in the land of Canaan? If it had been in his power to

invent the history; he would surely have done honour to his people. But no historian ever placed his nation in so unfavourable a light. Yet, he had every thing, good and bad, at his option. His tablet was before him, ready to receive any tint. Why did he deal so much in gloom and shade; when he could have enlightened his characters with some more pleasing colours? We meet with a continual detail of discontent, and murmuring: of disobedience, and rebellion, towards God, and of punishments in consequence of this behaviour. At one time there fell three thousand men for their ¹ idolatry. At another time, upon the rebellion of ² Korah, a large family, by the earth's opening, was swallowed up quick: and two hundred and fifty men were consumed by an eruption of ³ fire. At the same time a plague broke out, and carried off fourteen thousand and seven hundred persons. Another judgment in the same way carried off no less than

¹ Exod. c. 32. v. 28.

² Numb. c. 16. v. 32.

³ Ibid. v. 35.

twenty-four ¹ thousand. All this is said to have been brought upon them for their not attending to God's signs and wonders; and for their disobedience to his express commands. But what signs, or what wonders, could they attend to; if in reality there were none displayed? And how could they infringe any immediate commandment, if the deity never interfered? If there were no truth in these facts; for what end could Moses introduce them to the disparagement of his brethren? It is well known, how disaffected they were at times towards him, so as even to meditate his death. Yet he wrote these things; and what he wrote he read before them. Attend to his words, which he spake to them, when they rose up against Joshua and Caleb; and were going to murder them. Numb. c. 14. v. 28, 29. 31, 32.

As truly as I live, saith the Lord, as ye have spoken in mine ears, so will I do to you: Your carcases shall fall in this wilderness; and all that were numbered of you, according to your whole number, from twenty years old and up-

¹ Numb. c. 25. v. 9,

*ward, which have murmured against me.—
 But your little ones—them will I bring in.
 —But as for you, your carcases they shall fall
 in this wilderness.* Was this the way to gain
 good will? Could these threats conciliate
 their favour? He must have been upholden
 in all he said; and in all he did: and there
 was a sanction to his law from above: or
 he could not have succeeded, nor even es-
 caped their malice. The people would not
 have submitted to such painful institutes:
 nor have stoned a man for gathering sticks
 upon a particular day. Their rage would
 have been vented upon the author of the
 law.

The Spirit of Truth throughout apparent.

Moses speaks of himself with the same impartiality as he has used towards the people. Though he mentions, that he was highly favoured of God: yet he more than once owns, that he was near forfeiting this blessing. He confesses his diffidence and want of faith: and his neglect of some essential duties, by which he grievously offended the deity. He tells us, that the consequence was fatal, as he was not on account of these offences permitted to enter the land of promise: but, like the rest, died by the way, having had only a distant view. He scruples not to disclose the failings of his brother: and of his sister Miriam: and the rebellion of others, to whom he was nearly ^a related. He writes in the spirit of truth, without the least prejudice or par-

^a One would expect, that he must have had some partiality for any nation of Midianites: but when he found, that they seduced his own people, he shewed them no favour. Numbers, c. 31. v. 8.

tiality;

tiality ; suppressing nothing that was necessary to be known, though to his own prejudice, and discredit. And, when he has afforded a just history of the people's ingratitude, and disobedience, while he survived ; he proceeds to anticipate, what is to come : and gives strong intimation of their future apostacy and rebellion. *For I know, that after my death ye will utterly corrupt yourselves, and turn aside from the way, which I have commanded you : and evil will befall you in the latter days, because ye will do evil in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger, &c.* Deut. c. 31. v. 29. And he farther assures them of the vengeance, which would ensue. ¹ *Cursed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and cursed shalt thou be when thou goest out.—*² *The Lord shall cause thee to be smitten before thine enemies : thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them ; and shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth.—*³ *And thou shalt*

¹ Deut. c. 28. v. 19.

² Deut. c. 28. v. 25.

³ Ibid. v. 37. See the whole chapter.

become an astonishment, a proverb, and a by-word among all nations whither the Lord shall lead thee. He denounces many other evils, which were to come upon this rebellious nation : and which did come, as he foretold, but many of them ages afterwards. To the principal of these the Jews at this day remain a living testimony. And what the prophet says upon these occasions is not attended with resentment and bitterness: on the contrary he shews the most affecting tenderness and concern for them, and a true zeal for their welfare. We may therefore be assured, that things must have happened, as he describes them : and nothing but duty and conviction could have made him transmit these truths.

Farther Consideration.

Such are the inferences and deductions, which I have ventured to make from the structure, and composition of this wonderful history; and from that internal evidence with which it abounds. No writings whatever are fraught with such latent truths as the scriptures in general; and particularly that part, with which we have been engaged. By these incidental lights the history of Moses is very much illustrated: and, I think, from the nature of the events, as well as from the mode of operation, it is manifest, that he was an instrument in the hands of providence, and his commission from heaven.

Argument still pursued.

What I have said, might perhaps be thought sufficient: but as the subject is of the greatest consequence, I hope, that it will not be deemed tedious, if I recapitulate some
of

of my arguments, and farther shew the force of the evidence, which results from them. It is certain, that traditional truths cannot admit of demonstration. Yet, if by a series of co-operating evidence they attain to moral certainty, we ought, if we would act consistently with reason, to acquiesce: for upon such grounds the chief business of life is transacted; and the truth of all traditional information is founded. By this test also the history of Moses is abundantly confirmed. But let us see, if it be not so peculiarly circumstanced, as to be entitled to a still higher proof.

I have maintained, and now once for all repeat it, that Moses could not of himself have carried into execution such ordinances: nor could he ever have wished to enforce them. This, I think, to any person acquainted with the nature of the law is past contradiction manifest. For no man would voluntarily make a yoke for his own neck: nor gives and fetters for his own hands and feet: nor designedly work out to himself trouble, when he could avoid it. Nobody would

bind himself, his friends, and his posterity, by grievous, arbitrary, and unupportable obligations, to the purport of which he was a stranger; and from whence no apparent good could arise.

Nothing therefore remains, but to prove, that the law was given: and the internal evidence will shew plainly, who was the author. The code of Moses is not like the laws of Minos, Zaleucus, or Charondas, concerning which any thing may be said, as there can be no appeal to them. Of this law we have positive proof, and experimental knowledge: for it exists at this day. It is in the hands of the Jews, acknowledged and maintained by them, and religiously observed. If then it exists, it must have had a beginning: and if it confessedly could not *ab origine* have been the work of man, it must have been appointed and authorized by God: and the immediate legislator was his substitute, and servant. His mission therefore must have been of divine original, and his ordinances from heaven: which was the point, that from the beginning I purposed to prove.

prove. These truths are partly inferred, and partly experimentally obtained: and the proofs resulting from them will perhaps appear to many, as cogent and certain, as a direct demonstration. By some they may be esteemed more satisfactory, and intimately affecting; as they afford more copious and redundant conviction from the various concurring articles, upon which they are founded. Such evidence is best adapted to the general apprehension of mankind: and is certainly very conclusive.

Conclusion.

Such are the arguments, which I have produced in proof of the divine mission of Moses. It is an article, which deserves our most serious consideration. For if the law, which was only preparatory, can be shewn to be of divine original; that which succeeded, and was completed in Christ, must have an equal sanction. The proofs for the one operate as strongly for the other, and point out

the power of God ; the interposition of divine wisdom. And, as the latter dispensation is attended with a greater efficacy ; and is the very ultimate, to which the former was directed, there can be no doubt of its superiority, as well as certainty. In short, if the Jewish lawgiver had his mission from heaven, and his laws were of divine inspiration, we must allow the same prerogative to the evangelists, and apostles ; and the same sanction to their writings. We may therefore abide by the declaration of St. Paul : *πασα γραφη θεοπνευστος*—*all scripture is of divine inspiration.*

O F T H E

P L A C E O F R E S I D E N C E

Given to the CHILDREN of ISRAEL in EGYPT,

A N D

Of their DEPARTURE from it.

TO determine these articles it will be necessary to consider first, what the sacred historian has said upon the subject: and in the next place to illustrate and support his evidence by every article of intelligence, which profane authors have transmitted to this purpose. And though the events, to which we must refer, are of very high antiquity; yet we shall find a wonderful concurrence of circumstances, towards their illustration and proof: such as few histories can pretend to, though of far later date. All our intelligence concerning past facts must be either from oral tradition, or written evidence. And the more distant the fact, the more uncer-

tain we might expect it to be. But this is by no means the case. The histories of Moses, however remote, are much better authenticated, than many of Greece or Rome: not only than those, which approach nearer to the same era; but even to many, which are far posterior in time.

In order therefore to illustrate the history, with which I am engaged, I shall begin first with those passages in scripture, which principally relate to the descent of the Israelites into Egypt. And I shall then proceed to those, which describe their departure. After this I shall consider the various evidences in profane writers, which can at all elucidate the points in question. These we shall find to be not a few: and they will afford considerable weight to those internal proofs, with which this history is attended.

Genesis, C. xlv. V. 9. Haste ye, and go up to my father, and say unto him, Thus saith thy son Joseph, God hath made me lord of all Egypt: come down unto me, tarry not:

V. 10. And thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt be near unto me, thou,

thou, and thy children, and thy children's children, and thy flocks, and thy herds, and all that thou hast.

C. xlvi. V. 28. And he (Jacob) sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to direct his face unto Goshen; and they came into the land of Goshen.

V. 29. And Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father.

C. xlvii. V. 1. Then Joseph came and told Pharaoh, and said, My father and my brethren—are come out of the land of Canaan; and behold they are in the land of Goshen, &c.

V. 5. And Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, &c.

V. 6. The land of Egypt is before thee; in the best of the land make thy father and brethren to dwell: in the land of Goshen let them dwell.

V. 11. And Joseph placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded.

*The Situation of some of the Places determined,
upon which the History depends.*

Though it may not be in our power to ascertain precisely the limits of the land of Goshen, as it was in the time of Moses, on account of the alterations made by the overflowing of the Nile: yet we may shew determinately, where it lay, from its situation in respect to other objects. But before we undertake this inquiry, it will be proper to speak of Egypt in general; as from the figure, and extent of the whole, the situation of the parts may be better defined.

The whole extent of this country in length, from Philæ and the cataracts downwards, has been esteemed to have been between five and six hundred miles. It consisted of three principal divisions, the Thebais, Heptanomis, and Delta: and these were subdivided into smaller provinces, called by the Greeks * nomes, of which Strabo
gives

* It is not certain, who the person was, who divided the country into provinces called nomes. Some attribute the division to Sesostris. Την δε χωραν ἀπασαν

gives the following account. Δεκα μὲν ἡ
 Θηβαίς, δεκα δ' ἡ ἐν τῷ Δέλτῳ. ἑκκαίδεκα δ' ἡ
 μεταξὺ. l. 17. p. 1135. From hence we
 learn, that there were ten in the Thebaïs;
 ten also in that portion called Delta; and
 sixteen in the intermediate region: which
 was stiled Heptanomis. Herodotus tells
 us, that the country was narrow, as it extend-
 ed from the confines of Ethiopia downward,
 till it came to the point of Lower Egypt,
 where stood a place called 'Cercaforum; by
 Strabo Cercesura. All the way to this place
 the river Nile ran for the most part in one
 channel, and the region was bounded on one
 side with the mountains of Libya: and on the
 other, which was to the east, with the moun-
 tains of Arabia. As the latter consisted of
 one prolonged ridge, Herodotus speaks of
 them in the singular as one mountain, and
 says that it reached no farther than Lower
 Egypt, and the first division of the Nile:
 which was nearly opposite to the pyramids.
 Here the river was severed into two addi-

εις ἑξ και τριακοντα μερη διελων (ὁ Σεσωφρις,) ἃ καλεσιν Αἰγυπ-
 τιοι Νομεις, ἐπεσησεν ἀπασαις Τοπαρχαις. Diodorus, l. 1.
 p. 50.

¹ L. 2. c. 8. p. 106.—C. 17. p. 111.

tional streams, the Pelufiac and the Canobic, which bounded Lower Egypt, called Delta, to the east and to the west: while the original stream, called the Sebennytic, pursued its course downward, and, after having sent out some other branches, at last entered the sea.

Great uncertainty has ensued in the geography of Egypt, from its lying in the confines of Libya on one side, and of Asia on the other. On which account it has been at different times referred to both; and sometimes to neither. We must therefore always consider, in what acceptation it is taken by the author, to whom we appeal; otherwise we shall be led into great mistakes. Herodotus takes notice that the Iönians, and some other Greeks, made the land of Egypt neutral, in respect to the two great continents on each side. But his opinion was, that the Nile was the true boundary, as long as it ran down single: and, when it separated at Cercesura, then the central, or Sebennytic branch, which divided the lower region, was the true limit. On this account he blames the Ionians and Grecians above mentioned, who say, that there
are

are in the earth three continents; whereas they should insist upon four, if Egypt, and especially the Delta, were a neutral, and independent portion. Ουρισμα δε Αση και Λιβυη οιδαμεν ουδεν εον ορθω λογω, ει μη τες Αιγυπτιων κρες. *But, says the historian, if we make a just estimate, we shall find no other boundaries to Libya and Asia; than those which are formed by Egypt. Τα μεν γαρ αυτης (Αιγυπτε) ειναι της Λιβυης, τα δε της Ασης. For one part belonged to Libya; and the other to Asia.* Strabo follows the same opinion, and makes the great Sebennytic stream the limit of the two continents. He accordingly tells us, that, going up through the centre of the lower region, we have ¹ Libya on one hand and Arabia on the other. And, when he is giving a description of the upper part of the river near the apex of Delta, where was the nome of Heliopolis to the east; and the Arabian nome and Cercafora to the west, he says, ² η μεν ουν Ηλιοπολιτις εν τη Αραβια εσιν, εν δε τη Λιβυη Κερκεσσυρα πολις, κατα τας Ευδοξε κειμενη σκοπας. *On this account the Helioplitan nome is to be referred to Arabia;*

¹ L. 2. c. 17. p. 111.

² L. 17. p. 1160.

and

and *Cercesura*, which is opposite to the observatories of *Eudoxus*, must be looked upon in *Libya*. I make use of the words—to be referred to, because no part of Lower Egypt was really in *Arabia*: however ascribed to it by *Strabo*, for the sake of including it within one continent or the other. On this account he had better have followed *Herodotus*, and made it at large a portion of *Asia*: which would have been nearer the truth. However, he pursues the same mode of partition in passing higher up. * *Εντευθεν δε ο Νειλος εστιν ο υπερ Δελτα. τετρα δε τα μεν δεξια καλεσι Λιβυην επικαπλεοντι.—τα δ' εν αριστερα Αραβιαν.* From this point at *Cercesura*, we meet with the *Nile* above *Delta*; and the country to the right of it they call *Libya*; and all to the left *Arabia*. He is here in every respect right, and determines the situation of each place truly. But when he adjudges the eastern part of *Delta* to *Arabia*, he goes contrary to all precedent, and has been the cause of much perplexity. *Pliny* tells us,—*ultra Pelusium* * *Arabia est*: therefore all, that was within, should be distinguished from it.

* *Strabo*, l. 17. p. 1160.* *L.* 5. p. 259.

The Situation of the City more particularly described.

We may perceive that the ancient city of this name was situated in Egypt: and for this we have the evidence of Herodotus, and Pliny. Yet there are many writers, who have adjudged it to another part of the world. This has arisen partly from their not apprehending the true meaning of Strabo; and partly from their not considering that there were two cities of this name. In respect to the authority of Strabo, it is true, that he places Heliopolis in Arabia: but this does not exclude it from being in Egypt: for he ascribes Egypt itself, at least a part of it, to the same country. The city therefore might be, and certainly was, within the limits of the Nile. This is farther manifest from Pliny. ¹ *Intus, et Arabiae conterminum, claritatis magnæ, Solis oppidum. Within the boundaries (of Egypt) stands the celebrated city of the Sun; bordering upon Arabia.*

The true name of the city was On, which was given on account of the worship. For

¹ Pliny, l. 5. p. 258.

the deity there honoured, was the Sun, stiled by the Egyptians improperly On: and the city in consequence of it had the name of Heliopolis, and Civitas Solis, which refer to the same object. We find it to have been a place of great antiquity; for it existed before the arrival of Joseph in Egypt. This is manifest from his marrying the daughter of *Potiphera a priest of On.* Gen. c. 41. v. 45. And it is farther said of him, that he had two sons, *which Asenath, the daughter of Potipherah priest of On, bare unto him.* v. 50. That it was rendered *Ἡλιούπολις*, Heliopolis, we learn from *Cyril. *Ὀν, ἡ ἐστὶν Ἡλιούπολις. On, which is Heliopolis.* The like is to be found in the Greek version of the Bible, Genesis, 41. v. 45. The same occurs in every history either Greek or Roman, where the city is mentioned. It stood towards the western part of the province, and upon the Sebennytic, or central branch of the Nile, so that nobody could pass upwards through the middle of Egypt, but he was obliged to go by it in the course of his navigation. This is abundantly shewn by

* Cyril contra Iosepham.

= Herodotus, as well as by Strabo. The former says farther, that the inhabitants of this place were esteemed the wisest of the Egyptians. Hence many of the Grecians resorted thither for knowledge : and among these Solon, Eudoxus, and Plato. Strabo speaks of the observatories of Eudoxus, as remaining in his time : but he adds, ^a νυνι μεν ουν πανερημος ἡ πολις. *The city is now entirely deserted.* From the description given by these and other writers, we may know for a certainty, where this ancient and original city stood : which we find was near the first division of the Nile : and the nome of Heliopolis lay between the Pelusiac and Sebennytic branches.

^a Εἰθευτεν μεν (απο θαλασσης) και μεχρι Ἡλιαπολιος, ες την μεσογαιαν. 1. 2. c. 7. p. 106.

Εσι δε ὁδος ες την Ηλιαπολιν ανω ιοντι. *ibid.*

Ἡ δ' ες Ἡλιαπολιν απο θαλασσης. *ibid.*

— απο δε Ἡλιαπολιος ανω ιοντι. *ibid.*

^a L. 17. p. 1158.

Heliopolis of the Desert.

This city of the same name was of later date, and according to the authors of the Greek version was built by the Israelites during their servitude in Egypt.—¹ και οικοδομησαν πολεις οχυρας τω Φαραω την τε Πιθω, και Ραμεσση, και Ων, η εστιν Ηλιεπολις. *And they built for Pharaoh some cities of strength, Pithom, and Ramesses, and On, which is Heliopolis.* The latter part concerning On, and Heliopolis, is not in the original. This gives reason to suspect, that it was an interpolation; and inserted for a particular purpose, in order to enhance the honour of the place by this pretended antiquity. We may however perceive from hence, that in the time of the Hellenistic Jews of Egypt a secondary city of this name existed.

