NEW ANALYSIS
OF
CHRONOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY,
HISTORY AND PROPHECY:

IN WHICH
THEIR ELEMENTS
ARE ATTEMPTED TO BE EXPLAINED, HARMONIZED, AND
VINDICATED,
UPON SCRIPTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC PRINCIPLES;
TENDING TO REMOVE THE IMPERFECTION AND DISCORDANCE OF
PRECEDING SYSTEMS, AND TO OBTAIN THE CAVALS OF
SCEPTICS, JEWS, AND INFIDELS.

BY THE
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SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED AND IMPROVED.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.
VOL. IV.
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

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ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

The publication of this volume, though printed upwards of a twelvemonth, has been delayed by the preparation of a various and copious General Index; which the Author was induced to undertake, by the advice of some judicious friends, and the recommendation of his respectable booksellers, seconding his own earnest desire to render the work as perfect, and convenient, as possible.

During this tedious and laborious employment, but not less useful to the Author, than to the Public; he carefully revised, compared, and scrutinized the whole, and the parts of the work. This enabled him to detect several literal errors, that had glided either into his manuscripts, or into the printing; to correct several ambiguities of expression, inconsequential reasonings, insufficiently guarded assertions, and some material mistakes of calculation, &c. quae parum cavit Natura humana; aliquando dormitans opere in longo; and to recast entirely, or new model, some important articles, upon further lights and maturer consideration. In this critical, and unsparing review, he was greatly assisted by the learned remarks and acute strictures of some kind and candid friends, on the foregoing volumes; especially the Rev. Archdeacon Churton, and the Rev. John Moore,
Minor Canon of St. Paul's; and also, by some later publications of merit, particularly Doctor Magee's erudite and elaborate Dissertations on Atonement and Sacrifice, third, improved edition, 1812. This account, he trusts, will more than apologize for the unusual length of the Additional Corrections and Emendations, which he now takes the earliest opportunity of offering, along with the last volume, to the Patrons and Subscribers of the Work, as in justice and gratitude bound; without waiting for the precarious demand of a second Edition, which, if called for, he may not live to publish.

In deference to the judgment, and even to the prejudices of some esteemed friends, he has readily re-trenched some new renderings of the original Scriptures, to which they objected. Such as θεος, "A God," for God; άγνωστος θεός, "the unknowable God," for the unknown God; "Legitimate Son," for only Son; "only genuine," for only begotten; "became inspired," for was in the spirit; ε., "Since," when followed by an indicative mood, for If, &c.; because the old are sanctioned, and in some measure sanctified, by long prescription; and are warranted by the usual latitude of speech, though not perhaps so precise, or appropriate, as their substitutes; whose import they are generally understood to convey, in the foregoing instances, by the best informed. But there are others, which he cannot surrender, without injuring, in his settled opinion, the important and momentous cause of Sacred Criticism; the first step towards the improvement of which, upon scientific principles, is to acquire clear, distinct, and correct ideas of leading elementary and technical terms. Such as his
adopted and retained pronunciation and renderings of
the primitive and awful names of the Deity, יהוה Jahoh,
instead of Jehovah; דבר יהוה Dabar Jahoh, and ὁ λόγος, "the Oracle of the Lord," and "the Oracle," instead of the
Word of the Lord, and the Word; יהוה Ha Adon, and
אדון Adoni, "the Regent," and "Regent," instead of the
Lord, and Lord; יהוה ידוהי Adoni Jahoh, "Regent Lord,"
instead of Lord God, &c.

He also regrets, that he cannot retract his partial
censure of the Athanasian Creed; in which he is by no
means singular, but countenanced and supported by
several wise and good, conscientious, and moderate
Churchmen, wishing to promote unanimity and har-
momy between the discordant and jarring sects of Pro-
testants, as far as may be done, without giving up
essentials. Nay, the Creed itself seems to support the
chief ground of objection, in that sage caution, "Nei-
ther confounding THE PERSONS, nor dividing THE SUB-
STANCE"—of the ever-blessed and adorable, but most "in-
comprehensible TRINITY IN UNITY." A golden Canon
indeed, sanctioned by the usage, and cautious distinc-
tions of the early Fathers of the Church, Justin Martyr,
Origen, &c. and by the Nicene Council, declaring THE
Son to be "TRUE GOD of TRUE God; of the same sub-
stance (ὁμοουσιος) with THE FATHER."

But while the Author, availing himself of "THE GLO-
RIous LIBERTY OF THE GOSPEL," in the genuine spirit of
the Articles of the Church of England, vi, viii, xix, xx,
thus freely maintains, and openly exercises, his Chris-
tian, and Protestant, and indefeasible right of private
judgment; and thus ventures, occasionally and reluctantly, to differ from the most venerable, or the most learned authorities, on some of the most abstruse and mysterious, but surely the most important and interesting topics of SACRED CRITICISM; he earnestly intreats his kind and indulgent, though not unanimous friends, to favour him with the continuance of their candid remarks and unrestrained correspondence; which shall be thankfully received, and carefully attended to in any succeeding δευτεραι φροντίδες, or “second thoughts,” he may chance to offer to the Public. Most heartily concurring in the pious wish and prayer of one of those “friends indeed,” “who smite me friendly, and reprove me,” and thereby improve me:

“That we may meet again, in that future state, where, he trusts, we shall have more insight than we now have, into those dark and mysterious Writings; and discern plainly, what we now see, as in a mirror, distorted and indistinct.”

KILLESANDRA, IRELAND,

July 1, 1813.
PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION OF THIS VOLUME.

This third volume, now submitted, at length, to the Public, finishes, thanks be to God *, the entire work: a work, designed to furnish a new and compendious chronological system of the Elements of Sacred and Profane History, for general use †.

* Hinc omne principium, Huc refer exitum. Hor.
“To God, ascribe every beginning, every ending.”

† Among the great variety of books that have contributed their quotas to the composition of this history, the foremost in size and rank, is the Ancient and Modern Universal History, a library in itself, and an honour to the British press, containing in its numerous and ponderous volumes, an immense mass of erudition and information. But it is insufferably prolix and tedious, in the whole course of Profane History; while, in the more important branches of Sacred History, and especially of the New Testament, the most important of all, it is meagre and scanty; and as a whole, it wants systematic arrangement and uniformity. It is perplexed and embarrassed in its order and method, and miserably defective and incorrect in its Chronology throughout. These blemishes were, in a great measure, the natural and necessary result of a compilation framed by several hands, who had not the same capacities, the same style, the same information, and who wanted a comprehensive view of the whole subject, in all its bearings. Its chief excellence is, that it fully and fairly cites authorities, in the course of the entire work, which renders it a useful storehouse of most ample materials of every sort or quality. This colossal work, from its size and its costliness, is not calculated for general use; and few that can afford to purchase, now read it for entertainment, though they may frequently find it necessary to be consulted, for its authorities or references.

Among the smaller works of general history, Rollin's Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians, Macedonians and Grecians, claims a distinguished rank. It is well arranged, and abounds in pious and useful reflections, which render it particularly serviceable to youth, as an ele-
Notwithstanding the increased size of the work, (which was unavoidable, for reasons mentioned in the Advertise-
ment of the second volume) the candid and intelligent reader, who is disposed and qualified to weigh its va-

3. *Thucydides*. Incomparably the best is *Duker’s*, folio, 1732. *Smith* has translated into rugged English, 3 vols. 4to. 1753–1770, *Thucydides’ History and Xenophon’s Continuation*. *Mitford’s History of Greece* is the best comment on *Thucydides*.


II. LATIN.


15. *Livy*. Of his admired *Roman History*, the most convenient edition, perhaps, is *Crevier’s*, with *Freinsheim’s Supplement*, 7 vols. 12mo. 1747.

riety, and compass of research, will allow it to be compendious.


18. Velleius Paterculus. One of the best editions is the Variorum, 8vo. 1719.

19. Luctus Florus. One of the best editions is the Variorum, 2 vols. 8vo. 1722.

20. Cornelius Nepos. The best edition of this elegant Biographer is the Variorum, 8vo. 1734.

21. Caesar's Commentaries of the Gallic and Civil Wars. The best edition is Oudendorp's, 4to. 1737. The earlier school editions of Clarke are correcter than the later. Clarke's Caesar, folio, 1712, is one of the most magnificent books ever printed.

22. Cicero's Works. These contain a great fund of historical information, especially his Orations and Letters. The most correct edition of his works is, perhaps, Ernesti's, 6 vols. 8vo. 1774. Ernesti's Clavis Ciceroniana, third edition, 8vo. 1769, is a valuable appendage.

23. Sallust. The best edition of his Jugurthine and Catiline Wars is Havercamp's, 2 vols. 4to. 1742.

24. The Byzantine Historians, Greek and Latin, Agathias, Procopius, Cedrenus, Zonaras, Anna Comnena, &c. The whole series has been published in 36 vols. folio, Paris, 1648, &c. The Venetian edition, 1729, is cheaper and more copious, though not so correct.

III. ENGLISH AND FRENCH.

25. Raleigh's History of the World, folio. This valuable work contains many original reflections. See Vol. I. p. 122, of this work.


27. Mitford's History of Greece, 4 vols. 4to. This is the most judicious that has hitherto appeared, but ends with the Peloponnesian war.

28. Hooke's Roman History, 4 vols. 4to. or 8 vols. 8vo. This contains much curious information, though prolix.

29. Montesquieu's Works, His Rise and Decline of the Roman Empire, Persian Letters, and Spirit of Laws, contain a fund of curious profound and original reflections, in the most condensed style.

30. Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; last neat edition, 9 vols. 8vo. 1809. This great and elaborate work, collected principally from the Byzantine historians, (Vol. IX. p. 176, note,) contains a rich and valuable fund of information, and many ingenious remarks, in a monotonous and artificial style. But he was unhappily tainted with a strong spirit of Paganism and Islamism, rendering him too often blind to the transcendent excellence of Christianity and its Divine Au-
The difficulty of composing this volume was not less than of the preceding: for the mazes of the labyrinth of

THOR, and the wisdom and purity of his Institutions; and too often unfair and dishonest in his quotations and inferences.

31. Ockley's History of the Saracens.

32. Knolles' History of the Turks, folio, 1610. Johnson, in his Rambler, recommends this as one of the best histories extant in any language. But it is insufferably prolix and tedious; and Knolles was sometimes misled by prejudices and partialities, witness his panegyric on Tamerlane, &c.

33. Rycaut's History of the Ottoman Empire.

34. Baron Tott's Memoirs, and Eton's Letters, throw much light on the present tottering state of the Turkish Empire.

4. ORIENTAL.

35. The Koran of Mahomet. The best Arabic edition is Maracci's, 2 vols. folio, 1698, with a rugged Latin translation, ample notes, and refutations, &c. Sale published a paraphrastic English translation, with a learned preliminary discourse, and notes, 4to. 1734. Savary, a French translation, 2 vols. 8vo. 1783, which is much superior in fidelity and elegance to Sale's.

36. Abulfeda's Life of Mahomet, published in Arabic, with a Latin translation and learned notes by Gagnier, Oxford, folio, 1723. He was Mahomet's best historian. Gagnier, Sale, and Savary were downright Mussulmans. Professor White, in his Bampton Lecture Sermons, has ably traced the character of Mahomet, and the genius of his religion.

37. Elmacin's Saracen History. Published in Arabic, with a Latin translation by Erpenius, folio, 1625.

38. Mirkhond's Universal History, in Persian, and Khondemir's Abridgment. Abulfaragi's, and Eutychius' Annals. These were recommended in the former list. To Abulfaragi we owe the most correct adjustment of the Chronology of the Saracen Dynasty.

39. Herbelot's Bibliotheque Orientale *, folio, 1776, with Galland's Supplement, containing Histoire de Tartarie, Chine, Monument du Christianisme en Chine, Maximes des Orientaux, &c. and a Table Generale des Matieres, or a copious Index to both Her-

* This great Orientalist is a fortunate exception to the lot of several of his literary brethren. He, indeed, received the most splendid reward of his industry. He was invited to Italy, by Ferdinand II. Duke of Tuscany, who entertained him with that striking magnificence, which always distinguished the race of the Medici. After the death of Ferdinand, that great statesman, the illustrious Colbert, recalled him to Paris, where he enjoyed the fruits of his labour, and spent the remainder of his days in an easy and honourable retirement. But this is a rare example: the princes of Europe have not often imitated Ferdinand; nor their prime ministers, Colbert!
Profane History are to the full as abstruse, and intricate, as the mysteries of Revelation; and whoever attempts to

belot and the Supplement, folio, 1780. This mine of Oriental learning cannot be too highly praised for its well wrought, curious, valuable and entertaining mass of recondite information.