And we not only find, that there were two cities of this name, but their situation also may be easily ascertained. The one stood

¹ Exodus, c. I. v. II.

within the limits of Egypt, as has been shewn: the other in the desert of Arabia, about twelve miles from Letopolis and ^a Babylon, and to the north-east of both. The proximity of this city to Babylon is thus described by Ptolemy ². *Εν μεθοριαῖς Ἀραβίας—Βαβυλων, Ἡλιεπολις. Upon the confines of Arabia stand Babylon, and Heliopolis.* The author of the Itinerary, in his account of the Egyptian cities which were beyond the Nile, in Arabia, mentions Heliopolis ³.

Iter per Arabium trans Nilum.

In Arabiâ	Aphrodito	M. P.	
	Scenas Mandras	M. P.	XX.
	Babylonia	M. P.	XII.
	Helia, or Heliopolis	M. P.	XII.
	In Arabia.		
	Scenas Veteranorum	M. P.	XVIII.
	Vico Judæorum	M. P.	XII.
	Thou	M. P.	XII.

^a See Antoninus, p. 169.

² Geog. l. 4. p. 116.

³ Itinera Antonini, p. 169.

He gives the like situation to this city, in the route, which he describes through Arabia from Pelufium southward to Memphis¹.

Iter a Pelusio Memphim.

A Pelusio	M. P.	
Daphno	M. P.	XVI.
Tacafarta	M. P.	XXVIII.
Thou	M. P.	XXIII.
Scenas Veteranorum	M. P.	XXIII.
Helion	M. P.	XVI.
Memphim	M. P.	XXIII.

This secondary Heliopolis is by many supposed to have been the city, which was rebuilt by that fugitive Jew Onias; who came into Egypt in the time of Ptolemy Philometor. This² person requested of the king, that he would permit him to build a temple for the Jews in Egypt, after the model of that which was at Jerufalem. He had been one of the chief priests; and in his petition to the king he mentioned, that a prophet of his country had foretold, that such a

¹ Itinera Antonini, p. 162.

² Josephus, Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3. p. 639.

temple

temple should be built, and that the place where it was erected, should be called the City of the Sun, or Heliopolis. The prophet, to whom he alluded, was ¹Isaiah: and the passage is supposed to be that, in which mention is made of five cities in Egypt speaking the language of Canaan: where at the conclusion it is said—*One shall be called the city of destruction.* The learned ²Scaliger has an ingenious conjecture, that Onias to favour his purpose made a small alteration in the words of the prophet, and instead of *the City of Destruction* rendered it *the City of the Sun.* In ³consequence of this he obtained a permit to found his temple, and to rebuild the city. But whether this was the real Arabian Heliopolis may not be easy to ascertain: though there is good reason to suppose it. He called it from his own name Onium; which had a great similitude to Ων, On, of the Egyptians. And of

¹ Isaiah, c. 19. v. 8.

² Scaliger. Animadversiones in Euseb. Chron. p. 144. ad numerum MDCCCLVI.

³ See the Connexion of the Old and New Testament by Dean Prideaux, vol. 2. p. 206, 7.

this he seems to have availed himself; and accordingly gave out, that the prophecy was fulfilled. The city appears to have been the common resort, not only of Jews, but of merchants, and travellers, who came to Egypt. Dr. ¹ Pocock, and some others, have supposed it to have been Heliopolis, and the same also as the place called now Matarea. This opinion is countenanced by the account given by ² Abulfeda, and by the ³ Nubian geographer, who says, that by the Arabians it was called Ain-Shems, or *Fountain of the Sun*, analogous to On. The name of Matarea is supposed by Monf. ⁴ D'Anville to signify eau fraiche, *fresh water*: but I know not any authority for such a supposition. It is remarkable, that among some oriental languages Matarea signifies the Sun. This may be proved from the ⁵ Malayan language, and from that

¹ Egypt, p. 23.

² D'Anville Memoires sur l'Egypte, p. 114.

³ Geog. Nubiensis, pars tert. climatis tertii.

⁴ D'Anville, ibid.

⁵ Expressed Mataharii and Matta-harri. See Malayan Bible and New Testament. Amsterdam, anno 1733.

of the Sumatrans at Acheen. It seems to be a compound of *Matta*, and *Ree*, the ancient Egyptian word for the sun, which is still retained in the Coptic: and with the aspirate is rendered *Phree*. This I have shewn in a passage from the Coptic Bible, where the city *On* is described, *On ετε οβακι ρεφρη πε.* —*On, which is the city of Ree the sun.* We may judge, that by *Matta* was denoted *an eye*. Mr. Marsden, in his very curious account of Sumatra, mentions, that among the Malayans, and among ¹four other nations, that came under his cognizance, it has now this signification. Hence *Mata-Ree*, or *Matarea*, denoted the

Mattowraye, the Sun. See Marsden's *Sumatra*, of Acheen. p. 168.

Mahtah harée. Lang. of Batta.—*Mattoharee*. Malayan. *ibid*.

Matta-harri and *Matta-hari*. See *Malayan Gospels and Acts*, printed at Oxford, 1677.

Matta'ree. Sumatra. Parkinson, p. 184.

¹ The people of Acheen, the Batta, Rifang, and Lampon, p. 168. In the Pampango, *Mata*, oios, five oculus.

great 'eye of the world, the sun: and the place probably was so denominated from a custom among the Egyptians of having an eye described over the portal of their temples. This interpretation of Mata-rea agrees well with the history of the place: and the name was probably given by the merchants, who came from India to Egypt.

Of this we may be certain, that a city Heliopolis, the same, I believe, as Onium, was situated in Arabia. This must have been a different city from that Heliopolis, which stood upon the Sebennytic branch of the Nile, and within the limits of Egypt. Hence Harduin is unduly severe upon Stephanus Byzantinus, when he says—² hinc Stephani error duas esse Heliopoles existimantis, quoniam in Arabiae Ægyptique confinio fuit, ut docet Plinius. But Pliny does

¹ What they expressed Ain Shems, was probably Oin Shems, which corresponds precisely with Mata-ree, and signifies Sol Oculus, the eye of the world—*Ἡλιος ὁς παντ' εφορα και παντ' επακει.*

² Harduin's notes upon Pliny, l. 5. p. 254.

not say so. That there was a city of this name in Arabia is most certain: but there was another of far greater antiquity in Egypt, upon the centre branch of the Nile. Of this we have had sufficient evidence from Herodotus, and Strabo, and from Pliny himself. *Intus et Arabiae conterminum, claritatis magnæ, Solis oppidum.* When this city in Egypt grew by length of time neglected and desolate, the other city in Arabia became more noticed. Pliny speaks of the primary city as being in *confinio Arabiae*, upon *the confines* of that country; because the upper part of the Delta was so narrow, that the cities bordered both upon Arabia on one side, and upon Libya on the other, being very few miles from either. We must therefore distinguish, and consider, that the ancient city was *intus et Arabiae conterminus*, within the limits of Egypt, and only bordering upon Arabia. The other was in Arabia; and as will appear, in the way to the Red Sea.

Of Letopolis.

Another city, whose situation should be determined, is Letopolis, or the city of Leto, the Grecian Latona. This by mistake in the present copies of Strabo is expressed Litopolis: of which name there occurs no place in Egypt. It is also frequently expressed Latopolis: which is equally wrong. For the place so named was the city, where the fish Latus was held in reverence, and stood high up the river, more than † four hundred and fifty miles above the point of Delta. Whereas the city, of which we are speaking, together with the nome of Letopolis, lay opposite to that point, and to the east of the Heliopolitan region. It was situated at the termination of the Arabian Mountain and over against the pyramids; where were the quarries, from whence the stones were got for their construction. It is stiled Leto by Antoninus;

† Antonini Itin. p. 160.

Λητας πολις by Ptolemy and ¹ Stephanus Byzantinus, and the province Ληταπολιτης νομος. It is mentioned as nearly collateral with the elder Heliopolis, and in its ² vicinity; though on the other side of the river. The author of the ³ Itinerary places it below Memphis, at the distance of twenty miles. According to ⁴ Josephus it stood upon the very hill, where Babylon was afterwards erected in the time of Cambyfes. He placed a garrison of Babylonish soldiers in it, as it was the key to Upper Egypt: upon this account the hill had the name of Babylon, and the country about it Babylonia. Hence the author of the same Itinerary, describing the places downward, upon the ⁵ Arabian side of the

¹ Λητους πολις, πολις Αιγυπτου, εστι δε μοιρα Μεμφιδος, καθ' ην αι Πυραμιδες. See Herodotus, l. 2. c. p. 106.

² Pliny, l. 5. p. 254. He calls it Latopolis.

³ Antonini Itin. p. 156. Letus. Memphi MP. XX.
Λητας πολις, πολις Αιγυπτου, εστι δε μοιρα Μεμφιδος, καθ' ην αι Πυραμιδες. Steph. Byzant.

⁴ Joseph. Ant. l. 2. c. 15. p. 111. Λητας πολις.

⁵ P. 169. Iter per partem Arabicam trans Nilum.

Nile, mentions among others—Aphrodito. Scenas Mandras. Babylonia: Helio: or Heliopolis: by which is meant Heliopolis of the Desert. This Babylonian province, Extra Nilotica, was the same as the Nomus Letopolites. And the position of Babylon is precisely marked out by Strabo: who having mentioned the places, which were near the top of †Delta, and the Regio Letopolitis, adds, αναπλευσαντι δ' ες Βαβυλων φραριον ερυμνον. *As you sail upwards (from this point of Lower Egypt) the first object is a strong garrison called Babylon.*

Such was the situation of Letopolis, the City of Leto, or Latona, and of it's nome: which nome is by some later writers called Heliopolitanus; for in this respect great liberties were taken, as Pliny justly observes. Quidam ex his aliqua nomina permutant, et substituunt alios nomos. v. 1. l. 5. p. 254. The nome was so called from Heliopolis of the Desert, which stood twelve miles to the north-east of Babylon, according to Antoni-

† L. 17. p. 1158.

aus. Itin. p. 169. This district bordering upon the ancient and true Heliopolitan nome, from which it was only separated by the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, has caused no small confusion in the geography of Egypt. But I have endeavoured from the best authorities to distinguish both: which, I hope, will prevent any uncertainty for the future. The situation of this place is of great consequence to be determined: for ² Josephus tells us, that the children of Israel passed close by this city upon their first setting out for Etham, and the Red Sea, when they had just quitted the land of Goshen. It was nearly opposite to the ancient Heliopolis, and to the place of their departure.

Of the Ancient City Saïs: and of a secondary City of the same Name.

There is another city, of which I must take notice, and ascertain its history, and

² Josephus, Ant. l. 2. c. 15. p. 111.

situation: for as yet I do not remember, that it has been properly determined. This is the upper, and more ancient city Saïs. Indeed the higher any cities were situated in Lower Egypt, the more ancient for the most part they must have been. For as the soil below was in great measure, ¹ δωρον τε ποταμου, *the gift of the river*, the people at different times built, as they got ground. And here I must observe, that there was another city of the name of Saïs, which must be distinguished from that, with which we are principally concerned. The history of this I will first determine; as writers have been led into great mistakes, from their not properly distinguishing these two places: but speaking of them as one and the same. The Lower Saïs was in the vicinity of the sea-port Naucratis, upon the Canobic and western branch of the Nile: and was esteemed the capital of that part of Egypt.

² Ἡ Σαῖς μητροπολις της κατω χωρας. *Saïs was the metropolis of Lower Egypt.* Again—

¹ Herod. l. 2. p. 105.

Αιγυπτος ποτομοχοςος. Diodorus, l. 3. p. 144.

² Strabo. l. 17. p. 1153.

† ἐπι τῷ ποταμῷ Ναυκρατῖς. ἀπο δὲ τῆς ποταμῆς
 δισχοῖνον διεχέουσα Σαῖς. *Naucratis is situated
 upon the river: and Saïs stands about two
 schæni from the same river.* † Cellarius
 quotes the *Notitia Ecclesiastica*—in quâ Saïs
 primæ Ægypti provinciæ, quæ proxima
 Alexandriæ est, ascribitur. It lay, we find,
 in the first province, as people ascended the
 river from the coast of Alexandria: and
 consequently was very low in the region
 of Delta, and to the west. By these evi-
 dences the situation of this city is suf-
 ficiently ascertained. For Alexandria was a
 sea-port upon the Mediterranean: and the
 province in which Saïs stood, was next in
 order, and collateral with the region, to
 which the former city was ascribed.

† Strabo, l. 17. p. 1155.

Naucratis was near the sea-port Schedia.—πολιτι
 Ναυκρατιν ἔκ πολυ τῆς Σχεδιας ὑπερθεν. *ibid.* p. 1153.

Aphroditis, Saïs, Naucratis. Pliny, l. 5. p. 259.

‡ P. 18. Ægyptus.

*Of the more ancient City, and Province of
Saïs.*

It is mentioned by Josephus from Manetho, that when the royal shepherds came into Egypt, they seized upon the city Avaris in the nome of Saïs¹ on account of its favourable situation, as it had the command of the river every way. They accordingly for their security fortified it; and put into it a garrison of soldiers. It is of great consequence to determine this province precisely, for it was the portion allotted to the Israelites, when they came into the country: and here was the city, which was given to them, after that it had been vacated by the former shepherds.

² Τὴν τότε τῶν Ποιμενῶν ἐρημωθεῖσαν πόλιν Αὐαριν ἀνεχώρησεν——³ ἐν Νομῷ Σαῖτη. The king of Egypt gave to the Israelites, *the city Avaris, which had been deserted by those shepherds, who*

¹ Contra Ap. l. 1. p. 445. ἐν νομῷ Σαῖτη.

² Josephus ibid. p. 460.

³ Ibid. p. 445.

had possessed it—and which stood in the nome of Saïs.

If then the ancient Saïte province can be ascertained, the region, and city, which the children of Israel possessed, will be farther manifest. This region occurs under different denominations, being stiled the land of Goshen, the land of Rameses, the field of Zoan, and the Arabian nome. By some of the Egyptian writers, as we have seen, it was called the nome of Saïs. This last was the name both of the province, and chief city. That it was a different place from the lower Saïs may be farther proved from Plato, who was well acquainted with it, as well as from other writers; however it may have been at times¹ confounded with it. The difference will appear plainly from the history of its situation. ² Ἐστὶ τις κατ' Αἰγυπτὸν ἐν τῷ Δέλτῳ, περὶ ὃ κατὰ κορυφὴν σχιζέται τὸ τῆς Νείλου ῥέυμα, Σαΐτιμος ἐπικαλούμενος Νομός. Τῆς δὲ τῆς Νομοῦ μεγίστη πόλις Σαΐς. *There is a particular por-*

¹ This was owing to the city being in different ages described under different names.

² In Timæo, v. 3, p. 21.

tion of Egypt at the top of Delta, where the Nile is first divided, called the Saitic nome; to which nome the great city of Saïs belongs. Pomponius Mela, speaking of the principal cities of Egypt, says, 'Earum clarissimæ procul a mari, Saïs, Memphis, Syene. By this we find, that it was in a position very different from the other Saïs: which stood nearer to the maritime towns of Lower Egypt. It is said to have abounded with crocodiles, and river-horses; which were never seen below. Nicander in his Theriaca takes notice of the hippopotamus, and speaks of it as being found above this city.

² Ἴππε, τον Νειλος ὑπερ Σαῖν αιθαλοεσσαν
βοσκει————.

Upon this the ³ Scholiast observes, that these animals appeared there in great numbers. Σαῖς πολις Αιγυπτου γεμεσα ἵπποποταμων. Now

¹ L. 1. c. ix. p. 61.

² P. 40. edit. Turneb.

³ Scholia, ibid.

Pliny gives a like account of the crocodiles in these parts. Plurimi crocodili super Saiticam præfecturam. vol. 2. l. 28. p. 463.

it is very certain, that they never frequent the part of a river near the sea: nor were they ever found in Lower Egypt among the branches of the Nile. The city is farther described by Proclus, who, as well as Plato, resided much in Egypt. ' Το δε γε Δελτα γινεται μεν τῆ Νειλῶ σχιζομενε περι τον Σαϊτικον Νομον, απο μιας ευθειας επι δεξια και αριστερα και επιθαλατταν εξιοντος. *The region stiled Delta is formed by a division of the Nile, which begins at the nome of Saïs: and instead of proceeding downward in one direct stream, now parts to the right and to the left, and thus enters the sea.* From these evidences we are again taught that there were not only two cities of the same name; but we have their situation plainly distinguished: and the superior city was in the vicinity of Heliopolis, and corresponds exactly with the portion of country given by Pharaoh to the father and brethren of Joseph. Manetho, though he has confounded the history greatly, yet mentions the names of Rameses, and Moses, and of Joseph, whom he calls Osarfip, in-

* Proclus in Timæum, p. 30.

stead of Sar-Ofiph, *the Lord Ofiph*: and between the two latter he does not make a proper distinction. Thus much we learn expressly from him, that the king of the country afforded the Israelites a settlement in the province of Saïs.

From hence it seems plain, that this province was the same as Ramefes, and Goshen, and the field of Zoan: and the same also as the Arabian nome. It lay to the west, opposite to the Nomus Hammoniacus, in which were the chief pyramids; and where the road commenced, which led to the famous temple of Jupiter Ammon. Pliny having enumerated the provinces to the east upon the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, proceeds to those on the opposite side westward. ¹ *Reliqua (pars Ægypti continet) Arabicum, Hammoniacum, tendentem ad Jovis Hammonis oraculum, &c.* If this nome had been named from its situation, it should have been called from its proximity the Libyan nome: and ² Strabo does ascribe its chief city, under the name of Cercesura, to

¹ L. 5. p. 253.

² L. 17. p. 1160.

that part of the world. Ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἡλιοπόλις ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ ἐστίν; ἐν δὲ τῇ Λιβυῇ Κερκεσοῦρα πόλις. *The nome of Heliopolis is in Arabia, but the city Cercesura in Libya.* He made the Nile the limit of the two great continents: and what he says, is very consistent, when he is properly understood. We have here fresh evidence, that it was not called the Arabian nome from its situation; for it was rather to be adjudged to Libya; though by some made neutral. Manetho was misled by the appellation Νομος Ἀραβίας, which was substituted instead of Tabir Cushman, Νομος Ἀραβίων, *the nome of the Arabians*: and he has been followed by other writers. By which means they have placed the best of the land of Egypt in a desert.

We have seen, that Plato speaks of this city as one of the most respectable in Egypt, by styling it—μεγίστη πόλις Σαῖς. It was a strong place, and of great consequence, and esteemed the key to Upper and Lower Egypt. From hence I have been induced to think, that it was the same as the city Sin in the scriptures, against which the wrath

of God was denounced by the prophet Ezekiel. *And I will set fire in Egypt: Sin shall have great pain.—And I will pour forth my fury upon Sin the strength of Egypt.* This latter verse is rendered by the authors of the Greek version, and I believe very properly—¹ και εκχεω τον θυμον μου επι Σαιν του ισχυου Αιγυπτου. The former verse also in the Aldine copies is translated after the same manner—και ταραχθησεται η Σαις. In other copies it is idly rendered Συνη, Syene: for which there was not the least authority. Syene, though probably a city of some consequence, was at too great a distance to be the object here menaced: and to be accounted the strength of ² Egypt.