II. ANTIQUARIAN POETS.


41. Homer. The most useful is the Elzevir by Schrevelius, with the Greek Scholia, on both Iliad and Odyssey, 4to. 1656. Add to this, the Index Homericus.

42. Pindar. The best edition is the Oxford, with the Greek Scholia, folio, 1697, which is now scarce. Heyne has published a small 4to. 1773, without notes.

43. Æschylus. The best editions are Stanley's, folio, 1664, or the Variorum by Pauw, 2 vols. 4to. 1744. His Tragedy of the Persians contains much curious information of the Persian war. Potter has excellently translated his works into English blank verse.

44. Sophocles. Johnson's edition, with the Greek Scholia, 3 vols. 8vo. Oxon. 1705, 1708. Lond. 1746, is the most correct. Franklin has well translated his Tragedies into blank verse.

45. Euripides. Barnes' edition, with the Greek Scholia and Notes, is one of the most useful, folio, 1694. Later editions have been published by Musgrave, and others, which are perhaps, more correct. Woodhull and Potter have published English Translations in blank verse. The former is more literal, the latter more spirited.

46. The Latin Antiquarian Poets, Virgil, Horace and Ovid, are well known. The most convenient editions are, perhaps, those in Usum Delphini, on account of their copious Indexes.

47. Macrobius. The best edition, perhaps, of this learned Antiquary, is the Variorum, by Zeunius, Leipsic, 8vo. 1774.

III. VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.


49. Sir John Chardin's Travels to the East. 3 Vols. Amsterd. 1711. Harmer has made much use of these, and of six small manuscript volumes, in compiling his useful Observations on Scripture and the Classics. 4 vols. 8vo. 1776—1787.

50. Sandys' Travels. Sixth Edit. Fol. 1658. These justly celebrated Travels contain much valuable historical information, ancient and modern.

51. Maundrel's Travels to the Holy Land. Sixth Edit. 8vo. 1749. These are a valuable supplement to Sandys'.

52. Hasselquist. 8vo. 1766. This Swedish Botanist, who travelled through the
develope the tales and reveries of *Sanchoniatho* and *Berosus, Manetho* and *Ctesias*, will find them as hard to

Holy Land, judiciously completes, in many instances, the accounts of his predecessors.

55. *Norden's Travels into Egypt and Nubia*. A splendid edition of these, in several folios, was published by the king of Denmark; of which, an abridged translation, in one volume 8vo. was published, 1757.
56. *Bruce's Travels to Abyssinia*, 6 vols. 8vo. 1790. A new and improved Edition of these valuable Travels has been since published.
57. *Brown's, Barrow's, and Denon's, in Egypt and Africa*, are curious and useful.
58. *Niebuhr's Description de l'Arabie*, 4to. 1773, and *Voyage en Arabie, et en d'autres pays circonvoisins*, 2 vols. 4to. 1776, are the most curious and valuable, perhaps, that have been published. And this work is more indebted to *Niebuhr*, than to any other of his class. He was an excellent Orientalist.
59. *Cooke's Voyages round the World*, three sets, 8 vols. quarto. These throw great light on the structure and divisions of the Terraqueous globe, and correct some important mistakes about the respective quantities of land, in the northern and southern polar regions. Their curious vocabularies of the *South Sea Islanders* tend to shew a common origin in all. See Vol. I. p. 341—343, of this work.
60. *The Asiatic Researches*, 9 vols. 8vo. &c. These, laudably published by the Calcutta Society, throw much new light on the dialects, religious customs, and manners of the various nations and tribes inhabiting the great continent and islands of Asia.
61. *Bartolomeo's Voyage to the East Indies*; translated from the Italian, 8vo. 1800. He was professor of Oriental Languages in the Propaganda at Rome, and understood the Sanscrit, of which he has published a Grammar.

These three last articles furnish a useful Supplement to the *Asiatic Researches*.

IV. LEXICONS AND DICTIONARIES.

1. GREEK.

64. *Henry Stephens's Thesaurus*, 5 vols. folio, 1572. With Scott's Supplement to the Thesaurus, Scapula, and Constantine. 2 vols. folio, 1745*. This

* The following Epigrams are prefixed by *Stephens*, to his immortal *Thesaurus*, after the title-page:

Θησαυρὸν γλώσσης Ασκραῖος εἰπεν αριστον,
Πάσων ἦ Ἑλλαδική γλώσσα αριστή ἐφ'.
be understood, as hard to be interpreted, and as hard to be reconciled to each other, and to the truth of his-

This is incomparably the most complete and valuable Lexicon of the Greek language ever published. A stupendous work for any individual to execute. And what was his reward in this life? He died in very embarrassed circumstances, in consequence of the heavy expenses of the work, and which found little or no patronage, or general sale. Scapula, his amanuensis, ungenerously availed himself of

ΑΛΛ' ὁ με θησαυρος θησαυρος σπηυριν, αριστος
Πασιν ἐνν ἐτρος, ἐστι κακιστος εμοι.

"The treasure of the tongue, Hesiod counted best;
The Greek, of all tongues, is best, by nature.
And yet, this treasure has robbed me of my treasures;
And that, to all others best, to me is worst!

Thesauri, momento, aliit dianique beantque,
Et faciunt Cræsus qui prius Irus erat:
At Thesaurus me hic ex divite reddit egenum,
Et facit ut juvenem ruga senilis aret.
Sed mihi opum levis est, levis est factura juventæ,
Judicio haud levis est si labor iste tuo.

"Other treasures, in a moment, the finder enrich,
They convert even an Irus into a Croesus:
This treasure, on the contrary, renders me poor from rich,
And furrows my youth with the wrinkles of age!
But slight is the loss of wealth, the loss of youth,
If you, reader, count not my labour slight."

Never will any scholar undervalue, or count "his labour slight," by which himself has been, or his posterity may be, benefited, to the latest ages!
In his dignified, though modest and respectful Dedication, to the first princes and potentates of Europe, the emperor Maximilian II. the French king, Charles IX. Queen Elizabeth of England, the Electors of the Palatinate, Saxony, Brandenburgh, and the University of Frankfort, he freely and frankly claims their patronage, for enlightening the minds of their subjects, and their students: concluding,

Sint Mæcenas, non deerunt, Flaccæ, Marones.
"Let there be patrons, and there will not be wanting poets."

And he ends with this pointed Epigram, addressed to the three royal personages.