¹ C. 30. v. 15.

² It lay nearly under the tropic, and was the most remote of any city of the country.

Land of Goshen.

This situation of Goshen agrees very well with the route of the children of Israel, when they first set out from Egypt: for we find that their second station was upon the borders of Etham near the Red Sea. Had they come from the Thebais, they could not have arrived till after many days, and several stages: nor was there any part in Lower Egypt from whence they could have arrived in so short a time, and by so direct a road. Heliopolis lay nearly under the same latitude, as the place of their encampment near Etham: and from this part of Egypt they first took their journey. The writers who treat of this history, however they may vary in other articles, yet agree in this, that the scene of these great occurrences was in this province. Hence Apion mentions Moses as a native of Heliopolis. ^x Μωυσης Ἡλιεπολιτης: and by Manetho goes so far as to

^x Josephus cont. Ap. l. 2. p. 469.

mention him ¹—Ἡλιεπολιτης το γενος, an *Heliopolitan by race*. It is sufficient, that he is adjudged to that city and province, where in his early days he resided under the tuition of the princess ² Merris, the daughter of Palmenoths, by which princess he was said to have been adopted. Joseph likewise is supposed to have resided here: and also to have obtained here a place of residence for his father and brethren. ³ Ὁ βασιλευς συνεχωρησεν αυτω (Ιακωβω) ζην μετα των τεκνων εν Ἡλιεπολει (forte Ἡλιεπολιτη) εν εκεινη γαρ οι αυτε ποιμενες τας νομας ειχον. *The king—granted to the patriarch Jacob, and to his family, a place for their residence in the nome of Heliopolis; for here his own shepherds took care of his pastures.* As the land of Goshen appears to have been contiguous, it might easily be looked upon as an appendage to Heliopolis; and is accordingly mentioned as a part of

¹ Ibid. p. 462. He more probably alludes to Joseph, Osarsiph; which is equally to the purpose.

² Artapanus, apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. p. 432.

³ Josephus, Antiq. l. 2. c. 7. p. 95.

that

that district. For it is impossible to ascertain now, how far any province of Egypt may have extended in those early times.

Goshen only a Part of the Province.

But however it may have been described and adjudged, it was certainly a distinct and separate part of the province. For when the rest of the land of Egypt was punished with hail—*In the land of Goshen there was no hail.* Exod. ix. v. 26. And when there was thick darkness, *the children of Israel had light in their dwelling.* c. x. v. 23. And as it was the best of the land, there is no accounting for its being unoccupied but by the secession of the former inhabitants: of whose departure we have accounts in the histories of Egypt. When therefore Joseph instructs his brethren concerning the answer, which

¹ *I will sever in that day the land of Goshen.* Exod. c. 8. v. 22.

they should give upon their being interrogated by Pharaoh, when he should inquire about their occupation, he tells them, *Ye shall say, Thy servants trade hath been about cattle, from our youth even until now, both we and also our fathers: that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen.* Gen. c. 46. v. 34. And antecedently, when he first sent a message to his father, his words were, *Come down unto me, tarry not: And thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt be near unto me.* c. 45. v. 9. 10. From hence Le Clerc collects, that it must have been in possession of shepherds: otherwise *Quî colligere potuisset Josephus fratribus, arte editâ, eum tractum incolendum concessum iri, &c.* The inference is good, that there must have been shepherds in those parts before: otherwise Joseph could not have foreseen, that upon telling their occupation, the land would necessarily be given to his brethren. And, when they are presented before Pharaoh, the king at once determines this place of residence for them. And he accordingly says to Joseph, *Thy father and thy brethren are come unto thee: The land of Egypt is before*

fore thee ; in the best of the land make thy father and brethren to dwell ; in the land of Goshen let them dwell. Gen. c. 47. v. 5, 6. They were undoubtedly the Arabian, or Cuthite shepherds, who had been previously in possession of this land, from whence they had been lately ejected. The whole kingdom had been in subjection to their kings. But they were obliged to retire, being expelled by the natives. The other parts of the kingdom were immediately occupied. But, pasturage being contrary to the taste of the Egyptians, this particular region lay in great measure neglected. Hence we have a satisfactory reason afforded for the Israelites finding such easy access into the country : so as not only to dwell in it ; but to have the land of Goshen given them for a possession, even the best of the land of Egypt. — *And Israel dwelt in the land of Egypt in the country of Goshen ; and they had possessions therein. Gen. c. 47. v. 27.* Again—*And Joseph placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded. c. 47. v. 11.*

Concerning the Purport of the Name.

I once imagined, that the term Goshen, was a variation of the name, כּוּשׁ, Cushman; and that the region was so called from the sons of Chus, who once resided there. But a learned ¹ friend told me, that he thought, the true etymology was from the Arabian word Gush, a tongue; and that the land was so denominated from its tongue-like form. It is certain, that this part of Egypt was at times described under the semblance of a ² pear, and an heart; and also of a tongue. All these objects have some analogy in their shape; beginning at a point; and swelling out towards their base. Hence this

¹ The reverend and learned Mr. Costard.

² Riph.—quo nomine hodieque Delta, seu pars Ægypti triquetra Nili ostiis comprehensa, vocatur a pyri formá. Id enim proprie est Rib. see Bochart Phaleg. l. 1. c. 15. p. 59.

Ab Alcairo Rosetam oram vocant Erriphiam, (quasi Ai Rif) vel terra pyriformis. Leo Africanus, l. 8. p. 666.

It is called at this-day Rif by the Arabians. Niebuher Voyage, T. 1. p. 194.

region is said to have been called Rib and Rab, a pear: and an ¹ heart over burning coals is mentioned as its particular emblem. It was also described as a ² tongue, which was a familiar image for lands pointed, and projecting, as this did. ³ Cæsar speaks of towns situated upon such points of land, and styles them—*oppida posita in extremis linguis promontorii*. The opinion therefore of my learned friend appears to be founded in truth; and the land of Goshen seems to have received this name from its form and situation, and signified a tongue-like promontory ³.

¹ ⲪⲏⲦ, Cardia.—See Coptic Lexicon by Mr. Woide, p. 154.

Aθ and *Hθ*, cor.—Orus Apollo, l. 1. c. 22. p. 39.

² Sometimes inlets of the sea are called tongues: but generally the term is adapted to a narrow slip of land, or isthmus.

³ De Bello Gallico, l. 3. c. 12. p. 102.

——*latus angustum jam se cogentis in arctum Hesperix tenuem producit in æquora linguam*, Lucan. l. 2. v. 613.

Tenuem linguam, terram tenuem exporrectam in linguæ formam. Sulpitii Comment. in Lucanum.

Lingua promontorii genus. Festus.

³ ——the furthest point of Africa, called by Dionysius *σπιματην γλωχινια*, v. 184. *ακρην γλωχινια, ὁ εστι γωνια*. Eustath. *ibid.*

And

And not only Goshen, but a great part of Lower Egypt may have been comprehended under this emblem. This is countenanced by a passage in Ifaiah, hitherto not well understood, which it explains, and at the same time is confirmed by it.—*The Lord shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian^s sea; and with his mighty wind shall he shake his hand over the river, and shall smite it in the seven streams, and make men go over dry-shod.*
C. xi. v. 15.

Different Opinions considered.

Some have thought, that the sea mentioned by Ifaiah was the Red-Sea: and among those of this opinion was the learned Bishop Lowth. But the force and peculiarity of the

^s The Nile was stiled Oceanus. Οι Αιγυπτιοι νομιζουσιν Ωκεανον ειναι τον παρ' αυτοις Νειλον. Diodorus Sic. l. i. p. 12.

Τον δε ποταμον αρχαιοτατον μεν ονομα σκειν Ωκεανην, ογ as some read, Ωκεανην, ος εστιν ελληνιστι ωκεανος. ibid. p. 17.

prophecy is greatly prejudiced by this application. The Red-Sea lay at a distance from the land of the Mizraim; and was of great extent: so that it was inhabited on each side by various independent nations. The upper part was possessed by the Midianites, Edomites, and Nabatheans: also by different tribes of Arabians. In the times of the Ptolemies some towns were built near the most northern recess, but for want of water, and other necessaries, they soon sunk to ruin; and their situation cannot easily be ascertained. But, in the time of Isaiah, we have no reason to think, that the Egyptians had a single town upon this part of the sinus. And if they had, yet we can hardly suppose, that the inhabitants, and the nook upon which they stood, were the great objects to which the prophet alluded.

It is well known, that the Nile increased in the summer, and for some months overflowed the whole country. The region about Delta particularly appeared like a vast sea: and the principal towns and cities became so many islands: and all communication was
 carried

carried on by ships and ¹ boats. Hence the river, as I have before mentioned, had the name of ² Oceanus, or the sea: and was a sure guard to the whole region, which was hereby rendered impregnable. The seven streams were at all times a strong barrier: in which the people placed their chief security. And, of all the cities, that at the point or tongue of Delta was particularly fortified, as commanding the passage by water between Upper and Lower Egypt. The prophet therefore says, that this tongue of the sea shall be ruined, however it may seem secured by the surrounding waters. For the Lord would with a mighty (southern) wind force these waters downwards; by which means the seven channels should become empty, and dry; so that people should pass over without wetting their feet. Hence the king and people should be brought to ruin by being deprived of their chief defence, in which they blindly trusted. The prophet Ezekiel is accordingly ordered to *set his face against Pharaoh king of Egypt.*—*Thus saith*

¹ Herod. l. 2. c. 97. p. 147.

² Diodorus, l. 1. p. 17.

the Lord God; Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself.——Behold therefore, I am against thee, and against thy rivers, and I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate from Migdol even to Syene, and the borders of Cush. This was accomplished; and the prophet foretells by whom it was to be effected.——Therefore, thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I will give the land of Egypt unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon; and he shall take her multitude, and take her spoil, &c. c. 29. v. 2, 3. 10. 19. And they shall know that I am the Lord, because he hath said, The river is mine, and I have made it. v. 9. The same conquest is alluded to by the prophet Jeremiah, who mentions the like circumstances.—Egypt riseth up like a flood, and his waters are moved like the rivers: and he saith, I will go up, and will cover the earth. c. 46. v. 8. Here the widely extended army is compared to the overflowing of the Nile. Such is the history of the sea of Egypt, which according to the prophecy was to be exhausted:

exhausted : and all the rivers to be bereft of water, to facilitate the invasion of the Babylonish monarch, by whom the country was to be conquered. *I will make the rivers dry.* Ezekiel, c. 30. v. 12.

Hence it seems, I think, manifest, that when Isaiah says—*The Lord shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea,—— and shall shake his hand over the river, and shall smite it in its seven streams, &c.* there is no reference to the Red-Sea, but to the river of Egypt solely.

The Departure, and Route, of the Children of Israel from Egypt.

After that such repeated wonders had been displayed in Egypt, and such a superiority manifested by the deity over all the gods of the country, to the confusion of their votaries ; the children of Israel are at last permitted to depart. It was not however a bare

bare permission; they were solicited to go by the very king and people, who had before restrained them. As the history of their departure, and the course, which they took, is very precisely described in scripture, it will be proper to place it at large before the reader, as he will more readily see how the more modern accounts correspond with, and how greatly it is illustrated by, their evidence.

But before I proceed, I beg leave to lay down some principles, by which I must abide: and these, I hope, will be allowed me, if I am obliged to controvert the opinions of any of our late travellers. In the first, I address myself only to such, as allow the real interposition of the deity in all these great operations; and consequently believe the history of the miracles recorded. In the next place, I admit of no objections, which arise from a notion of that fitness, expedience, and method, which are expected to be found, in what we call the common course of things. For these works were not of man, but of God. And the mode of procedure with the deity bears no

analogy to the mode of human operations. When therefore it may be said, that the great lawgiver should have acted in this or that manner: and such means were most proper; and such measures most natural: I cannot agree about the necessity or fitness; as the whole is supernatural; and not to be determined by rules so foreign and inadequate. The reason for my introducing this caution will be seen in the course of my procedure.

The History, as given in Scripture.

Exodus, C. 12. V. 30. And Pharaoh rose up in the night, he and all his servants.—

V. 31. And he called for Moses and Aaron by night, and said, Rise up, and get you forth from amongst my people, both ye and the children of Israel: and go, serve the Lord, as ye have said.

V. 33. And the Egyptians were urgent upon the people, that they might send them out of

of the land in haste : for they said, *We be all dead men.*

V. 37. And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth.—

C. 13. V. 17. And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near—

V. 18. But God led the people about, through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea—

V. 20. And they took their journey from Succoth, and encamped in Etham, in the edge of the wilderness.

V. 21. 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.

V. 22. He took not away the pillar of the cloud by day, nor the pillar of fire by night, from before the people.

C. 14. V. 1. And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

V. 2. Speak unto the children of Israel, that they turn and encamp before Pi-habiroth,

A a

between

between Migdol and the sea, over against Baalzephon: before it shall ye encamp by the sea.

V. 3. For Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel, They are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in.

V. 4. And I will harden Pharaoh's heart, that he shall follow after them; and I will be honoured upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host; that the Egyptians may know that I am the Lord.—

V. 8. And the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and he pursued after the children of Israel:—

V. 9. —and overtook them encamping by the sea, beside Pi-habiroth, before Baalzephon.—

V. 10. And when Pharaoh drew nigh, the children of Israel lift up their eyes, and behold, the Egyptians marched after them; and they were sore afraid: and the children of Israel cried out unto the Lord.

V. 11. And they said unto Moses, Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness?—

V. 15. And the Lord said unto Moses—

V. 16. — Lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thine hand over the sea, and divide it; and the children of Israel shall go on dry ground through the midst of the sea.

V. 17. And I, behold, I will harden the hearts of the Egyptians, and they shall follow them: and I will get me honour upon Pharaoh, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen.

V. 21. And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea; and the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east-wind all that night, and made the sea dry-land, and the waters were divided.

V. 22. And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground: and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left.

V. 23. And the Egyptians pursued, and went in after them, to the midst of the sea——

V. 26. And the Lord said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand over the sea——

V. 27. And Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea; and the sea returned to his strength when the morning appeared: and

the Egyptians fled against it: and the Lord overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea.

V. 29. But the children of Israel walked upon dry-land in the midst of the sea: and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left.

C. 15. V. 22. So Moses brought Israel from the Red Sea, and they went out into the wilderness of Shur: and they went three days in the wilderness, and found no water.

V. 23. And when they came to Marah, they could not drink of the waters of Marah; for they were bitter: therefore the name of it was called Marah.

V. 27. And they came to Elim, where were twelve wells of water, and threescore and ten palm-trees: and they encamped there by the waters.

What is in the 22d verse called the wilderness of Shur, was the same as the wilderness of Etham: as we learn from the sacred historian when he is describing the same events in an other place.

Numbers, C. 33. V. 1. These are the journeys of the children of Israel, which went forth out of the land of Egypt——

V. 3. And they departed from Rameses in the first month——

V. 5. And the children of Israel removed from Rameses, and pitched in Succoth.

V. 6. And they departed from Succoth, and pitched in Etham, which is in the edge of the wilderness.

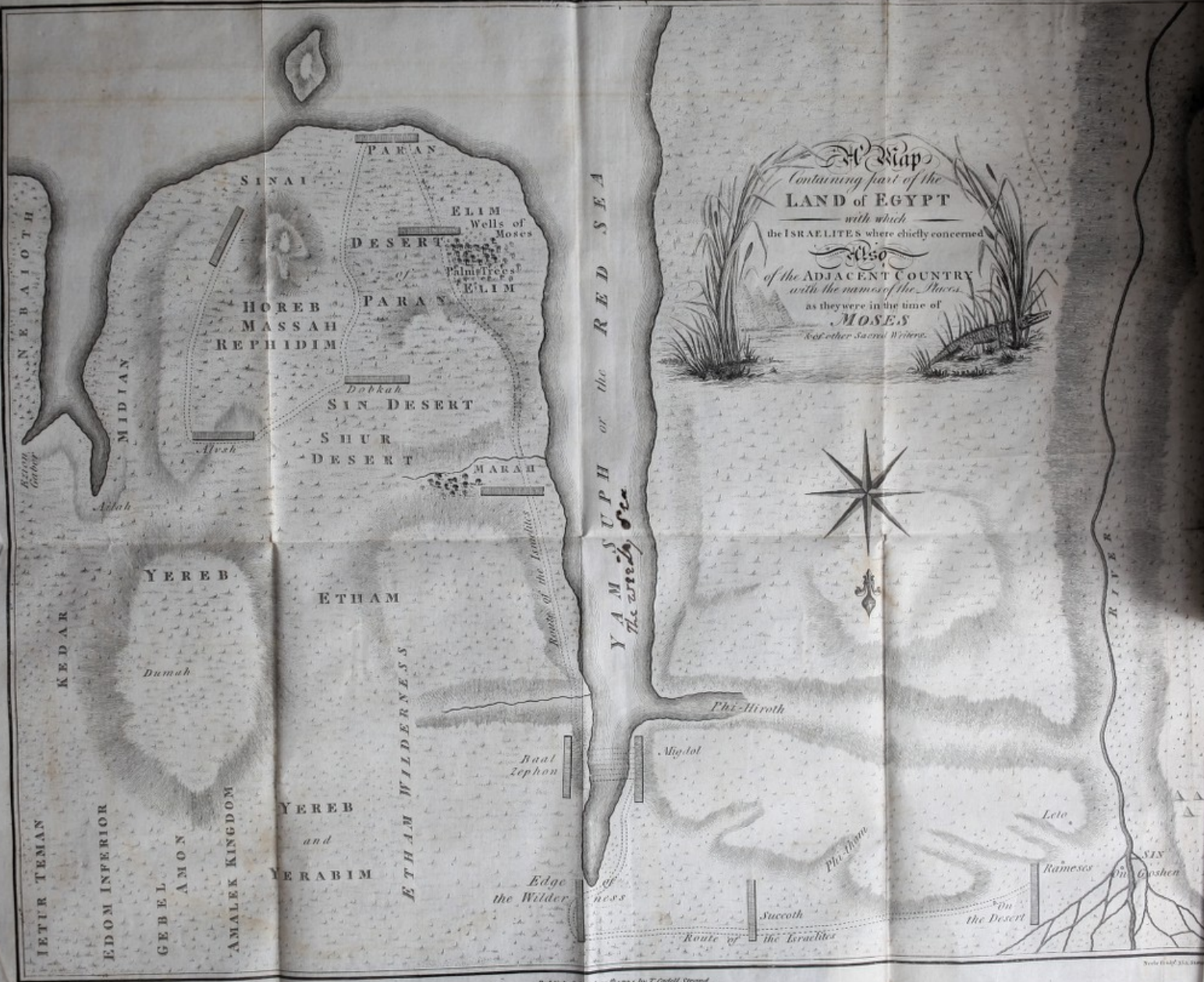
V. 7. And they removed from Etham, and turned again unto Pi-habiroth, which is before Baal-zephon: and they pitched before Migdol.