Hic Thesaurus, hic est, tua quem Germania, Cæsar,
Hic, quem, Carle, optat multis tua Gallia votis,
Hic est, Elizabeth, tua quem sitit Anglia dudum;
Hic ille thesauro Arabum pretiosior omni,
Facioli auriferis fuit magis charus arenis,
Gratiæ Eoo venientibus œquare gemmis,
Germanos ergo, hic Gallosque beabit, et Anglos;
tory, as the profound prophecies of Jacob, Balaam, and Moses, the sublime visions of Isaiah, Daniel, and the Apocalypse.

his master's labours, to publish an abridged Lexicon, in a single volume folio, which superseded the Thesaurus.—Sic vos non vobis mellificatis, opes!

65. Constantine's Lexicon. folio. This is fuller than Scapula's.

66. Hesychius' Lexicon. The best variorum edition is Alberti's, 2 vols. folio, 1746. Leyden. This contains much curious and valuable information of scarce Greek words.


2. LATIN.

70. Robert Stephen's Thesaurus, 4 vols. folio, 1734, London. This learned son of a learned father, to whom sacred literature is so much indebted for his various editions of the Greek Testament, published this most valuable Dictionary of the Latin language. An improved edition has lately been published by Facciolati, Padua, 4 vols. folio, 1771, fuller than Stephen's.


3. ORIENTAL.

72. Castell's Heptaglott Lexicon. This is necessary to be introduced into this list also, on account of the intimate connexion of all the Oriental languages with each other; so that, as Castell observes, "none can understand one, perfectly and accu-

At me, cujus opes tandem consumpíst opímas,
Vestrum est, sic vobis sint regna beata, beate!

"This is the treasure, ye sovereign princes, this,
Maximilian, Charles, and Elizabeth,
For which your Germany, Gaul, and England thirst;
To them, more precious far, than all the wealth
Of Lydian Pactolus with his golden sands,
Than all the gems that come from Eastern climes.
This then, the Germans, Gauls, and English will enrich,
While all my treasured store, this has consumed!
But yours it is, me to remunerate;
So may your kingdoms flourish!"

Miserable remunerators were they!———

The number of the classic authors he printed is really astonishing. See the list, furnished by himself, in the following page, of the many authors consulted in the composition of the Thesaurus.

VOL. IV.
This chronological system sketches a general outline of the fortunes of the three primitive families of Noah's
rately, without knowing something of them all." The admirable arrangement of this
Lexicon affords the best help to trace the analogy of the Oriental languages, all issuing from one parent stock.

73. Meninski's Dictionary of the Asiatic Languages, the Persian, Arabic, and Turkish. The author of this stupendous work shared also the fate of Castel‰.

"Great books" are usually "great evils" to the authors †.

• “The labours of Meninski immortalized and ruined him. His Dictionary of the Asiatic Languages, is perhaps the most laborious compilation that ever was undertaken by any single man. [Castell excepted, with whom no lexicographer can compare.] But he complains in his Preface, that his patrimony was exhausted by the great expense of employing and supporting a number of writers and printers, and of raising a new press for the Oriental characters.”

Sir William Jones, to whom we owe these particulars, in his elegant Persian and English Grammar, 4to. 1771, then published proposals for printing, by subscription, an improved edition of Meninski, with an English translation, in four volumes folio, at the reduced price of twelve guineas to subscribers, or twenty guineas to non-subscribers, when a copy of the original work sold for fifty or sixty guineas. Unhappily the undertaking proved abortive, for want of encouragement. That rare and incomparable linguist was forced to drop his favourite pursuits, and betake himself, for a livelihood, to the rugged and ungenial profession of the law. See his elegant and classical Epigram, subjoined to his admired Lectures on Asiatic Poetry. And his native country, and the world at large, have to regret that he could not continue to delight and instruct them in his proper line.

Though the proposed edition of Meninski failed, the design was carried on, in part, by Richardson, the learned Orientalist, and friend of Jones, who first published an Arabic and English Grammar, 4to, 1776, on the model of the Persian; and a Persic, Arabic, and English Dictionary, in two large folio volumes, in 1777, and the following year, under the ostensible patronage of the East India Company; for whose servants both the Grammar and Dictionary were eminently useful. With what actual encouragement, we may collect from the following rather discontented note, which we transcribe, with regret, from his Dissertations. 8vo. 1778. Second edit. p. 477.

"I shall bid adieu to Oriental learning the moment I have completed the second volume of my Dictionary.

"I take this opportunity of offering my opinion on the fate of this branch of learning. Unless some steady plan of encouragement is adopted by those who have power to promote it, it must apparently languish in a state of lethargy, hardly differing from a non-existence. For till young men in general shall have the prospect of recommending themselves by such pursuits, one or two, or half a dozen in a nation, can never go far in the improvements of any science.” See the entire passage, and remonstrance, which perhaps might have suggested that excellent institution of Hertford College, near London, for the cultivation of the Asiatic languages.

† Μεγά Βιβλίον, μεγά κακόν. "A great book of little information is a great evil;" but a great book of much information a great good,—to the public, at least.
sons, in the principal, or most distinguished branches of each. In the present volume are introduced two grand lines of their history. The first and the largest, contains the history of the mingled families of Shem and Japheth, at first in Asia, and afterwards in Europe; according as they rose in power, and succeeded in dominion; namely, the Assyrians, Babylonians, Elamites, the Medes and Persians, the Macedo-Grecians*, Par-

74. Richardson's Persian, Arabic, and English Dictionary, 2 vols. large folio. This was written for the East India Company's service. See the notes on the preceding article.

75. Golius' Arabic and Latin Lexicon, Elzevir, folio, 1653. The best single Arabic Lexicon extant; its author, vir excellentissimus, omnisque literaturae, tam Orientalis quam Occidentalis, perissimus, in the judgment of Castell.

To these many valuable books might be added; but the historical student will, perhaps, find this select list abundantly sufficient to employ him for a long time, without requiring further helps. Several of these, indeed, are not easy to be procured at any price, having been long out of print. They may be found, however, in public libraries, at the Universities, London, &c., or in the private libraries of opulent individuals, formed not recently.

* In this catalogue of nations the reader may perhaps wonder that the Grecians singly, and the Romans, so celebrated in sacred and profane history for their arts and their arms, are not expressly noticed. But the omission was owing to the following considerations:

1. The Rudiments of Grecian and Roman History form a usual branch of classical and of liberal education; and there are several good Abridgments in general circulation, Stanyan's, Gast's, Goldsmith's, &c. so that their insertion might well be deemed unnecessary and superfluous, and rather injudicious, perhaps, by contributing to swell the size of a work which many will be apt to think already too large for general use, at least in its present form.

2. The Chronological Elements of both are fully and correctly given in the first volume of this work.

The accounts of the heroic, brazen, and iron ages of Hesiod include the early times of their history, Vol. I. p. 243—248; the principal eras of the Flood of Ogyges, of Deucalion, the Argonautic Expedition, Capture of Troy, and return of the Heraclidae, are determined, p. 235—239; the leading events of Grecian history, from the time of Cecrops, the first king of Athens, to the birth of Alexander the Great, are given in the Parian Chronicle, p. 112, &c. and its rectification, p. 120, &c.; and the ensuing table of the Athenian kings and archons, from Cecrops to Diognetus, and the end of the Parian Chronicle, will perhaps be found the most authentic and accurate any
thians and Persians, the Saracens and Turks; the second line traces the history of the family of Ham, in its principal branch, the Misraites, who settled in Egypt. These two lines run parallel to each other, and collateral with the third line of the chosen branch of Shem's family, the Hebrews, the Israelites, and the Jews, noticed in the second volume of this work.

The idea of this system, including the three chief branches of the families of "Noah's sons, of whom was the whole earth overspread, according to their families, tongues, and nations, in their several lands," or pre-ordained settlements; Gen. ix. 19; x. 31; Acts xvii. 26, was, in a great measure, suggested by the primitive Geographical Chart, in the tenth chapter of Genesis, and by the scientific Discourses of that great Orientalist and universal scholar, Sir William Jones, delivered as President of the Calcutta Society, describing in a popular way, the characters, dialects, migrations, and settlements of the three primitive families, when they began

where extant, p. 123, &c. and, combined with the Registry of the Olympiads, p. 137, &c., furnish altogether the best chronological helps for reading their historians with profit.

Of the early Latin and Alban kings, correct tables are given of the reigns, p. 252, 253, and a correct table of the Roman Fasti, from the foundation of Rome by Romulus, to Vespasin's reign, including the Kings, Decemvirs, Military Tribunes, Dictators, Consuls, through the several changes of their government, p. 141—154. The Canon of Ptolomy gives the emperors' reigns from Augustus to Antoninus Pius, p. 164; and its continuation, the reigns of the succeeding emperors, down to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks.

3. The prominent features of Grecian and Roman History are traced in the second and third volumes, and interwoven with the History and Prophecies of the Old and New Testament, and the Apocrypha, and with the corresponding parts of the History of the Jews, Syrians, Persians, Parthians, Saracens, and Turks, given in the course of the work; so that the candid and intelligent reader will find reason not to blame, but rather to approve, the omission.
to separate, after Noah's death, from the original settlement, at the foot of Mount Ararat, in Armenia and Assyria, and diverged from thence, in every direction, continuing their migrations, from thence, some earlier, others later, during the course of four centuries, and upwards. It has been the object of this work to follow his general outline, and confirm his important conclusions, establishing the veracity of the Mosaic History, by a fuller induction of particulars than was consistent with the scheme of his popular discourses. These discourses are contained in the first four, and most valuable, volumes of the Asiatic Researches; and have been since collected, in the magnificent edition of his works, published by Lord Teignmouth, his friend and successor.

The necessity, indeed, of a new arrangement of the Elements of Sacred and Profane History, built upon more solid and scientific principles of Chronology, and in a different form and shape, was pointed out in the preface and course of the first volume of this work. The Elements of Sacred History are detailed in the second and third volumes, at considerable length; and the Elements of Profane History more concisely, in the present volume.

The unknown and fabulous times, as distinguished from the historical, by that great chronologer Varro, furnish "a choice of difficulties" to the chronologer, the antiquary, and the historian. We remark in the extravagant Gods, Demigods, and Heroes of the remotest antiquity, a strange confusion of names and titles. Frequently, the same names denote different persons, at different times; and as frequently, the same
persons, the same times, and the same events are dis-
guised under different names, fables, and fictions. Thus, 
\( \text{Kpovoc, Saturn,} \) in the primitive Egyptian and
Grecian Theogony, denoted \( \text{Adam,} \) from whom "Time" began
to be computed; and afterwards \( \text{Noah,} \) from whom it
was recomputed after the deluge. \( \text{Jupiter, Neptune and}
\text{Pluto,} \) the sons of \( \text{Saturn,} \) represented \( \text{Japheth, Shem}
\) and \( \text{Ham,} \) the sons of \( \text{Noah.} \) Again, \( \text{Jupiter,} \) denoted a
mortal the ancient king of \( \text{Crete,} \) and father of \( \text{Minos,}
\) whose tomb was said by the \( \text{Cretans} \) to be in their
island; and also \( \text{the Supreme God, the father of Gods}
\text{and men;} \) whence \( \text{Epimenides,} \) one of their own poets,
called "the \( \text{Cretans liars}," \) or blasphemers, as cited by
the Apostle \( \text{Paul,} \) Titus i. 12.

On the other hand, the caricatured adventures of
\( \text{Bacchus,} \) of the \( \text{Egyptian, Indian, and Grecian Hercules,}
\) strikingly resemble the accounts of "the mighty hunter
before the Lord, \( \text{Nimrod,} \)" \( \text{Orion, Belus, or Bala Rama;}
\) and \( \text{Sethosis, Sesostris, Vexoris, and Ozymandes,} \) were
one and the same king of \( \text{Egypt.} \)

Hence the attempt to reconcile and harmonize the
\( \text{Chaldean, Phœnician, Egyptian, Indian, Grecian and}
\text{Latin Antiquities,} \) after the failure of the ablest scholars
and antiquaries, has been considered as hopeless, and
well nigh desperate.

Many of these acknowledged obscurities and difficul-
ties, however, may be cleared away and removed by

* The Greek Scholiast on \( \text{Callimachus, Hymn 8,} \) ingeniously accounts for the
\( \text{Cretans' tradition, by supposing that the entire inscription on the tomb was \( \text{Mivwvoc}
\text{Tov Dvoc vafot, "the tomb of Minos, the Son of Jove," but in process of time, the}
first part being obliterated, there only remained \( \text{Dvoc vafot, "the tomb of Jove."} \)"}
more critical inspection and comparison of the several original records that have still survived the wreck of time. Numerous dissonances also, or apparent difficulties, that have hitherto clouded the pages of Æschylus, Herodotus, Xenophon, Ctesias, &c. will be found to vanish before closer translation; and these historical writers reconciled to each other, to the Oriental historians, and to Holy Writ; greatly to the benefit of sacred and profane literature; by removing a mass of rubbish, that has hitherto produced much doubt and scepticism in history and antiquities, discouraged the scientific study of both, and reared up mischievous obstacles and impediments to the progress of literature in general, both sacred and profane.