V. 8. And they departed from before Pi-habiroth, and passed through the midst of the sea, into the wilderness, and went three days journey in the wilderness of Etham, and pitched in Marah.

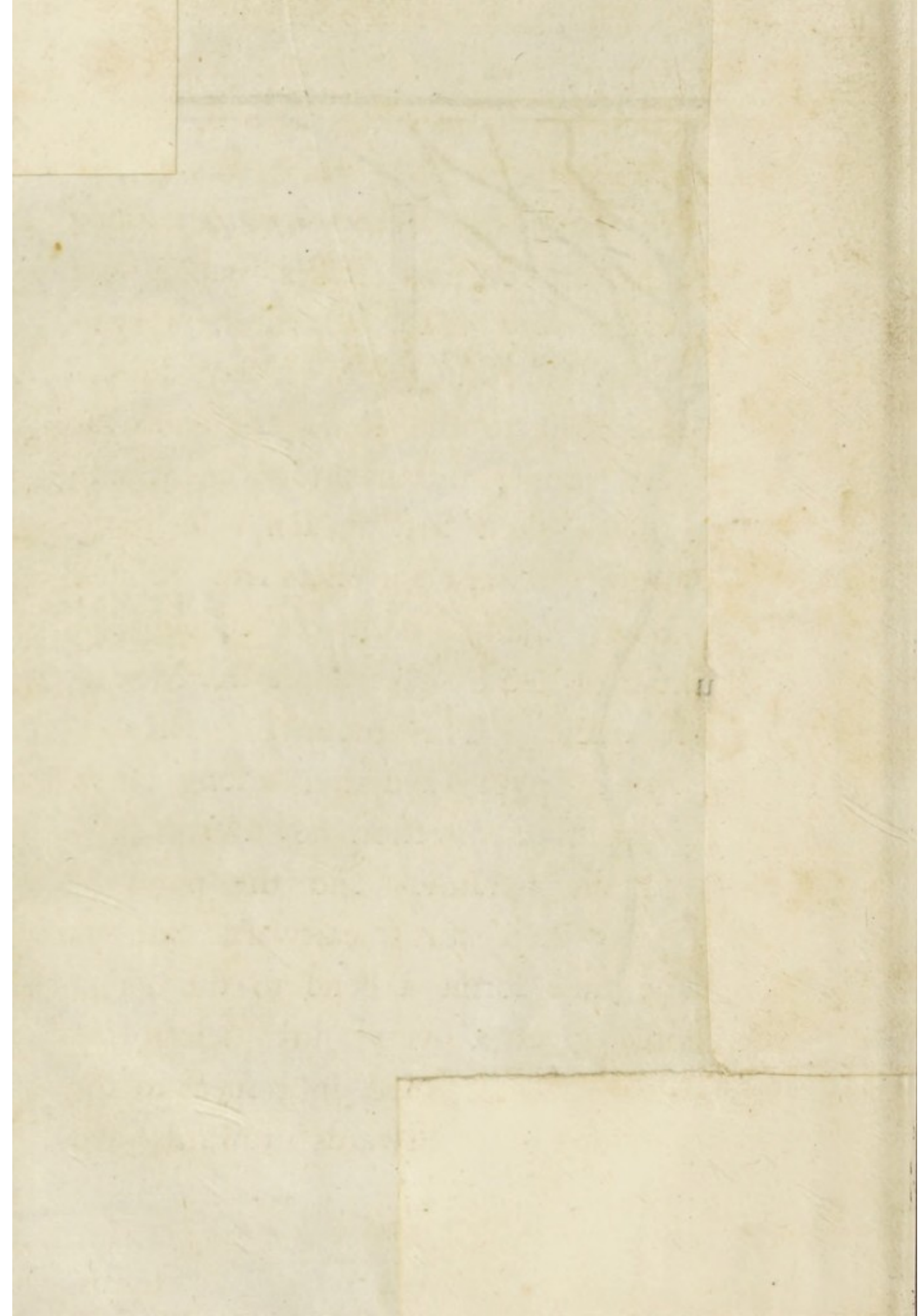
V. 9. And they removed from Marah, and came unto Elim: and in Elim were twelve fountains of water, and threescore and ten palm-trees——

Concerning the Place of their Departure.

It is said, when they left Egypt, that they journeyed from Rameses, which we know to have been Goshen under another name. The regular road to Canaan was downward, by the way, which led to Gaza, and Philistim. But it pleased God to lead them by a different direction, *through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea.* Exodus, 13. v. 18. Upon leaving Rameses they passed by Lathopolis, as we are informed by Josephus: and made their first encampment at Succoth, which, as we may infer from Antoninus, was little more than thirty miles. By the name of this place is signified an inclosure, consisting of pens and booths for cattle. It was probably built for a receptacle, in which the Egyptians secured, and foddered, their flocks and herds, during the inundation of the Nile. The Grecians in Egypt called these places *Μανδραί*, and *Σκηναί*, and the Romans *Scenæ*: of which there are
two



Al Siap
 Containing part of the
LAND of EGYPT
 with which
 the ISRAELITES were chiefly concerned
Also
 of the ADJACENT COUNTRY
 with the names of the Places
 as they were in the time of
MOSES
 & of other Sacred Writers.



two mentioned by ¹ Antoninus, and other writers. The one was above Babylon in Upper Egypt, and called Scenæ Mandræ: both which words are of the same signification, as Succoth. The other was styled Scenæ Veteranorum: and from its situation, as well as the purport of the name, was probably the very place, which the Egyptians called Succoth. For it lay directly in the road to the Red Sea: and was at a very proper distance for the Israelites to make their first station. In going this journey eastward travellers are obliged to take a small circuit on account of a mountain, called by Herodotus the Mountain of Arabia. This mountain descends from Upper Egypt; and after a long range terminates in its direction downward, opposite to the pyramids and the point of Delta. It then turns eastward but at the same time forms a bend to the north. Herodotus gives a very just description of its course, as it passed in respect to the ancient Heliopolis upwards towards the

¹ P. 169.

south, and from the same point to the east in the direction before mentioned. But the passage seems to be incorrect. Ἄπο δε Ἡλιαπολεος ανω ιοντι ϑεινη εςι Αιγυπτος* τη μεν γαρ της Αραβιης ορος παρατεταται, φερων απ' αρκετε προς μεσημεριης τε και νοτε. *As people pass through the country upwards Egypt appears narrow. For the Arabian mountain extends itself all the way, in a parallel direction towards the meridian and the south. All this is very plain; but he afterwards adds—αιει ανω τεινον εις την Ερυθρην καλεομενην Θαλασσαν—the mountain all the way upwards tending towards the Red Sea. This is by no means true: for the mountain is never so near that sea, as it is at the point of Delta. It is continually receding: and at its fountains in Abyffinia is at its greatest distance.*

The true reading therefore seems to be this. Instead of αιει ανω τεινον, we should read—και ανατεινον εις την Ερυθρην καλεομενην Θαλασσαν. *The Arabian mountain passes from a particular point upwards to the south, but from that same point takes another direction to the east, and to*

* Herodotus. l. 2. c. 5. p. 106.

the Red Sea. This is authenticated by the words, which follow. For the author adds, that it makes its turn, εν ω λιθοτομιαι εισι, *where the quarries were.* He then subjoins—ταυτη μεν ληγον (το ορος) ανακαμπτει ες τα ειρηται. *The mountain terminating at this place, immediately passes in a new direction to the part of the world before mentioned.* I have taken these pains to determine the range of this mountain towards the east, as all travellers from the point above to the Red Sea are obliged to follow its direction if they go the common and more northern road. The Israelites in particular are found to have proceeded that way.

From Succoth to the Desert of Etham.

This desert was properly a continuation of the wilderness from Egypt. But it commenced under the name of Etham at the northern extremity of the Red-Sea. The distance from Babylon, and the modern
Cairo,

Cairo, to this point is by travellers estimated to be about ninety miles. If then to Succoth were thirty of these; there remain sixty from thence to their second place of encampment. For we have been told, that *they departed from Succoth, and pitched in Etham, in (or upon) the edge of the wilderness.* Exod. 13. 20.

From Etham to Phi-Hiroth.

The Israelites were now secure, being out of all fear of the Egyptians: and just ready to take shelter in a wilderness, where no army without a miracle could subsist. The want of water, and every other necessary article, precluded all chance of being overtaken. But at this instant, they have an order to change their route: and in consequence of it one would imagine, that they would be directed to march by the left to Canaan, *the land flowing with milk and honey.* No; they are commanded to retire from it. *And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, that they TURN*
and

and encamp before *Pi-habiroth*, (or *Phi-Hi-roth*) between *Migdol* and the sea, over against *Baal-zephon*: before it shall ye encamp by the sea. Nothing can be more plain, than the command of the deity; and the situation, into which they were afterwards brought in consequence of it is equally plain. They were to turn, somewhat retrograde, which is a circumstance particularly to be observed: and they were then to proceed; till they came—*κατα σωμα Ειρωθ*, to a ¹ mouth, or opening, between some mountains, at that day well known. And when they had halted, they were to have the sea on one hand, and *Migdol*, *the castle, or garrison*, on the other: and over against them was, to be *Baal-zephon* on the opposite side of the sea. The place, where the wilderness of *Etham* commenced, was at the top of that western gulf, in which the *Red Sea* ended. There were two of these gulfs; one of which lay to the east, and was of the least extent. This in aftertimes was called ² *Elanites*, from the

¹ *Fauces Montium*, Ἔ, *os, apertura*. See *Le Clerc* upon *Exodus*, p. 430.

² *Ptolemy*, l. 5. p. 162. It is by *Pliny* called *Sinus Horoopoliticus*, l. 5. c. 11. 259.—*Deut.* c. 2. v. 8.

city Elana, or Elah, the Elath of the scriptures, which bordered upon it. The other was the Sinus Horopolitanus; which extended farther inland, and was nearest to Egypt. It was thus named by the Greeks from the city Heroum, which stood at its northern extremity. Near this point the children of Israel turned back; and, passing downward with the sea on their left hand, they were brought into a defile, which consisted of a long extended coast, and was bounded by the above mentioned sinus to the east: and by the extremity of the Arabian ¹ mountain to the west. At the end was the inundation above mentioned, which from the Greeks had the name of Clyfma: and supposed to be the same place, which was called by the Arabians ² Colfum. This inlet of water stopped the Israelites, and prevented their proceeding farther: for it directly thwarted

¹ It is now called Gibel Mocatti. See Shaw, Pocock, and Niebuhr.

² Some say, that whatever similitude may have appeared, in the purport of these two names, yet they are of a different signification. Clyfma, Κλυσμα, denotes an inundation, or place inundated: but by Colfum is meant an overwhelming, or submerfion. It was, they say, given from the overwhelming of Pharaoh and his host.

them in their passage : so that they were on every side enclosed, and had their enemy pressing close upon their rear. For——*the Egyptians pursued after them,——and overtook them encamping by the sea, beside Pi-bahiroth, before Baal-zephon.*

The place of this inlet is, I believe, now for the most part dry ; and is called Bedea by the Arabs. It formerly extended some miles inward towards Egypt, passing through a mouth, or opening, between the mountains : which mouth or opening is very justly supposed to have been the Phi-Hiroth of the scriptures. It is some miles in length, and still retains marks of the sea, as we learn from ^a Monconys, and others, who have passed it. For, instead of going round by the mountain of Arabia in a direction to the north of the east, travellers often pass towards the south-east through this hollow way, and so arrive at Bedea, where it termi-

^a Of the different roads to the Red Sea, and Etham, see Shaw's Travels, p. 433. and Niebuhr's Arabie, p. 352. Of the four roads mentioned by Pocock, Derb Ejenef is the most northern, and by this he supposes the Israelites to have passed, as it led more directly to Etham, p. 155.

nates at the Red Sea. From thence they turn to the left northward: and in about ten hours arrive at Suez. This road is called now *Derb al Touriac*. The history given by *Monconys* is remarkable, where he describes his passage through the length of this opening. ¹ *Après diner nous passâmes pendant deux heures entre des montagnes, qui sont de côté et d'autre fort droites, et fort hautes, et laissent un grand chemin au milieu de trente ou quarante pas de large; qui ne semble pas mal à l'endroit, dans lequel l'Écriture dit, que Pharaon pretendoit attraper le peuple Hebreu enfermé. Aut bout de ces montagnes il y a une vaste campagne, qui va jusque à la mer.—Le 18. nous fimes une heure de chemin à pié toujours dans cette plaine, qui se rétréffit entre de hautes montagnes, qui vont jusques à la mer, et font paroître cette plaine un canal artificiel, excepté sa largeur, qui n'a guere moins de deux lieus. Nous arrivâmes à onze heures au bord de la Mer Rouge, où nous dinâmes. Puis la cotoiant toujours jusques au soir nous marchâmes vers le nord, et laissant les mon-*

¹ *Voyages de Monf. de Monconys, vol. I. p. 409.*

tagnes au couchant, et la mer du côté du Levant—Le 19. nous partîmes au point du jour, et arrivâmes à neuf heures au devant de Suez. At the embouchure of this valley, between the mountains, was the Clyfma of the Greeks, and the Colfum of the Arabs, from whence the finus took its name. Here was also a tower and garrison described by ¹ Ptolemy as—Κλυσμα φρεριον, and Κλυσμα κασρον by ² Hierocles: *the encampment at Clyfma*: which was perhaps the Migdol of the Egyptians. When the author turned to the left hand towards the north, he went over the very ground, where the Israelites encamped before their passage through the sea: but in a contrary direction.

I have supposed, that the children of Israel were stopped, and entangled at the bottom of this pass at Clyfma, rather than, as some people have thought, at the top and entrance; which was nearer to the modern Suez. My reason is, because, when a mountain terminates in a high cliff towards the sea, as the Arabian mountain does, though it leaves

¹ L. iv. p. 116.

² See Appendix to Antonini Itin. p. 728.

sufficient room below, yet this passage cannot be stiled *συνα*, a mouth: or as the Latins would express it, *fauces montis*. There must be a valley or aperture, each way bounded by hills, to constitute such an opening. In the next place, if the Israelites had been at this place within sight of the Egyptians, they would not have stopped here but entered the defile: as people, when hard pressed, always retire as far as they can, however they may ultimately despair. They never unnecessarily stop. For, let the enemy be ever so numerous, or so well provided, a small body in a narrow pass has a chance for a time to make some stand against them. Father Sicard thinks, that this passage, which extends along that part of the Arabian mountain called now *Gibel Attake*, is not sufficiently capacious to receive such numbers, as were concerned in this march. But this objection seems to be of no weight. For, as it is well known, that ² caravans consisting of many thousands of people with their horses, camels, and carriages come every year this way, to and

² See Monconys, vol. 1. p. 410.

from Upper Egypt; I do not see how any number of persons can be excluded. A large army, as well as a small, may in time pass over the same bridge. I have called it a defile: but in the maps of Niebuhr, and in other maps, it appears of sufficient breadth for every purpose required. In some places it seems to have been two or three miles wide, though gradually contracted towards the bottom. Bishop Pocock supposes the passage to have been here; and Dr. Shaw places it in the same part of the sinus. But he makes the Israelites pass directly from Egypt to it by the nearest road; not considering, that they went first to Etham at the top of the sinus; and then by an alteration in their route came to their situation below.

Of the Transit being at Clyfma.

I am therefore obliged to accede to Eusebius, and those writers, who place the trajectus Israelitarum at the Clyfma of Ptolemy, and Antoninus. Josephus tells us, that the Israelites before their transit were hemmed in on every side by the sea, and mountains; and by the enemy in their rear. This situation can no where be found but at Clyfma. This opinion would be attended with little difficulty, were it not for the town called by the Arabs Colsum, and Al Kolsum, which name is supposed to be only a variation of Clyfma. This place they have farther imagined to have been the same, as the ancient Arfinoe, the same also, as the modern Suez. Hence they have maintained, that near this city Suez was the place of passage, where the children of Israel were miraculously conducted over.

It will therefore be proper to consider the situation of the places with which we are principally

principally concerned: for this will lead us to discover the grounds of the mistake, into which writers have been led in treating of Clyfma. It has originated from their confounding different objects, which they have taken for one and the same. The original Clyfma was, as I have said, an inlet of the Red Sea, at the mouth of the valley, called Phi-Hiroth: and there was an encampment named from it. Where it was situated may be farther seen above from Ptolemy, and Antoninus. In time it gave name to the whole bay, which was called the bay of Clyfma; and by the Arabs Bayer al Colfum. And as there was a town towards the upper part of the sinus, this obtained the name of Clyfma, and Colfum. People have confounded these different places, which has caused great uncertainty in the histories, where they occur. Writers, therefore, are in the wrong in supposing that the ancient Clyfma was a town; and then making inferences in consequence of this supposition. For the original Clyfma was an inlet of the sea: and, as I have said, gave name both to the bay, and to the town: below which it

lay several miles. This we learn from those ancient authors, who have treated of it; and ascertained its situation.

According to Ptolemy, p. 116.

the latitude of Heroum was	29°	50'
The latitude of Clyfma	-	28 50
		<hr/>
Difference	-	1° 0'

According to Ulug Beig the latitude

of the Town of Colsum was 29° 30'

The difference from Heroum to the inlet at Clyfma was one degree, or near seventy miles: but to the town of Colsum only twenty-two or twenty-three miles. They were therefore different places. Antoninus makes the distance to Clyfma nearly the same. From Heroum to Serapium eighteen miles: to Clyfma fifty. Total sixty-eight. Ptolemy began his estimate from the farthest point of the finus: but Antoninus from the city, which stood on one side of it, and somewhat lower: which has produced the difference of about a mile and an half.

One of the canals, which were with great labour carried on from the Nile to the Red

Sea, passed into this inlet. It was probably the same, through which a person in ¹ Lucian is said to have been carried in his way from Egypt towards India. Harduin in his notes upon ² Pliny quotes a passage from an author concerning this canal, and the place of its exit, which is remarkable. Hodie in cosmographiâ, quæ sub Julio Cæsare et Marco Antonino consulibus facta est, scriptum inveni, partem Nili fluminis exeuntem in Rubrum Mare juxta civitatem Ovilam et castra Monsei. In this last word there is certainly a mistake of a letter, and for castra Monsei we should read castra Mousei, *the encampment of Moses*. From hence we may be induced to think, that the $\phi\rho\upsilon\epsilon\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ Κλυσματος of Ptolemy, the same as the castrum Clysmatis of Hierocles, was not of old a real præsidium, but a place so called from the encampment of the children of Israel, and in memory of Moses.

In short, it is generally agreed by writers, who treat of the subject, that the passage of the Israelites across was at the bay of Col-

¹ Lucian. Pseudomantis, p. 893. Salmur.

² Vol. I. c. 6, p. 340. notis.

sum or Clyfma. ¹ Haud procul ab Alkolsum est locus in mari, ubi demerfus est Pharaone. *Not far from Alkolsum is the place, where Pharaoh (and his army) were overwhelmed.*

² Κλυσμα, δι' ἧ παλαι και το Ισραηλιτικον φευγοντες τας Αιγυπτιας αβροχω το ρειθρον διεπεραιωθησαν ποδι. *Clyfma was the place, through which the Israelites of old, when they fled from Pharaoh, passed over to the other side without wetting their feet.*

We are told by Dr. ³ Shaw, that near this place (Corondel) the natives still preserve a tradition that a numerous army was formerly drowned, near Bedea, the same as Clyfma.

Opinions canvassed.

The curious traveller Niebuhr seems to intimate, that he sometimes had entertained an opinion, that the passage of the Israelites

¹ Abulfeda. See Shaw's Travels, p. 349. notis.

² Philostorgius, l. 3. c. 5. p. 489. edit. Reading.

³ P. 349.

over the Red Sea was near ' Bedea. But he recedes from it afterwards; and gives his reasons, which I shall take the liberty to consider: as from an examination of his objections we may possibly obviate those of others. In speaking of the testimony of Josephus, he says, ² Il semble d'abord, je l'avoue, que l'auteur ait voulu désigner la vallée de ' Bedea, si tant est, qu'il ait jamais été. Mais l'écriture sainte ni parle ni de montagnes, ni de rochers a cette occasion. Il paroît même que s'ils avoient été près de Bedea, Pharaon n'auroit pu dire: *ils se sont égarés dans le pays, et enfermés dans le désert*: cars ils auroient a la vérité eu la Mer Rouge devant eux à l'est; mais aussi en s'en approchant ils auroient trouvé le chemin le long de la mer vers le nord depuis la vallée de Bedea jusques a Suès; et jusques au bout du golfe, route qu' a pris Monconys. The author is certainly mistaken in respect to the route, which he supposes the Israel-

¹ On panche encore pour Bedea. Description d'Arabie, p. 349.

² Ibid. p. 350. The author mistakes the true route. The Israelites went the contrary way.

ites to have taken. They did not go by the passage from Upper Egypt, called now Derb el Tourick, to Clyfma: and then like Monconys pass upwards to the north to the extremity of the finus. But their route was by the general and more frequented way, called now Derb el Ejenef: by which the caravans from Cairo go to the Red Sea at this day. They passed over the desert with the mountain of Arabia upon their right hand: and so proceeded to the western point of the Red Sea, and the upper border of ¹Etham. Here they were ordered to turn; a circumstance always to be kept in view, as the whole of the process afterwards is determined by it. Here at the top of the finus they changed their course: and descended to the inundation at Clyfma, or Bedea. This was in a direction quite the reverse of that, which was taken by Monconys. The finus of the Red Sea which he

¹ Here the author himself places Etham.—Il paroît que tout le district autour de l'extremite du golfe Arabique a été nommé Etham. p. 352. Concerning the two roads I have made mention before from Shaw and Niebuhr.

had on his right hand they kept to the left, and afterwards passed through it to the eastern side of the sinus.

The author proceeds to shew, that if the Israelites had been apprised, that they should be preserved in a miraculous manner, they might then have suffered themselves to have been brought into those difficulties which must have occurred in the defile between the sea and the mountains: ' Mais comme il n'en est pas fait la moindre mention dans cet auteur sacré, et qu'il semble même en insinuer le contraire, il n'est pas à présumer, qu'ils se soient laissés conduire comme des aveugles. Entre tant de milliers de personnes quelques-unes auroient bien connu le chemin, qui aboutissoit aux frontières de l'Egypte, et se seroient sûrement opposées au dessein de Moïse, s'il leur avoit fait prendre une route, qui les approchât visiblement de leur pert. Il n'y a qu'à voyager avec une caravane, qui va trouver le moindre obstacle, *p. e.* un petit torrent, pour se convaincre, que les orientaux sont des êtres intel-

' Description d' Arabie, p. 350.

ligens, et ne se laissent mener comme des
 etourdis par leur Caravan-Baschi. The
 whole of this argument is founded on pre-
 judice; and abounds with misconceptions.
 In respect to what is said about a caravan,
 we may be assured, that, if any body of men,
 however large, and however experienced, had
 been witnesses to such wonderful works ex-
 hibited by their leader, as were performed by
 Moses, they might without hesitation have
 followed him; and not have incurred the
 imputation of being led blindfold. But the
 author does not seem to recollect that there
 is such a thing as θεος εν μνηχανη; that the
 whole was directed by the deity. Though
 they were ostensibly conducted by Moses;
 yet it was ultimately the deity, by whose
 hand they were led, and whose commands
 they obeyed: who *went before them by day
 in a pillar of a cloud, and by night in
 a pillar of fire*: who directed all their
 ways. It is therefore idle to say—il n'es
 pas a presumer qu'ils se soient laissés conduire
 comme des aveugles. They were not blind-
 ed, but had their senses in full force; and
 acted according to reason. The wonder is,
 that

that they did not in every instance behave with the same confidence and obedience, as they had such strong evidence of the deity being their director. But it was not so with the Egyptians. They were in a state of blindness, as well as their king. Hence our traveller reasons wrong, when he says—

‘Pharaon ne me paroît point un inconsidéré d’ avoir voulu passer la mer à Suès, où elle n’ avoit peut-être qu’une demie-lieue de largeur ;—mais il eut manqué de prudence, si après avoir vu tant de prodiges en Egypte, il fut entré dans une mer large de trois lieux et d’avantage. The author seems to be totally ignorant of the true purport of this history. Pharaoh was manifestly bereft of prudence. It is expressly said that *God hardened his heart*, in order that these wonders might not make an undue impression upon him. For there is a degree of evidence, and of influence, to which we are not entitled. When a person acts against conviction, and turns from the light, God does not always leave him in that state of twi-

light ; but adds to his blindness, and brings on a tenfold darkness. When people pervert their best gifts, they will be farther corrupted to their ruin : and those, who are guilty of wilful and obstinate folly, will be doomed to judicial infatuation. This was the case of Pharaoh and the Egyptians.

The author proceeds — J'ignore, si le chemin de ces deux endroits a Bedea étoit alors praticable pour un grande caravane : et quand il auroit-été, il me paroît trop long. Car pour aller de Káhira droit à Suès, il faut 32 heures, et trois quarts ; et ainsi depuis le Nil une heure de plus. La hauteur du pole à Suès étant de six minutes moindre qu' à Káhira, et lá vallée de Bedea étant située de quelques lieux plus au sud que Suès, une caravane médiocre mettroit plus de tems pour aller d' Héliopolis jusques à la dite vallée de Bedea, et y employeroit de 35 a 38 heures, ce que la caravane des Israélites n' auroguères pu faire en trois jours. This argument like the former is entirely founded on fancy : and has not the least evidence to support it. In the first place as I have before said, they did not take this road. In the next place

no comparison can be made between the journeying of the children of Israel, and the march of a caravan : for they were differently directed. Nor can any time be ascertained for the duration of their route, as it is quite uncertain how long they were encamped upon the borders of Etham. It might have been, instead of one day, two or more : as there must have been time afforded for the Egyptians to arm and to pursue them, after the interment of their own dead. And as to the way being too long to be passed over in the time, which the author allots ; this is likewise a mere hypothesis, in which the author thinks, that the progress of the Israelites was similar to the procedure of mankind in general, and to be measured by the same rules, by the journeying of a camel. But this cannot be allowed : for they had supernatural assistance : and there is reason to think, when they took their journey from Succoth to the Red Sea, that they travelled as well by night, as by day : which is a circumstance, that has not been considered. For it is said, when they took their journey

journey—that *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.* Exodus, c. 13. v. 21. We find the same in the psalmist. *In the day time also he led them with a cloud; and all the night with a light of fire.* Psalm 78. v. 14. It seems, I think, to be intimated that they performed the journey from Succoth to Etham, though it was nearly sixty miles, at one time. In reply it may be said; that if this were the case, the old people, and the children, must have died by the way: the cattle must have been over driven and killed: every leg wearied, and every body exhausted with labour. Not in the least. Remember, what is said by the great lawgiver to the people, when he was going to leave them, concerning the wonderful manner in which they had been conducted. —*I have led you forty years in the wilderness: your clothes are not waxen old upon you, and thy shoe is not waxen old upon thy foot.* Deut. c. 29. v. 5. Again. *Thy raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy foot swell these*

forty years. c. 8. v. 4. He, that could preserve the raiment, must be able to sustain the man: and the same power, that prevented the foot from swelling, could keep the leg from being weary.

The Alternative.

The interposition of the deity must be therefore uniformly admitted, or totally rejected. To this alternative we must be brought, when we read the Mosaic history. It is idle to proceed by halves: and to halt between two opinions. Without this allowance it would be impossible to account for the passage of the children of Israel through the channel of the Red Sea; even if the waters had retired by any natural means. For the bottom towards the top of the Red Sea abounds with beds of coral and madrapore; and is so full of sea weed, that it from hence had the name in ancient times

^a Pocock, p. 135. 141.

of *Yam Suf*, or the weedy sea. ¹ Niebuhr indeed says, that the sinus, or bay of Heroum, from the top as far down as Corondel, had a good sandy bottom. This might be true, as far as he had experience. But the bed of every shelving bay has in some degree weeds, and soft ² ooze, sufficient to make it impassable, though the water should recede. This shews, how idly they reason, who compare the transit of the Israelites with the passage of Alexander by the sea-coast in Pamphylia: for these two operations were essentially different. Strabo has given us a short description of the pass in Pamphylia, by which Alexander led his army.

³ Ἐστὶ δ' ὄρος, Κλίμαξ καλεσμένου· ἐπικείται δὲ τῷ Παμφυλίῳ πελάγει, σένην ἀπολείπων παροδὸν ἐπὶ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ, ταῖς μὲν νηνεμιαῖς γυμνασμένην, ὡς εἶναι ἑσσιμον τοῖς ὄδευσσι. πλημμυροντος δὲ τῆς πελάγους, ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων καλυπτομένη ἐπιπόλυ.

¹ Le rivage n'est que de pur sable depuis la point jusques à Girondel. *Descript. d'Arabie*, p. 356. See before, p. 355.

² Diodorus calls it θαλασσα τεναγῶδης. l. 3. p. 173. He says further that it was three fathoms deep.

³ Strabo, l. 14. p. 982.

There

*There is a mountain called Climax, or the ladder, which seems to hang over the Pamphylian sea; and affords at the bottom a narrow pass for travellers upon the shore. This in calm weather is quite bare of water; so that people can easily go over it. But when there is any swell of the sea, it is for the most part under water. Thus we see, that the Grecian army was conducted over a shore, which is said in general to have been above water, and consequently dry and passable. Whereas, when Moses was ordered to conduct his people, it was across a gulf with a descent, the bottom of which had been always covered with sea water; and could not possibly afford sure footing. How then were the children of Israel led over? certainly not by any natural means. The same power, which divided the sea, and made it stand like a wall on each side, could at the same time remove all other obstacles; and make the bottom as hard as the firmest strand. *The waters saw thee, O God, the waters saw thee: they were afraid; the depths also were troubled.* Psalm 77. v. 16. *Thy way is in the sea, and thy path in the great waters,**

and thy footsteps are not known. v. 19. Thus saith the Lord, which maketh a way in the sea, and a path in the mighty waters; which bringeth forth the chariot and horse, the army and the power; they shall lie down together, they shall not rise: they are extinct, they are quenched as tow. Isaiah, c. 43. v. 16, 17.—So he led them through the depths, as through the wilderness. And the waters covered their enemies: there was not one of them left. Psalm 106. v. 9, 11.

If then there appears any thing extraordinary in these manœuvres, and contrary to the usual mode of operation among men; we must not upon that account hesitate, and be diffident: for it was the very purpose of the deity. It was his will, that difficulties should arise, that he might display his glory and power to the Israelites; and his judgments upon the Egyptians.—*For Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel, They are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in. And I will harden Pharaoh's heart, that he shall follow after them; and I will be honoured upon Pharaoh, and upon all his*

his

his host; that the Egyptians may know, that I am the Lord. Exod. c. 14. v. 3, 4. It is therefore impossible to make the purposes of divine wisdom accord with human sagacity: for they are far above it; as we learn from the apostle. *How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor?* Epist. to the Romans, c. xi. v. 33, 34.

When therefore the author says, that the Israelites would not have been thus blindly led, he should have farther considered, that neither would Moses have thus blindly led them. Nobody in his senses would have brought himself into these difficulties, unless under the influence of an higher power. Hence this inference must necessarily follow, that such a power did lead and control them. The whole was brought about by the wisdom of God, that he might manifest his superiority in preserving his servants, and confounding his enemies.

The author reasons equally wrong in respect to the place of passage. If it were a more short, and shallow, way, such as is

now to be found just below Suez, where he places it, then he sees no absurdity in supposing, that the Egyptians might follow the Israelites. But, if we place it at Bedea (the true Clyfma of the ancients) then, he thinks, it must have been too wide and deep for Pharaoh to have pursued. ¹ Tous les Egyptiens auroient été depourvus du bon sens, s' ils avoient voulu poursuivre les Israelites en travers du tel ² mer. He does not consider, that what he makes a supposition, was the real fact. The Egyptians were blinded, and acted throughout contrary to reason, and good sense, being under a judi-

¹ Arabie, p. 355.

² In respect to Suez at this day he says, that there are some difficulties in passing the ford; and it must have required a miracle for Moses to have led the people over even as it is now.—La chose eut-été naturellement bien plus difficile aux Israelites il y a quelques milliers d' années, le golfe étant probablement plus large, plus profond, plus étendu vers le nord. p. 354. But does not this limit the extent and efficacy of a miracle too much? He seems to allow, that the deity could conduct his people through a bed of waters for a mile and a half though difficult: but thinks, that this could not be effected through a larger arm of the sea below, of two or three leagues in breadth.

cial infatuation: by which they were led to their confusion. We must allow this, or give up the history.

A Recapitulation of the Whole.

In this manner was the mighty operation carried on; and the Israelites were conducted from the Nile and Rameses to Succoth, journeying all the way near the bottom of the Arabian mountain. From thence they went to the edge of that desert which was inhabited by the Arabians called in after times ² Autæi. In performing this they passed pretty high north, and were approaching towards the confines of the promised land. For there are strong evidences, as I have before mentioned, that the Sinus Heroopolites extended much higher, than it does at this day: to which Bishop Pocock bears witness, p. 133. Mr. Niebuhr is of the same opi-

² Pliny, l. 6. p. 341.

nion. ¹ Il y a donc quelques milliers d'années, que le golfe d'Arabie étoit plus large, et s'entendoit plus vers le nord: surtout le bras près de Suès. Car le rivage de cette extrémité du golfe est très bas. In the time of the Ptolemies Heroum was supposed to bound the northern point. But in times of high antiquity the bay is supposed to have reached upwards beyond it: so that the Israelites, being out of reach of their enemies, were in a fair way for Canaan. But they were ordered to alter their course, and to journey southward; and they obeyed. Having thus marched sixty or seventy miles in a contrary direction, they afforded an opportunity for the Egyptians at last to approach them. They had advanced in the defile of the present Mount Attakah for some time; when they perceived the host of Pharaoh approaching in their rear: and were stopped by the waters of Clyfma in their front: which filled up the valley of Hiroth. The place of this inundation, as we have before seen, is now called by the natives Bede, or, as ² Mr. Shaw and

¹ Arabie, p. 348.

² p. 344.

' Niebuhr exprefs it, Bedea. The valley is now, I believe, by the foil and rubbish brought down from the mountains on each fide, become dry. But it ftill retains all the marks of its original ftate; as Monconys has before informed us; and has ftill the appearance of a large canal. Indeed we may be affured from its name, Κλυσμα, Clyfma, that it was once an inlet from the fea. Mr. Shaw thinks, that the name is derived from the Arabic, and has a relation to the miracle, which was there difplayed. But it is manifefly a Greek word, and relates to an effufion of waters: in which fignification it bears fome analogy with the other name Bedea. For Bedu, Badu, or Bad; are to be found in the compofition of many names of places, which are noted for ² water. It was a Greek word but almoft antiquated: and wherever it is feen, it occurs in this fenfe. It is faid alfo to

¹ p. 349.

² Badon, Baden, Buda—are places denominated from their baths. The city of Bath was of old called Badon, and Bathon: from whence the modern term is derived. Lambarde accordingly ftiles it Baddanbyrig, Caer-badun, Badonicus Mons, and in the Saxon Chronicle it is ftiled fimply Badon.

have been a Phrygian term: and also a Thracian, as it is to be found in Orpheus—

² Καὶ Βεδυ Νυμφαῶν καταλείβεται ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ.

In this line the word Bedu is used as the pure element of water. And another ancient writer, whom he styles Dion Thutes, introduces the word, when he mentions the pouring of water upon his hands—καὶ Βεδυ λαβῶν κατα χειρῶν καταχευεῖ. Another writer says—³ Ἐλκειν τὸ Βεδυ σωτηριον προσευχομαι.

I long

¹ Βεδυ μὲν γὰρ τῆς φρυγίας τὸ ὕδωρ φησι (Διδύμος ὁ Γραμματικὸς) καλεῖν. Clemens, Strom. l. 5. p. 673.

² See Clemens above—and Orphic. Fragmenta, xix. p. 384. Gesner. It was preserved in some ancient invocations at Miletus. Βεδυ, Ζαψ, Χθων, πληρον, Ζφινγξ: κ. τ. λ. Clemens, *ibid.* See Bentley's learned Epistle to Mills, Appendix to J. Malala, p. 48.

³ L. 5. p. 673.

Clemens says, that in this place it signifies τὸν ἀέρα, *the air*: which I know not how to believe: for it is not probable that the same word should betoken two different elements. The line is taken from a passage in the comic writer Philydeus: the whole of which is as follows:

Ἐλκειν τὸ Βεδυ σωτηριον προσευχομαι,

Ὅπερ μεγιστον ἐστιν υγιειας μέρος,

Τὸ τὸν ἀερ' ἐλκειν καθαρὸν, & τεθολωμένον.

To me the last line seems to have been not accurately quoted: and the terms ὅπερ in the former line and τὸ τὸν

in

I long to quaff the salutary stream. The word often relates to warm, and medicinal fountains: with which the coast of the Red Sea abounded. There are at this day several springs both of hot and salt water in this ¹ valley. Hence Bedea and Clyfma, however they seem to be nearly of the same purport, may in some degree differ. Bedea is a place of springs, and baths: Clyfma is denominated from an inlet, and inundation.