In this volume, the characters of Herodotus and Xenophon are vindicated from misrepresentation. The veracity of the Father of Grecian History has been frequently impeached, ever since Plutarch's days; and lately, a learned and ingenious Orientalist, Richardson, questioned the reality of his account of Xerxes' invasion of Greece, chiefly upon the specious ground of the silence of the Oriental historians; but their silence is here naturally accounted for, and his other objections shewn to be unfounded. Xenophon too, in his Cyropædia, has been charged with composing a philosophical romance, like Plato's Republic, or More's Utopia; but his Chronology, now for the first time, adjusted, and reconciled to Scripture, and to Herodotus, proves, that the basis of the Cyropædia at least, is true history. But while justice is fully rendered to these incomparable historians, their imposing errors are carefully detected.
Herodotus wilfully misrepresented the actions of Astyages and Cyrus; and Xenophon actually mistook the times of Cyrus's marriage, and capture of Babylon.

In its Biographical branch, (the most useful and entertaining of any, perhaps,) this work endeavours to cull those flowers that form the philosophy of history. The plan of this branch was suggested, chiefly, by Abulfaragi's compendious Annals of General History; in which, he has interwoven many curious and valuable anecdotes of eminent characters, and the state of Religion, Learning and Arts. The materials have been collected from miscellaneous reading for several years past; and especially from those great storehouses, the instructive Lives of Plutarch, the entertaining Bibliotheque Orientale of Herbelot, and the profound disquisitions of Montesquieu; all exhibiting the Marrow of History*, the Spirit of laws, and the rise and decline of ancient empires.

In tracing the characters of the most distinguished sages, worthies, statesmen and warriors of antiquity, such as the illustrious Kau umarath, Sesostris, Dejoces, Cyaxares, Astyages, Cyrus, Darius Hystaspes, Alexander of Macedon, Nouschirvan, Tamerlane, &c. not only their public acts and regulations are noticed, but also those finer and minuter traits of temper, genius, and policy, incidentally recorded by their historians, which afford, perhaps, the surest criterion; and a middle course has been steered to the Port of Historical Truth, between Scylla and Charybdis, between the adulations of their friends and the detractions of their foes. An elaborate

* The title of Khondemir's Abridgment of his Father Mirkhond's great historical work, the History of Persia, is Khilasat al Akbar, "the Marrow of History."
detail, therefore, of battles, sieges, campaigns, laws and regulations, &c. was inconsistent with the plan of this work. For such detailed information the reader is referred to the formal histories, or lives of each.

Peculiar attention has been paid to the Religious Reformers, the elder and the younger Zoroaster, or Zerdusht, the Persian Manes, and the Arab, Mahomet; the last especially, the father of Islamism, or the founder of the Saracen empire. His character, indeed, and the spirit of Islamism, or the real genius of his motley religion, deserved to be traced with more than ordinary care, on account of the extraordinary revolution he introduced, and the rapid and astonishing progress of their arms, and propagation of their religion, by the Khalifs, his successors, over the fairest regions of the globe.

To preserve the tenor of the narrative even and unbroken, in this, as in the second and third volumes, all matters of mere controversy and criticism, are excluded from the text, as much as possible, and thrown into the notes, for the benefit of the learned, and to prevent the annoyance of the unlearned reader. Such are, the Refutation of Richardson's Hypothesis, p. 43; of Larcher's Egyptian Chronology, p. 415; of the supposed Egyptian Zodiacs recently discovered by the French Scavans, p. 438; the critical explanations of Oriental Titles, p. 20; of the wars of the Gods and Giants, p. 23; of Ancient Persian Mythology, p. 29; of the Primitive Magian Religion, p. 36; of the Eleusinian Mysteries, p. 163; of the Grecian Oracles, p. 109, 111, 112, 115, 116, 118, 153, &c. of Manichæism, p. 251, &c. All which have hitherto furnished notable fastnesses for Doubt and
Skepticism, in history and Antiquities, and for Deism and Infidelity in Religion.

This volume may be considered as the sequel and continuation of the second and third; designed to traverse again the history and prophecies, concisely or obscurely noticed therein, so far as they respect foreign nations. Here, the prophecies concerning Nineveh and Babylon, Cyrus, and Alexander the Great, are unfolded more at length, and explained more fully, than before, from their respective histories; and Isaiah's signal prophecy respecting Belshazzar, which was omitted in the second volume, is now, perhaps, for the first time, restored to its right owner, p. 71–75, while the rise, progress, and decline of the Saracen and Turkish empires, carefully traced in this volume, contribute to illustrate and confirm the shorter expositions of the first and second woes, under the fifth and sixth trumpets of the Apocalypse; in which those persecuting Enthusiasts and Fanatics were obscurely and symbolically foretold to be the scourges of the Idolatrous World, and of the degenerate Christians of the east and west.

In the Appendix are attempted to be stated the leading causes of the gradual deterioration and decay of the pure Patriarchal religion, and of the Mosaic and Christian afterwards. The grand Heresy or Apostacy of Arianism, Islamism, or Unitarianism, is shewn to have been a novelty, from the prevalence of the Trinitarian doctrine, in various shapes, from the earliest ages, among the sages of Chaldea, Egypt, and India, Greece and Italy. And at the close, the present age and country is impressively warned of the Apocalyptic plagues or
judgments, now visibly inflicting upon an infidel, lukewarm, and irreligious world; and which seem likely to continue with unabated force, during the effusion of the remaining vials, till the whole shall be exhausted, about the end of the grand prophetic Period, A.D. 1880, according to the present chronological scheme.

Whenever, and however these woes may terminate, which as we cannot foresee, we cannot but fear; and whatever reception this work may experience from the public, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear, whether they will mind, or whether they will neglect these results of the studies of twenty years, now offered to their serious consideration, the author is bound with the most profound gratitude to the Father of Lights, the Light of the world, and the Spirit of Truth, to acknowledge the beneficial influence of these studies on himself at least. The lights of sacred and profane history have made him, he humbly trusts, wiser and better than they found him. By nearer access to the Revealed Mysteries of Creation, Redemption, and Sanctification, and by knowing others of all ages, nations and languages, he has learned at length, to know himself more thoroughly, to appreciate his own frailty, infirmity and imperfections more critically; to learn his awful responsibility to God for the right and diligent use of the talents entrusted to his charge; and his nobler capacities of higher intellectual, moral and religious improvement, than he has attained, or can possibly attain, in this state of discipline and preparation for a better: fully convinced, that his sumnum bonum, or "chief good," in this life, is to endeavour, with the divine assistance, to improve himself, to serve mankind, and to glorify God; and in the next,
if he be found worthy, by humble and patient continuance in well doing, to be admitted into the supreme felicity of seeing God as He is, inhabiting light inaccessible, who is Spirit, Light, Love, in the original, the adorable fountain of all perfection!

By tracing also, more closely and attentively, the Providential History of Mankind, he has learned to reject all unworthy and dishonourable notions of the Deity; fully convinced of a truth, that God is no respecter of persons, sects, or peoples; but "in every nation, whosoever feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable unto Him," (like the devout Cornelius, the Roman Centurion, Acts x. 4;) according to the lights and opportunities respectively vouchsafed.

He has learned to count no man common or unclean, whom God hath cleansed, and Christ died to save; and with whom the Holy Spirit may become an inmate, (as acknowledged by the Heathens themselves, from the remotest ages, Gen. xli. 38; Dan. iv. 9; v. 11, &c.) but on the contrary, to admire and reverence genuine wisdom, virtue and piety, whenever and wherever they may be found, among Pagans and Mussulmans, not less than among Patriarchs, Jews, and Christians.

Lastly, he has learned, with greater warmth of Christian Charity, and a brighter glow of Philosophical Philanthropy *, to wish more devoutly, and pray more fervently, for the predicted and approaching conversion of all those lost sheep, in every quarter of the globe, who have erred from the right faith, and strayed from the

* The Heathen adage, Homo sum: nihil humani a me alienum puto, "to count no human being an alien;" the Jewish, to love our neighbour as ourself; fall short of the Christian, to lay down our life for the brethren, if requisite.
true fold of the true Shepherd; that they may soon return, like the prodigal son to their heavenly Father's household, with humble confession of their own unworthiness, lowly supplication for his pardon and forgiveness, and firm trust in his gracious promises; and all, with one voice, one heart and one soul, join in full chorus, with the Angelic Host,

KOTZ, OM, ΠΑΣ: CANSHA, OM, PASHA *:

GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST; ON EARTH PEACE; GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN. AMEN.

* See the Eleusinian Mysteries, p. 165.

Killesandra, Ireland, June 23, 1812.
SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY.

ANTEDILUVIAN GENERATIONS, p. 1.

From Sanchoniatho. Moses.  

1. Protogonus and Αeon .......... Adam and Eve .......... 5411  
2. Genos and Genea............... Cain and his wife .......... 5281  
3. Phos, Pur, Phlox .............. Enoch .............. 5091  
4. Cassios, Libanos .............. Irad .............. 4901  
5. Memrumos, Usous .............. Mehujael .............. 4731  
6. Agrieus, Halieus .............. Methusael .............. 4566  
7. Chrysor, Hephaistos ........... Lamech ........... 4404  
8. Technites, Geinos .............. Jabal, Jubal, Tubal Cain ...... 4239

II. ANTEDILUVIAN DYNASTY, p. 8.

CHALDEAN KINGS.

From Berosus.  

       s.      y.      B.C.  
1. Alorus, a Babylonian .......... 10 .. 100 .. 4355  
2. Alasparus, or Alaparus ......... 3 .. 30 .. 4255  
3. Amelon, of Pantibibla .......... 13 .. 130 .. 4225  
4. Ammenon, of Chaldea ............ 12 .. 120 .. 4095  
5. Megalarus, of Pantibibla ...... 18 .. 180 .. 3975  
5. Daonus, a Shepherd of Pantibibla .......... 10 .. 100 .. 3795  
7. Euedoreschus, of Pantibibla ...... 18 .. 180 .. 3695  
8. Anempsimus, a Chaldean of Larancha... 10 .. 100 .. 3515  
9. Otiartes, the same ............. 8 .. 80 .. 3415  
10. Xisuthrus, his son ............ 18 .. 180 .. 3335  

The Deluge........................ 120  1200  3155
### POSTDILUVIAN DYNASTIES.

#### I. Assyrian Dynasty, 317 Years, p. 20.

From Syncellus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Y. M.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Nimrod, Ninus I, or Belus I</td>
<td>98, 9</td>
<td>2554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ezechous, or Chosma Belus</td>
<td>7, 6</td>
<td>2455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Porus</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Nechubus</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ahius</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>2370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Oniballus</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Zinzirus</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2282</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

End of the Dynasty

#### II. Elamite, or Persian Dynasty, 529 Years, p. 27.

From Mirkhond, &c.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Y. A.D.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Kairumarath, or Keyomarras</td>
<td>(560) 40</td>
<td>2190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siamek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiarumarath again</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interregnum</td>
<td>(200)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Hushang, called Pischdad, or Chedorlaoam...</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tahmuras</td>
<td>(700) 30</td>
<td>2070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Giamschid, or Giemschid</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Dahac, Zohak, or Zoak</td>
<td>(1000) 30</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Aphridun, Phridun, or Pheridun</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Manugiahr, called Phirouz</td>
<td>(500) 120</td>
<td>1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Nodar</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Apheresiab, or Afrasiab</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Zoab, Zoub, or Zab</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Gershab, or Gershasp</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1691</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

End of the Dynasty

#### III. Assyrian Dynasty, 431 Years, p. 49.

From Ctesias.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25. Mithraeus, or Ninus II</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Tautanes, or Teutamus</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1215</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY.

27. Teutæus ........................................... 44 1183
28. Thineus ........................................... 30 1139
29. Dercylus ........................................... 40 1109
30. Eupalis, or Eupachmes ......................... 38 1069
31. Laosthenes ........................................ 45 1031
32. Pertiates ........................................... 30 986
33. Ophrataeus ........................................ 21 956
34. Epecheres, or Ofratanes ......................... 52 935
35. Acroganes, or Acrazapes ......................... 42 883
36. Thonus Concolerus ................................. 20 841

End of the Dynasty .................................... 431 821

IV. ASSYRIAN DYNASTY, 215 YEARS, p. 53.

From Scripture and Ptolomy.