But, whatever may have been the express meaning of the name, it is manifest from Ptolemy, that at Bedea must have been the ancient Clyfma: and at this place was the

in the latter do not quite correspond, nor form a true grammatical connection. I should therefore read in the last instance for το του—τουτ'. The person, who speaks, seems to be wishing for two things, which are essential to health,—and accordingly says—

Ἐλκειν το Βεδυ σωτηριον προσευχομαι,

Ἵπερ μεγαλον εστιν υγιειας μερος

Τουτ' αερ' ἔλκειν καθαρον & τεθολωμενον.

My prayer is, that I may drink of wholesome water, which has the greatest share in the preservation of man's health: and to breathe the pure air, free from all noxious mixture. Clemens above.

¹ See the Map of Mons. D'Anville, and his Description du Golfe Arabique.

inlet of the sea between the mountains of Hiroth, which obstructed the passage to the south. Here the children of Israel were stopped, being got into a narrow pass, to which there was no outlet. They were therefore obliged to encamp by the side of it, having the inundation to their right; and the sea in their front, and Baal-zephon upon the opposite shore. It is said, that Pharaoh was seen approaching in the very article of their encamping, and, as it is intimated, about the evening. *And the children of Israel lift up their eyes, and behold, the Egyptians marched after them, and they were sore afraid:—* *And they said unto Moses, Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness? wherefore hast thou dealt thus with us, to carry us forth out of Egypt?—* And Moses said, *Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord, which he will shew to you to-day: for the Egyptians whom ye have seen to-day, ye shall see them again no more for ever.* Exod. c. 14. v. 10, 11. 13. We may well imagine, how great the anxiety of the people must have been, who had not true faith in their leader: and

and saw no possible means for their escape. Night now came on ; which must have increased their horrors, and their murmurs against Moses. At last the word of command was given ; and the Lord spake unto Moses, who seems to have been looking up to heaven for assistance. *Wherefore criest thou to me ? speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward. But lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thine hand over the sea, and divide it ; and the children of Israel shall go on dry ground through the midst of the sea. And I, behold, I will harden the hearts of the Egyptians, and they shall follow them : and I will get me honour upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen. And the Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord.*

The Transit.

The situation, to which the Israelites were reduced, rendered them very fit for marching. For the strait, in which they were confined, necessarily brought them to the disposition of a long extended army. As soon as they were ordered to face about to the east, they could all move in fair front, and uniformly make their way. For had they gone lengthways, and by files, it must, according to the common course of operations, have taken up a very long time to have arrived together at any place of destination: so great were their numbers. It seems to have been dark night, when they set out: at which time the sea miraculously divided. *And the angel of God, which went before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them: and the pillar of the cloud went from before their face, and stood behind them: and it came between the camp of the Egyptians, and the camp of Israel: and it was a cloud and darkness to them, but it gave light*

light by night to these: so that the one came not near the other all the night.—And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground: and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left. And the Egyptians pursued, and went in after them, to the midst of the sea, even all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, and his horsemen. And it came to pass, that in the morning watch the Lord looked unto the host of the Egyptians through the pillar of fire and of the cloud, and troubled the host of the Egyptians, and took off their chariot-wheels, that they drave them heavily. It is probable, that, when the Egyptians were thus troubled, and disordered, they did not follow the regular way of those, whom they pursued: but got among the rocks, and mud; and those other impediments, with which the Red Sea particularly abounds. These brake their wheels, and disabled their chariots, so that they made little way. The Egyptians therefore cried out, *Let us flee from the face of Israel, for the Lord fighteth for them against the Egyptians.* This happened at the third watch

* watch of the night, some time before the dawn of day. After they had been for a season, during the darkness, in which they were involved, encountering with these difficulties, *The Lord said unto Moses, Stretch out thine hand over the sea; that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians. And Moses stretched forth his hand over the sea; and the sea returned to his strength when the morning appeared, and the Egyptians fled against it: and the Lord overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea. And the waters returned, and covered the chariots and the horsemen, and all the host of Pharaoh that came into the sea after them: there remained not so much as one of them.—And Israel saw that great work which the Lord did upon the Egyptians: and the people feared the Lord, and his servant Moses.* Exodus, c. xiv.

* There were four watches—οψε, μεσονυκτια, αλεκτρο-οφωνια, πρωι. See Mark, c. 13. v. 35.

Homer divides the night into three watches: Ulysses says to Diomede:

————— Παρωχηκεν δε πλεων νυξ

των δυο μοιραων, τριτατη δ' ετι μοιρα λελειπται.

Iliad. K. v. 253.

Other Objections considered.

As it was the purpose of God to set apart the children of Israel for a particular people, among whom his church was to be maintained, and to whom the divine oracles were to be committed, it was proper to wean them from their attachment to Egypt, and their fondness for the superstitions of that country. And nothing could tend more to effect this, than his shewing his superiority over all their deities, and his judgments upon their votaries: who had so cruelly and unjustly enslaved his people. It is observable, that the place opposite, to which they passed over, was called Baal-zephon. This was probably a place of worship, designed for the use of mariners, where stood the statue or hieroglyphic of some serpentine deity, the supposed guardian of those seas. The children of Israel may have been particularly directed towards this part of the coast, that they might see farther the futility of such worship. This must have been the consequence,

quence,

quence, when in the morning they beheld the dead bodies of the Egyptians lying upon the beach, almost within the precincts of the idolatrous inclosure. *Thus the Lord saved Israel that day: and Israel saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea-shore.* Exodus, c. 14. v. 30.

Mr. Niebuhr, in his journeying upon the eastern coast of the sinus towards Mount Sinai, observed two openings between the high mountains on the opposite side to the west. The uppermost of these I have mentioned, as forming at the bottom the true Clyfma of Ptolemy, called now Bedea. Niebuhr says, that this opening (which is the Phi-Hiroth of the Scriptures) was directly opposite to the part of the region called Etti: of which name he mentions both a plain, and a [†] mountain. This place, there is great reason to think, was the Etham of Moses; upon the border of which the children of Israel had encamped, and where they again arrived after their passage through the Red Sea. But our author still thinks that they did not pass over here. For though,

[†] Where Pliny places the Arabes Autæi, l. 6. p. 341.

I must own, he says, that the bay is here somewhat more contracted, than in other places, ¹ Je la crois néanmoins et trop large, et trop profonde, pour que Moyse l'ait fait passer aux Israelites dans cet endroit la. He cannot bring himself to consider that Moses was not the chief agent: and that these operations were nor carried on at his pleasure; but at the direction of the Almighty. He does not seem to know, that one act of divine power is equivalent to another: and that the separating of Jordan, which was not probably an hundred yards over, was as much a miracle, as dividing the sea, of whatever breadth. They were both to the deity equally easy. The author has fortunately given us the breadth of the sinus about twenty miles below Suez, as he took it upon the eastern coast. This must have been nearly the spot, where the Israelites first came upon land in the desert of Etham. ² Dans le dessein de mesurer la largeur du Golfe Arabique, je m'eloignai le 24^o Septemb. de la caravane,

¹ Voyage, T. 1. p. 184.

² Ibid. p. 202.

environ à une distance de cinq milles au sud de Suès, et dans la plaine d' Etti, ou Tuérik, comme disoit l'un des nos Arabes. D'après mes observations, et mon calcul, je la trouvai être à peu près de trois milles d' ¹ Allemagne : mais cette fois ci encore je ne pu former une base assez longue pour donner à mon mesurage toute l'exaétitude requise.

I should be sorry to detract from the honours due to this excellent Danish traveller ; by whose diligence, and sagacity, the world has profited greatly. It is only in this one article, that I presume to differ from him : and this I have done with more confidence, as he sometimes seems himself not to be perfectly ² determined. I have at the same time paid little regard to the opinions of the modern Arabs, and to the names, which they assign to ³ places ; unless they have the
sanction

¹ About twelve English miles.

² Je n' ose pas rejeter entierement une opinion adoptée par tant de savans. Arabie, p. 351.

³ Upon this account I take no notice of the fountains near Suez, though they are stiled by the Arabs the Fountains of Moses : for there is no reason to think, that they were ever visited by that person : the place, where
the

sanction of antiquity. For we are told by Mr. Niebuhr,——¹ *Si l' en falloit croire les relations des Arabes qui habitent a l' est du golfe, les enfans d' Israel auroient passée la Mer Rouge toujours a l' endroit precis, ou on leur fait la question.*——² *Ainsi les traditions et les rapportes contradictoires des Arabes commun ne sont ici d' aucune valoir.* However, where there are names of long standing, and accounts incidentally introduced by authors, who knew not the original history, and consequently could have no system to maintain, their evidence must necessarily have weight, and demand our attention. Such is the evidence of ³ Diodorus Siculus, who mentions the traditions which prevailed among the people upon the coast, that the Red Sea upon a time retired in a wonderful man-

the Israelites passed over being far below. Les mêmes Arabes, qui nous avoient dit auparavant, que les enfans d' Israel avoient passé la Mer Rouge pres d' Aijun Mufa, nous dirent alors, que c'etoit dans le voisinage de Girondel. Niebuhr, Voy. T. 1. p. 184.

¹ Arabie, p. 348.

² Ibid. p. 349.

³ Diodorus, l. 3. p. 174.

ner, and left the channel dry. The region also will often bear witness for itself. For when travellers arrive at that part of the bay, where the Israelites are supposed after their transit to have been engaged, they find names of places, and other memorials which greatly illustrate, and confirm the sacred history. It is said, that they came into the region of Etham: which is still called ¹ Etti: the inhabitants of which were the Autæi of Pliny. Here also at this day is the wilderness of Sdur and Sin: and the region of Paran. Beyond Corondel is a hill called Gibel Al ² Marah; and the coast downward seems to have the same name, as it had of old, from the bitter waters, with which it still abounds; the inhabitants of which were probably the Maranæi of Pliny. The names of Elath and Midian also remain, and are mentioned by ³ Abulfeda. Below this re-

¹ Niebuhr, above.

² Pocock, p. 156. Shaw, 349. Not far from hence the desert still called Sin, p. 350.

³ Geog. Gr. Minores, v. 3. p. 73. He also alludes to the people of Teman, p. 43.

gion are the palm-trees, and the twelve wells of water, in Elim.—*So Moses brought Israel from the Red Sea, and they went out into the wilderness of Shur: and they went three days in the wilderness, and found no water. And when they came to Marah, they could not drink of the waters of Marah; for they were bitter: therefore the name of it was called Marah.—Here the Lord shewed to Moses a tree, which he cast into the waters, and they were made sweet.—And they came to Elim, where were twelve wells of water, and threescore and ten palm-trees: and they encamped there by the waters.* Exod. c. 15. v. 22, 23. 27. This encampment was towards the lower part of the bay; and after the Israelites had been journeying from their place of passage several days. For they were three days without water; and upon the fourth they came to Marah; and sometime afterward arrived at ¹ Elim. Diodorus ² Siculus gives an account of this palm grove, as it was described by Arifton, who

¹ Exodus, c. 15. v. 27.

² Diodorus, l. 3. p. 175.

was sent by Ptolemy to descry the coast of Arabia upon the Red Sea. He calls it the Phœnicon, and says, that it lay upon the western side of the desert; at some distance from an island denominated Phocarum Insula, the same which is now called Tiran: consequently the grove Phœnicon must have been towards that part of the bay. The place was held in great reverence on account of these palms, which grew there in great numbers: and a man and a woman were constituted as a ¹ priest and priestess to preside there. All the country around is exposed to violent heats: and is destitute of good water. But in this spot——*εκ ολιγαι πηγαι και λιβαδες εκπιπτουσιν εν αυτω, ψυχροτητι χιονος υδεν λειπομενοι*—*there are a number of springs, and scantlings of water, which fall as cool to the taste as ² snow.* Just above this part of the desert, he places the ³ Maranæi.

These

¹ Diodorus above. See also Agatharohides Geog. Græci Min. v. 1. p. 57.

² Diodorus Sic. l. 3. p. 175.

³ In these names, I think, we may see traces of the ancient Marah; as well as of the Gerandæni, in Coronidel:

These were the ancient inhabitants, but were slain by the Garandæi; who by an act of great treachery got possession of the palm-grove, and fountains. Here likewise is the desert of 'Faran, the Pharan of Ptolemy: which in its situation agrees precisely with the Páran of the scriptures. Diodorus further speaks of some rocks or pillars here,

del: which probably was denominated from the latter people. The engravings upon the rocks seem still to remain as such were seen by Mons. Monconys just in this part of the desert, as he was returning from Mount Sinai. A la fin du valon il y a quantité de grosses roches; sur lesquelles il y a des caractères gravés, et des lignes entières d'écriture: et à plusieurs des grandes il y a des huit, ou dix lignes: a mon avis ces lettres ont été faites avec des eaux fortes; et non pas avec le ciseau; tant à cause de la diverse couleur, qu'elles ont, étant extrêmement jaunes, qu'à cause du peu de profondeur, que l'œil ne sçauroit reconnoître: et pour en être certain, il fallut que j'y employasse le doigt. Neanmoins ces lettres ne sont point gâtées, et paroissent fort nettes. v. 1. p. 449, 450. Pocock. p. 148.

* La vallee de Girondel, de meme que celle de Faran. Niebuhr, Arabie, p. 346, 347.

Waad Pharan in the way to Tor. Pocock. p. 141. See also p. 157. The promontory below, called now Ras Mohammed, is the *Ακρωτηριον Φαραν* of Ptolemy.

engraven with unknown characteristics. The same history of this Phœnicon or palm-grove, and the fountains, is given by ¹ Strabo; who places it rather low upon the coast, and says, that the next object towards the bottom, was the Infula Phocarum. These must have been the fountains mentioned by Moses, and a continuation of the same palms: unless we suppose the nature of the country to have been altered. For we do not read, that there was any other part of the region, which had either such a grove of trees or such waters. Thus it was in the time of the Israelites; and so it was found to be in the time of Strabo and Diodorus: and thus we find it at this day. Diodorus gives a reason, why this little district was so much honoured and frequented.—² Δια το πασαν την κυκλω καυματηραν τε, και ανυδρον και ασκιον υπαρχειν.—*Because all the country round about was parched up with heat, being without water, and without a tree, that could afford shade.*

¹ L. 16. p. 1122.

² Ibid.

Monconys in his return through the desert from Mount Sinai took a lower way to the south towards a place called now Tor; where seems to be the district described by Strabo and Diodorus, near Paran. He mentions a valley, which he passed through, and in this valley towards the end he saw the rocks with ancient inscriptions; and at last came to a place, which he seems very justly to suppose the Elim of the scriptures——situé au fonds de cete plaine on bord de la mer et ou sont les douze ¹ fontaines. He adds——ces eaux vont arrosant une quantite de beaux palmiers, fermés de murailles; [et qui sont bien augmentés en nombre au dela des septante, que Moyse y trouva. He tells us however, that the waters are at this day by no means of a good taste.—² C'est en ce lieu, ou Moyse trouva les douze fontaines, et les (septante) palmiers. On y voit encore les douze fontaines, ou sources, qui sortent du pié de la montagne. Elles on un assez mauvais goût. ——aussi y a-t-il la un petit bain chaud,

¹ P. 450, 451.

² P. 450. They are called Hammam Moufa. Shaw, p. 350.

qu'on nomme de Moyse. Strabo ¹ intimates that the waters were in the time of Artemidorus very good: and from the Israelites encamping near them we may infer the same of them then. But this is not an article of much consequence. For all that we are told by Moses is, that at the place, where they arrived, they found twelve wells, and seventy palm-trees. The fountains remain precisely the same, in number, and the palm-trees are not extinct: on the contrary they are multiplied. Notwithstanding what Monconys says, travellers take notice of fountains of good water, though mixed with others of an inferior quality, as we learn from Dr. Pocock. He visited this district, and says, that in going southward towards Tor, and about a league from it towards the north —² *there is a well of good water: and all about it are a great number of date trees, or palms; and several springs also of salt water, especially to the south-east, where the monks have a*

¹ Φησι δὲ ἐνδοτέρῳ κείσθαι τέτο (τὸ Ποσειδίου) τοῦ Ελαμίτις μυχου. συνέχη δὲ τοῦ Ποσειδίου φοινικῶνα εἶναι εὐυδρον. l. 16. p. 1122.

² Pocock, p. 141.

garden. Near it are several springs (as we may infer of good water): and a bath or two, which are called the baths of Moses. The Greeks, as well as some others, are of opinion, that this is Elim. To the same purpose is the evidence of the traveller Breitenbach, as he is quoted by Mr. ¹ Niebuhr. Mr. de Breitenbach a déjà eu la même pensée. Voici ce qu'il dit en parlant du voyage, qu'il fit en 1483, de la montagne de Sinai a Kahira. Porro inclinatâ jam die; in torrentem incidimus, dictum Orondem; ubi figentes tentoria propter aquas, quæ ibi reperiebantur, nocte mansimus illâ: sunt enim in loco isto plures fontes vivi, aquas claras scaturientes. Sunt et palmæ multæ ibi; unde suspicabamur illic esse desertum Helim.

It may perhaps be thought, that these names were introduced by christian travellers, and adopted by the later inhabitants of these parts. But this could not have been the case. Ariston, Artemidorus, Agatharchides, and Diodorus all lived before the era of christianity. Even Strabo was some years

¹ Niebuhr, vol. 1. p. 183. in the notes:

antecedent. The learned Abulfeda of Hamath was indeed much later : but he could have no regard for the religion of Jesus, or of the Jews : nor any prejudice in favour of Moses. The names therefore have remained from the beginning unimpaired : and the situation of the places, which they point out, correspond so precisely with those mentioned in the scriptures ; and are supported by such indisputable authority, that they appear manifestly to be the same, as those mentioned by the sacred historian.

*Review of the Course taken by the Children
of Israel in their journeying.*

We have seen how very regular and plain the route of the children of Israel is found to be from their setting out upon the fifteenth day of the first month to their arrival at Elim. From Rameses they journeyed to Succoth ; and from Succoth to Etham, to the
border

border of that wilderness. Then *they removed from Etham, and turned again unto Pihahiroth, and passed through the midst of the sea into the same wilderness.* Numb. c. 33. v. 7. From the place, where they first halted after their passage over the sea, they marched for three days without water and arrived upon the fourth at Marah; where the bitter waters were miraculously made sweet, but have now returned to their native bitterness. From hence they journeyed, as is generally supposed, in one day to Elim: though the time is not specified; and may have been longer. Here were *the twelve wells of water, and the threescore and ten palm-trees: and they encamped by the waters.* How long they staid in each place is uncertain: for they were not carried in a direct line to Sinai, but were led about: so that they did not reach the mount of God till after several encampments from Etham; which took up two months, wanting a few days. After they had removed from Elim it is said, that *they encamped by the Red Sea.* Indeed all their stations hitherto had been nearly

upon that sea. But they now came to a part of the coast in the desert of Paran, where there was no way to mark the place of their encampment, but by saying it was upon the sea shore beyond Elim. They now fronted the true Red Sea, for they were before only upon a bay of it: which sea extended from them in length southward not less than eleven hundred miles. The next course, which they took, was to the north and more inland: for it is said, that ¹ *they removed from the Red Sea, and encamped in the wilderness of Sin*; which was ² *between Elim and Sinai*. This happened just one month after their departure from Egypt: and it was here, that manna was first afforded them from heaven. They were now very near to the place, where the law was to be given to them: but this was still delayed, and they were to be farther tried. We accordingly read in the book of the Exodus that they pitched in ³ *Rephidim, having journeyed from*

¹ Numbers, c. 33. v. 11.

² Exodus, c. 16. v. 1.

³ Exod. c. 17. v. 1.

the wilderness of Sin. But it is said in the book of Numbers, that there were two intermediate encampments: for ¹ *they took their journey out of the wilderness of Sin, and encamped in Dophkab: and they departed from Dophkab, and encamped in Alush. And they removed from Alush, and encamped at Rephidim. And they departed from Rephidim, and pitched in the wilderness of Sinai.* This I mention to shew, how far north they must have gone to have made this circuit: for they approached to the borders of the Amalekites, who came out, and ² pursued them to Rephidim. Here a battle was fought, and the Israelites were miraculously preserved. Here also the people murmured for want of water: when Moses was ordered to take his rod, ³ and *behold, saith the Lord, I*

¹ Numbers, c. 33. v. 12, 13, 14.

² *Then came Amalek, and fought with Israel in Rephidim.* Exod. c. 17. v. 8.

Remember what Amalek did unto thee by the way when ye were come forth out of Egypt. How he met thee by the way, and smote the hindmost of thee, even all that were feeble behind thee, when thou wast faint and weary; and he feared not God. Deut. c. 25. v. 17, 18.

³ Exodus, c. 17. v. 5, 6, 7.

will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, &c.—And Moses did so in the sight of the elders of Israel. And he called the name of the place Massah, and ¹ Meribah, because of the chiding of the children of Israel. From hence the Israelites were conducted to Sinai, where they abode a great while: during which time the law amidst a wonderful display of glory and terror was given to the people through the hands of Moses. From these circumstances I should judge, that Rephidim was to the north of Horeb: and that Horeb was in some degree

¹ I should think, that the name Meribah has been wrongly introduced here: and was originally the marginal note of some scribe. The chiding of the people at Meribah was many years afterwards in the desert of Zin near Cadish. It was after the death of Miriam; and just before the death of Aaron in mount Hor. The murmuring at Massah was in the second month: but the disobedience at Meribah was in the *first*. Numb. c. 20. v. 1. Aaron seems to have participated in the guilt: for it is said—*Aaron shall be gathered unto his people: for he shall not enter into the land which I have given unto the children of Israel, because ye rebelled against my word at the water of Meribah,* v. 24. and he died accordingly soon after his sister Miriam,

to the north of Sinai. For the people in their return downwards from Ameleck came first to Rephidim, which was before Horeb; and then——¹ *pitched in the wilderness of Sinai.*

Thus much I thought proper to mention concerning the journeying of the children of Israel as far as Mount Sinai: and concerning those places, through which their journeys lay.

Farther Observations upon the Phœnicion, or Grove of Palms, as it is described by Strabo.

One of the first persons, who gave an account of this part of Arabia, was ¹ Artemidorus Ephesius, who lived about the time of Ptolemy Lathyrus, and his mother Cleopatra. He is mentioned by many authors with great credit; and is copied particularly by Strabo

¹ Numb. c. 33. v. 15. Monf. D'Anville places Horeb north west of Sinai.

² Strabo, l. 16. p. 1122.

and Diodorus. And in the description, which he gives, he seems to have followed a prior writer, * Arifton; who was sent out by one of the antecedent Ptolemies purposely to make discoveries upon the two coasts of the Red Sea. The account which is given by Artemidorus concerning that part of Arabia Deferta, with which we are chiefly concerned, has already been mentioned. But as the ancient geographers are not always sufficiently clear: and as there seems likewise to be a mistake in Strabo, or at least in the present copies of that excellent writer, it will be proper to rectify, what is amifs, that the history may not be left in a state of uncertainty.

After that Artemidorus has given an account of the Ethiopians and the western coast of the Red Sea from Arfinoe at the top down to the straits, now called Babel Mandel, where it terminates; he returns to the point, where he began, to the apex of

* See Diodorus, l. 3. p. 175. He was sent in the time of Ptolemy Euergetes, as we find intimated by the same author, l. 3. p. 155.

the western bay of the Red Sea (¹ ἑπ' ἀνεῖσιν εἰς τὰς Ἀραβίας) to those Arabians, who occupied the opposite region to Clyfma. And as there are very few objects, upon that coast, which merit geographical notice, he takes the first, which presents itself, though at a distance from the point, from which he sets out. This is, ² Posidium, a place sacred to the supposed sovereign of the sea, which I take to be another name for the Baalzephon of Moses. Next to this, Strabo, who copies Artemidorus, places the ³ Phœnicon, where was the palm grove——εἰθ' ἐξῆς ἐστὶ νησος ⁴ φωκῶν, and next in order the *Insula Phocarum*. All this is as precise, and in as just order, as can be desired. But he at the same time tells us of Posidium, the place dedicated to Neptune——⁵ φησι δὲ ἐνδοτέρῳ κείσθαι τὸ τοῦ Ἐλανιτοῦ μυχῶ. *It lay, as Artemidorus asserted, a good way within the Elanitic or Eastern Gulf.* This seems impossible: and confounds all

¹ Strabo, l. 16. p. 1122.

² Ibid.

³ ——συνεχῆ τε Ποσειδῆς Φοινικῶνα εἶναι. *ibid.*

⁴ Ibid. called now Teran; and Isle de Cab.

⁵ Ibid.

that has been said: for the finus upon which these places were situated, was the western; and called the Heroopolitan; and directly opposite to the Elanitic. Strabo however goes on to inform us, that next after this island (Phocarum) a promontory extends itself; from whence the coast tends inward towards Arabia Petræa, and the Nabatheans. *Εἰτ' Ἐλανιτικὸς κόλπος, καὶ ἡ Ναβαταία.* *Then, says the author, next in order comes the Elanitic gulf, and the Nabathean region.* The promontory here spoken of is that, which is called Pharan by Ptolemy, of which we have spoken before. He says, that the western part of this desert, reached from the city Heroum, *ἄχρι τε κατὰ Φαράν ακρωτηρία*: and he also mentions *κωμη Φαράν*, a town, or village, of that name: from which probably the wilderness was denominated. Ptolemy adds, and with him Strabo, and all writers, agree, that at this point the Sinus Elanitis commenced: and they certainly describe it very truly. But how can Posidium, which

¹ p. 162.

Stephanus speaks also of a city—*φαράν πόλις μετὰ ξυ Αἰγυπτῶ καὶ Ἀραβίας.*

had been mentioned before as being within the western sinus, and one of the first objects in the desert of Etham be referred to the opposite, and eastern inlet, the Sinus Elanitis. There must be a mistake in Strabo, or in Artemidorus. I make no doubt, but when Ariston, and other travellers, described this part of Arabia, they gave those names to the places, which prevailed among the natives, before they were sophisticated by later writers. Instead of placing Posidium, and the Grove of Palms (φοινικων) εν τω Ελανιτω κολπω, *in the Elanite gulf*: they placed it εν τω Ελαμιτω, or Ελιμιτω κολπω, *in the Sinus Elamitis, or gulf of Elim*, so called from the natives.

There were very few places of any consideration on this coast, on account of the barrenness of the soil, and the scarcity of water. The region however below Posidium near the Phœnicon, or palm groves, is described by Diodorus as being in those times populous, and frequented on account of the plenty of good water, and the fertility of the soil. And it seems in still more early times to have been of repute; as an ancient altar

is mentioned of unknown¹ characters: which witnessed its antiquity. As there is the greatest reason to think, that this place was the Elim of Moses, and as it was the only district of consequence upon the coast, it is highly probable, that it gave name to that part of the gulf; which from hence was by the natives called Sinus Elamites, or Elimites, *the Gulf of Elim*.

The mistake in the copies of Strabo has misled that excellent geographer² Mons. D'Anville, who accordingly places Posidium close by the promontory Pharan, the Ras Mohammed of the present times. Here is the extremity of the desert to the south, the very point below, where the two gulfs on each side commence, and pass upwards. But this of all others could not be the place, where Posidium was situated. For to whichever gulf it may have belonged, it is ex-

¹ Diodorus Siculus, l. 3. p. 175.

² Ce promontoire formé par l'extrémité du continent, qui separe les deux golfes, est le Posidium, ou Neptunium, des mêmes auteurs, appelé Phara dans Ptolémée, &c. *Memoirs sur l'Égypte*, p. 237.

presely said to have been—*ενδοτερω τε μυχε,*
higher up, and within the sinus: and conse-
 quently could not have been at the bottom.
 Artemidorus introduces it as the very first
 place, which occurred upon the coast of
 † Arabia, and brings other places in a regular
 series after it, as he proceeds from north to
 south, mentioning Posidium, Phœnicon, In-
 sula Phocarum, and then the promontory
 Pharan. We may therefore perceive plainly,
 that it was situated upon the Sinus Horoo-
 politanus and just above the grove of palms.
 —⁹ *συνεχη δε τε Ποσειδισ φοινικωνα ειναι ευυδρον.*
Next to Posidium was the palm-grove, which
place is abundantly watered—*πλησιον δ' αυτης*
ακρωτηριον, ο διατεινει εις την Πετραν,—*Ειτ'*
Ελανιτις Κολπος. Then came the promontory,
 which extended toward Petra: and after this
 was the Sinus Elanitis, or Gulf of Elath—
 far removed from the grove before mention-
 ed, and from Posidium, which was above it.
 Here it was, that Arifton in the course
 of his discoveries built the altar, of which

† Αρξαμενος απο Ποσειδισ. *ibid.*

‡ Strabo, l. 16. p. 1122.

* Diodorus Siculus takes notice. This, I imagine, was erected by him in honour of the ancient deity of that part of the world, *Θεῷ ἐγγχωρίῳ*, who was the reputed guardian of the sea. In consequence of this he called the place after the Grecian manner *Posidium*, the same probably in purport, as *Baal-zephon*: which place of worship of old was higher upon the same coast, and opposite to *Clyfma*.

* Οὗτος γὰρ (μυχός) ὀνομαζέται Προσίδειον, ἰδρυσαμένην Ποσειδῶνι Πελαγίῳ ἑωμόν Ἀριστωνος, τὴν πεμφθέντος ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου πρὸς κατασκοπὴν τῆς ἕως ὥκεων παρρηχῆσης Ἀραβίας.
l. 3. p. 175.

*Conclusion concerning the journeying of the
Israelites.*

The distance of time is so great, and the scene of action so remote, and so little frequented, that one would imagine, there could have been no traces obtained of such very early occurrences. It must therefore raise within us a kind of religious reverence for the sacred writer, when we see such evidences still remain of his wonderful history. We read of expeditions undertaken by Osiris, Sesostris, Bacchus, Vexoris, Myrina, Semiramis, and the Atlantians, into different parts of the world. But no vestige remains of their operations: no particular history of their appulse, in any region upon earth. We have in like manner accounts of Brennus, as well as of the Teutones, Cimbri, and Ambrones: also of the Goths, and Visigoths: and of other swarms from the great hive in the north: all which are better authenticated. Yet we have only a general history of their migrations. The places, from whence they originally

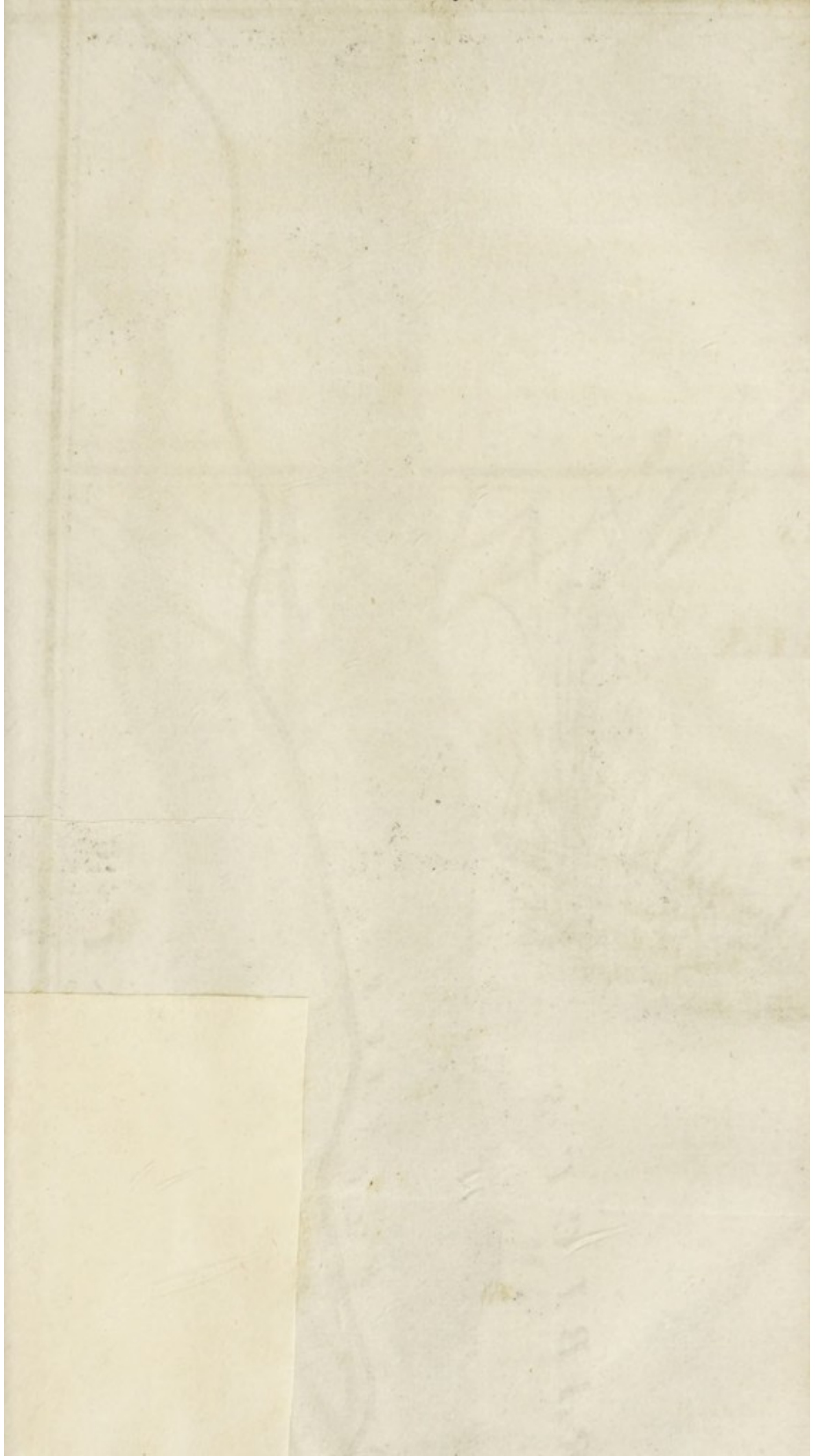
originally came, and the particulars of their journeying, have been effaced for ages. The history recorded by Moses appears like a bright, but remote, object, seen through the glass of an excellent optician, clear, distinct, and well defined. But when we look back upon the accounts transmitted concerning the Assyrians, Egyptians, Medes and Scythians; or those of the early ages of Italy, and Greece, we find nothing but a series of incredible and inconsistent events, and groupes of strange beings :

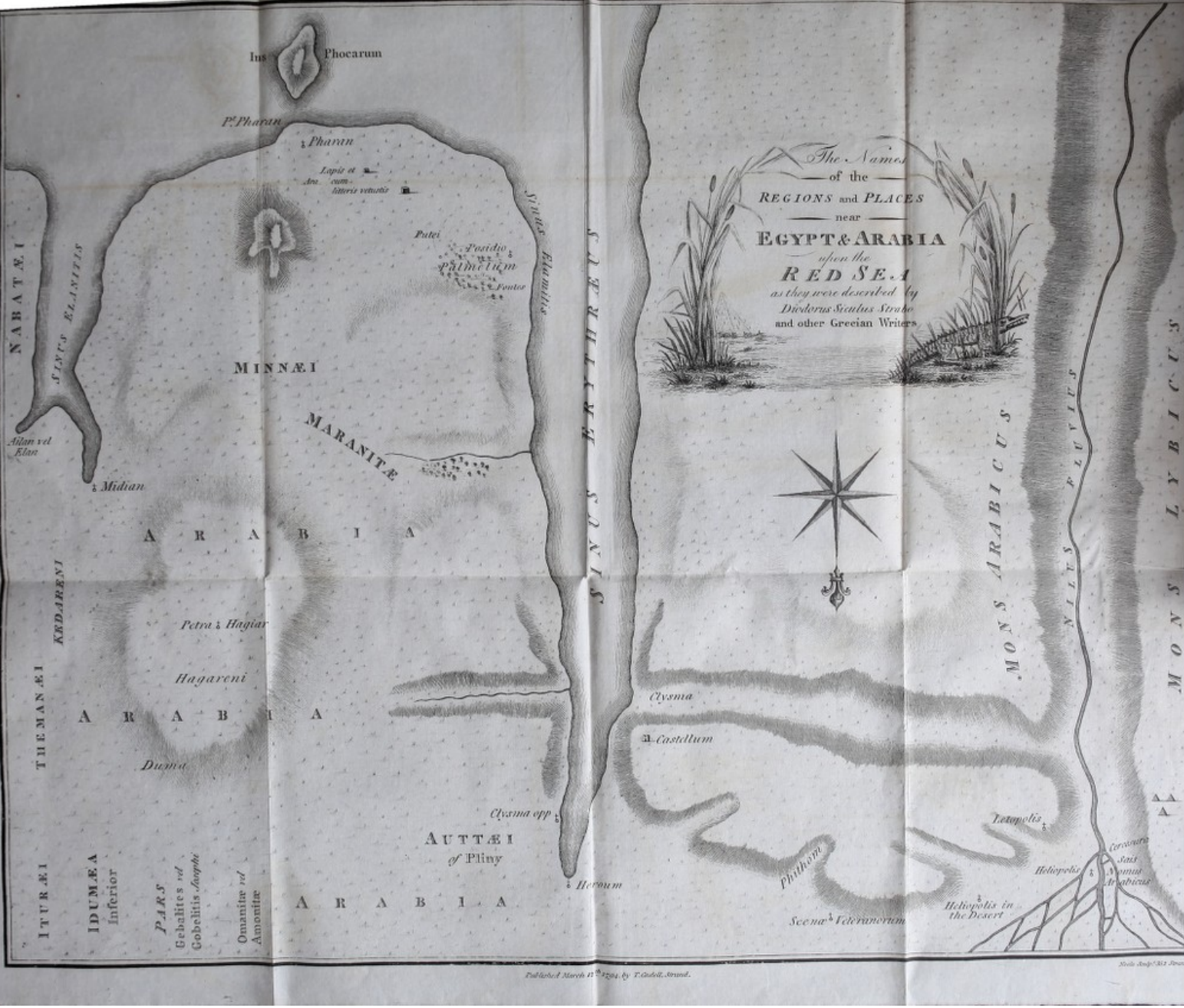
Abortive, monstrous, and unkindly mix'd,
Gorgons, and harpies, and chimæras dire.

The ideas, which they afford, are like the fantastick forms in an evening cloud : where we seem to descry castles and mountains, and gigantic appearances. But while we gaze, the forms die away, and we are soon lost in gloom and uncertainty. Concerning the Israelites we have a regular and consistent history. And though they were roving in a desert for forty years, and far removed from the rest of the world, yet we have seen, what manifest tokens remain of their journeying and miraculous preservation.

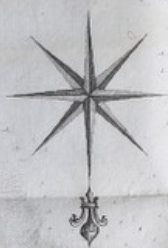
This external proof may appear to some not very entertaining, nor perhaps necessary; as the internal has been shewn to be very copious; and, as I flatter myself, strong and convincing to a degree of demonstration. Yet to every curious and well disposed mind I hope, that this too will be found satisfactory, and have its due weight,

This external part may appear to be
 not very concerning, nor perhaps necessary,
 as the internal has been shown to be very co-
 pious; and as I rather myself, strong and
 convincing to a degree of demonstration.
 Yet to every curious and well disposed mind
 I hope that this too will be found satisfac-
 tory, and have its due weight.





The Names
of the
REGIONS and PLACES
near
EGYPT & ARABIA
upon the
RED SEA
as they were described by
Diodorus Siculus Strabo
and other Greecian Writers



JOURNIES

OF

MONSIEUR MONCONYS,

AND OF

DR. POCOCK.

*The Journey of MONS. MONCONYS, 1647,
by the lowest and most southern Road, to Suez
and the Red Sea. Vol. I. p. 405.*

April 14. **D**E P A R T from their caravanfary through the desert at five o'clock—and travel a quarter of a league: then mount their camels, and travel for three hours.

15. Set out at six, and travel for three hours on foot: then mount their camels, and in two hours arrive at a plain.

16. At sun-rise travel three hours on foot. Arrive at a valley, and a well called Gian Dabi. After dinner go through another valley, which looked like the bed of a river and abounded with shells: pass through pieces of plain ground, which seemed covered with fine sand.

17. Pass over some more plain ground, and arrive at eleven at the beginning of some mountains. After dinner travel between
the

the mountains; in a road thirty or forty paces wide: till they arrive at a large spot of plain ground, which reached to the sea: and in about three hundred paces from the entrance afforded a fine prospect. Travelled in this opening till eight at night.

18. Travel in this valley for an hour on foot, which began to be more and more contracted between the mountains; and appeared very much like an artificial canal: only much too wide for a work of art, being nearly two leagues wide. At eleven they came to the end of it, which terminated at the Red Sea (N. B. This valley is the same as the ancient Clysmā: now called Bedea; and runs from west to east.) Here upon the border of the sea they dined: and then turned to the left and towards the north, and coasted the Red Sea till the evening—*Nous marchames vers le nord, laissant les montagnes au couchant, et la mer du coté du levant.*

This part of the coast between the mountains and the sea, which they went over after their turn to the left and to the north, is, as I have supposed, the place of the encamp-

ment, where the Israelites halted before their transit through the sea.

19. Set out at day break, and in nine hours arrive at Suez, the ancient Arfinoe; which is situated at the northern point of the Red Sea.

The Journey of MONS. MONCONYS to St. Catharine's, at Mount Sinai. P. 412.

April 20. Set out at day break, and in seven hours arrive at the fountains stiled the Fountains of Moses. The water hot, and salt.

21. Pass through a plain between the mountains to the east, and the sea to the west, upon the right hand.

22. Pass through a plain country between mountains for two hours: and then come to a fine spring and small rivulet of water: but he thinks it could not have been that called Mara, on account of its distance.

23. Set out before day, and pass through

fine valleys between higher grounds. Some of these abounded with casia. Found some good water.

24. Set out half an hour after sun-rise, and come to difficult ways.

25. Proceed in their journey, but refresh themselves under the shade of a mountain, where they repose the greatest part of the day.

26. Set out on foot at six o'clock, and journey for three hours through a bad road. At last see the monastery: and passing through a plain of a league and an half in length, at last arrive at St. Catharine's upon Mount Sinai.

*Journey of MONCONYS from St. Catharine's
back again to Suez, by Tor and the Red Sea.
P. 446.*

May 2. After dinner set out from St. Catharine's for Tor: pass through some valleys for two hours.

3. At six o'clock set out; pass through a valley with some palm-trees, and springs
of

of water. At the end of the valley, rocks
 (4) with engravings: or rather with characters stained deeply into the stone. Soon have a view of Tor, supposed to be Elim.

5. A monastery subordinate to that of St. Catharine to the north of Tor: also some fountains, and a large grove of palms, about a league from the town. *C'est en ce lieu, ou Moyse trouva les douze fontaines, et les (septante) palmiers. The waters not good. Ces eaux vont arrosant une quantité de beaux palmiers, fermés de murailles, et qui sont bien augmentés en nombre au dela des septante que Moyse y trouva.*

6. Stay in the place, and in its neighbourhood.

7. Still remain in these parts: but set out in the evening, and go directly north. Come to waters, which, he says, many people have taken for those of Mara: (and, I think, with great appearance of probability.) The author is of a different opinion.

8. Set out at seven: and continue to march north. Obligated to halt an hour and a half. Set out again and travel till eleven at night.

9. Set out at half past five, and travel till eleven. After dinner proceed till seven o'clock.

10. Begin their route at day-break, and march by the coast of the Red Sea. Come to a nitrous fountain.

11. At half past five set out, and arrive at the point, where the road divided, when they before turned towards the east in going to Mount Sinai: march three hours.

12. Arrive at night at the fountains near Suez, (called Aijoun Moufa) and there rest.

13. At nine arrive at Suez.

DR. POCOCK'S *Journey from Cairo to Suez
and the Red Sea, by another Road.* P. 130.

March 28. Lay at Keyde Bey.

29. Set out, and ascend Jebel Jehufi :
go thirteen miles.

30. Set out an hour before day : come
in eleven hours to a narrow valley, called
Tearofaid. In an hour and an half more to
Hara Minteleh ; where in the valley seemed
to have been a wall across, probably the re-
mains of a floodgate to the canal which once
passed this way to the Red Sea.

After sixteen hours saw Adjeroute castle :
the whole thirty-two hours from Cairo : or,
as the author thinks, but twenty-nine. The
caravan takes a larger compass.

31. Turned more to the south, through
an hollow way, to which the sea seemed
formerly to have reached. In two hours and
an half come to the well of Suez. In two
hours more to Suez. The whole, according
to the author, about seventy-two English
miles.

DR. POCOCK'S *Journey from Suez to Tor,*
upon the Red Sea. P. 138.

Days. 1. To Ein Moufeh, supposed by some to be the wells of Moses, in three or four hours.

2. To the desert of Shedur, or Shur, for four or five hours, very sandy. In three hours to Birk el Corondel. To the desert of Shedur or Shur, and went on for an hour.

3. To Ouardan. Stayed two hours. Came to a sandy plain: and in three hours to an hill of talc: passed it in two hours, and travelled as many more, and then had to the east Jebel Houfan, and to the west Jebel le Marah; where was a salt spring. The author thinks it may have been the Mara of the scriptures. Come to the vale of Corondel, having travelled eleven hours in all. Beyond this vale on the sea is Jebel Hamam Pharaone, and a grotto with a very hot spring.

4. In three hours come to the mountain
 I torrent

torrent Wouset; and a salt spring with some palm-trees. In three hours come to Taldi, where are some date-trees. In three hours the tomb of a Turkish saint at a place called Reifimah: where was a salt spring. In an hour to a narrow valley, Menetsah: after which the road divides: one part tends to ^a Mount Sinai, and the other to Tor.

5. Carried out of the way to the north: see a hill called Bait el Pharaone.

6. Return into the road to Tor: a torrent called Waad Pharan.

7. Turned southward to the plain of Baharam: travelled thirteen hours.

8. Came to the beginning of the valley of Tor. In three hours to Nach el Tor, or the palm grove of Tor. This grove about a league north of Tor, where is a well of good water: also many date trees, and hot springs. Here is a convent of monks, who belong to Mount Sinai, and near the convent many fountains. The hot springs are called the Baths of Moses: and the place

^a This division of the road, by which Dr. Pocock turned off south-east to Mount Sinai, is much lower, than that mentioned by Monconys.

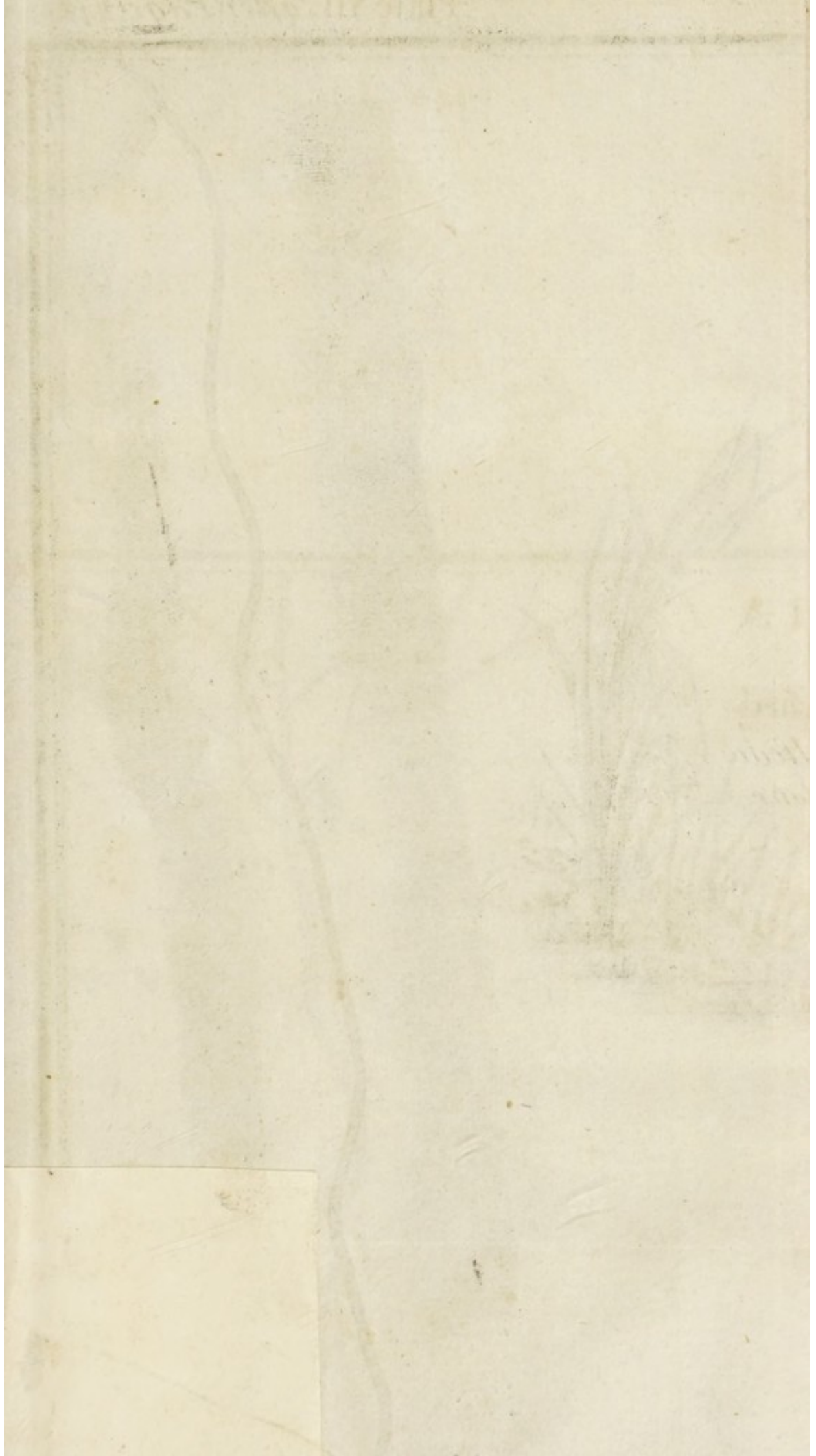
by the Greeks, as well as by others, supposed to be the Elim of scripture. Tor is but a small village to the south,

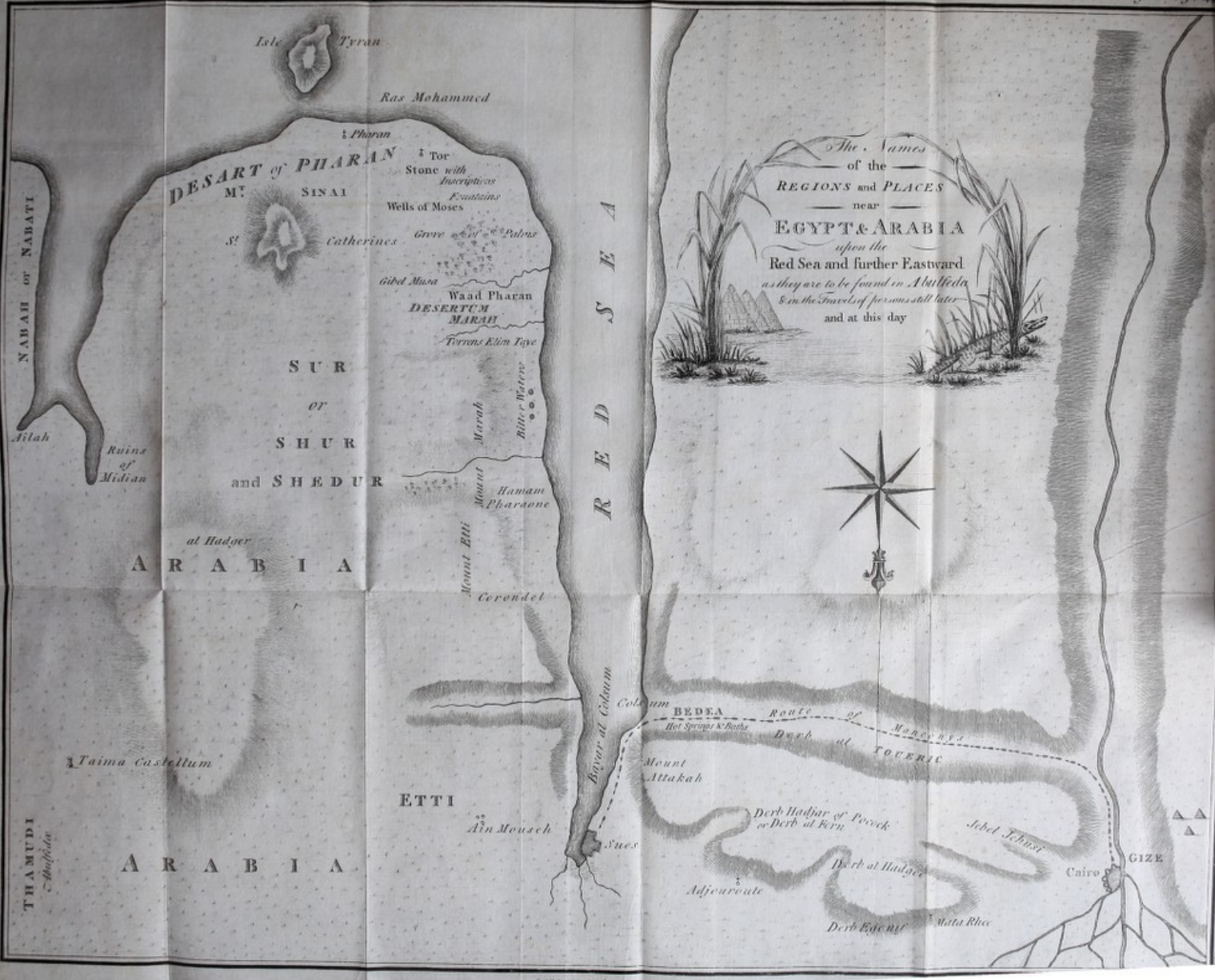
The Distance of Elim from the Place of Passage.

According to Ovington the distance of Tor from Suez is an hundred miles. But as the elevation of the pole at Suez according to ¹ Niebuhr is $29^{\circ} 57'$ and at ² Tor $28^{\circ} 12'$, the difference in miles cannot be much less than one hundred and fifteen. But as Clysma, and the place of landing upon the opposite shore, were not less than thirty miles from Suez; and the palm grove, where we place Elim, is a league nearer than Tor, the length of the journey after deducting these thirty-three miles, will be eighty-two. And if this interval was passed over in five days, the extent of

¹ T. I. p. 175.

² T. I. p. 208.





The Names
of the
REGIONS and PLACES
near
EGYPT & ARABIA
upon the
Red Sea and further Eastward
as they are to be found in *Abulbeda*
& in the Travels of persons still later
and at this day



Published according to the Original

each day's march will be about seventeen miles. And, as the children of Israel did not arrive at Marah, till they had been three days without water, and consequently came there upon the fourth, we must accordingly look for this place at the distance of ² four days journey from their setting out after their passage through the sea; and of one day's journey from the palm grove at Elim; to which they came in that space afterwards.

Niebuhr went from Suez to Tor by sea: so that he has afforded us only so much of the road, as he saw in his journey to Mount Sinai: which is the part of least consequence. He has however given us a small map of Tor, and of the district near it.

¹ Pocock mentions Gibel al Marah close by Corondel, which is at a great distance from the Marah of the scriptures. But it was the name of a region, inhabited of old by the Maranæi, and which extended a great way down the coast.

F I N I S.

Published by the same Author.

*A Treatise upon the AUTHENTICITY of
the SCRIPTURES, and the TRUTH of the
CHRISTIAN RELIGION. Printed at Cam-
bridge, 1793; sold by Cadell, opposite Catha-
rine Street, in the Strand.*

*Also, OBSERVATIONS on a controverted
Passage in JUSTIN MARTYR; and upon the
Worship of Angels. London, printed for W.
Richardson, Royal Exchange.*

Published by the same Author.
A Treatise upon the Authenticity of
the Scriptures, and the Truth of the
Christian Religion. Printed at Cam-
bridge, 1703: Sold by Gough, opposite Cripps-
gate Street, in the Strand.

Also, OBSERVATIONS on a controversy
Raised in Justin Martyr; and upon the
History of the Church. London, printed for W.
Richardson, Royal Exchange.