1. King of Nineveh .............. 821
   Jonah's prophecy .............. 800
2. Pul, or Belus II ............. 790
   I. Invasion of Israel .......... 770
3. Tiglathpilesar ............... 747 Nabonassar .......... 14 747
   II. Invasion of Israel ........ 740 Nadius ............... 2 733
4. Shalmanassar .................. 726 Chinzirus ........... 5 731
   III. Invasion of Israel ........ 722 Jugeus .............. 5 726
   Samaria taken .................. 719 Mardok, Empad, or Merodach Baladan 
5. Sennacherib ..................... 714
   I. Invasion of Judah .......... 711 — revolts from Assyria 
6. Esarhaddon, Asaradin, or
   Sardanapalus I .......... 710 — writes to Hezekiah 
   Revolt of Medes and Babylonians 
   Babylon regained ........... 680 Apronadius .......... 6 699
   II. Invasion of Judea, and
   Captivity of Manasseh 
7. Ninus III ....................... 667 II. Interregnum .......... 8 688
8. Nabuchadonosor ............... 658 Asaradin, or Esarhaddon 13 680
   Defeat of Arphazad, or
   Phraortes the Mede .. 641
   Saosduchin ............... 20 667
   Chyniladon ............... 22 647

BABYLONIAN KINGS.

11. 839 839
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11. 839 839
SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>640</td>
<td>Nabopolassar, or Labynetus I.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III. Invasion of Judea by Holofernes.

9. Sarac, or Sardanapalus II.

Nineveh taken

V. BABYLONIAN DYNASTY, 70 YEARS, p. 66.

From Scripture, Berosus, and Ptolomy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Nineveh taken.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Nabokolassar, Boktanser, or Nebuchadnezzar.

2. Ilverodam, or Evilmerodach.

3. Niricassolassar, Neriglissar, or Belshazzar.

4. Nabonadius, or Labynetus II. appointed by Cyaxares, or Darius the Mede.

Babylon taken

VI. MEDIAN DYNASTY. 159 YEARS, p. 76.

KAHIANIAN KINGS. PART I.

From Herodotus, Ctesias, Mirkhound, &c.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>710</td>
<td>Median Revolt and Interregnum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>703</td>
<td>Dejoces, or Artæus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>663</td>
<td>Phraortes, or Artyines, or Arphaxad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>640</td>
<td>Cyaxares I., or Astibaras, or Kaikobad, or Ahasuerus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>640</td>
<td>first siege of Nineveh, and Scythian Invasion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>640</td>
<td>Scythian expulsion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>612</td>
<td>Lydian war.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>608</td>
<td>Eclipse of Thales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>601</td>
<td>Astyages, Astygas, or Aspadas, or Kaikaus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>566</td>
<td>Cyaxares II. or Fraiburz, or Darius the Mede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>553</td>
<td>succeeds Belshazzar at Babylon, and ap-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>551</td>
<td>Accession of Kai Chosru, or Cyrus the Persian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY.

VII. PERSIAN DYNASTY, 228 YEARS, p. 89.

KAIANIAN KINGS. PART II.

From Herodotus, Mirkhond, &c.

1. Cyrus, or Kai Chosru in Persia 8
   Media 15
   Babylon 7

2. Cambyses, or Lohorasp 7, 5m.
   Smerdis Magus 7m.

3. Darius, son of Hystaspes, or Gushtasp 36

4. Xerxes 21

5. Artaxerxes Longimanus, or Ardshir Dirazdest, or
   Bahaman

6. Darius Nothus

7. Artaxerxes Mnemon

8. Ochus, or Darab I 21
   Arogus, or Arses 2

9. Darius Codomannus, or Darab II

Conquered by Alexander, or Ascander 228

VIII. MACEDO-GRÆCIAN DYNASTY, 102 YEARS, p. 213.

From Arrian, &c. Mirkhond, &c.

1. Alexander the Great 8 (332) 331

2. Philip Arideus 6 (324) 323
   First division of the Provinces

3. Alexander Ægus 5 317

4. Seleucus Nicator. Era of Seleucidae 32 312
   Second division of the Provinces
   Final partition of the Empire

5. Antiochus Soter 19 280

6. Antiochus Theos 15 261

7. Seleucus Callinicus 17 246

Parthian Dynasty 102 229
SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY.

IX. PARTHIAN DYNASTY, 454 YEARS, p. 239.

ASHKANIAN KINGS.

From Agathias, &c. Mirkhond, &c.

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Persian Dynasty... 454    225
SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY.

X. PERSIAN DYNASTY, 411 YEARS, p. 246.

SASSANIAN KINGS.

From Agathias, &c. Mirkhond, &c.

Y. | M. | A.D.
---|---|---
1. | Artaxares, or Ardschir ben Babek. | 14 | 10 | 225
2. | Sapor, or Schabour | 31 | 240
3. | Hormizdas, or Hormouz | 1 | 271
4. | Vararanes, Varanes, or Baharam | 3 | 272
5. | Vararanes II. or Baharam II. | 17 | 275
6. | Narses, or Narsi. | 8 | 292
7. | Misdates, or Hormouz | 7 | 5 | 300
8. | Sapor II. or Schabour Doulaktaf | 70 | 307
9. | Artaxerxes, or Ardeschir | 4 | 377
10. | Sapor III. or Schabour ben Schabour | 5 | 381
11. | Vararanes IV. or Kerman Schah | 11 | 386
12. | Isdigers, or Jezdegerd Al Athim | 21 | 397
13. | Vararanes V. or Baharam Gour | 23 | 418
14. | Vararanes VI. or Jezdegerd ben Baharam... (17) | 18 | 441
15. | Peroz, or Firouz. | 20 | 459
16. | Valens, or Balasch ben Firouz | 4 | 479
17. | Cavad, or Cobad | 11 | 483
   | Zambad | 8 | 494
   | Cavad again | 30 | 502
18. | Chosroes, or Nouschirvan | 48 | 532
19. | Hormisdas II. or Hormouz ben Nouschirvan... | 8 | 580
20. | Chosroes II. or Khosru Perviz | 39 | 588
21. | Siroes, or Schirowieh | 1 | 627
22. | Ardesir, or Ardschir ben Schirowieh (2 m.) | 1 | 6 | 628
23. | Sarbaras, or Scheheriar (1, 1 m.) | 2 | 630
24. | Hormisdas, or Jezdegerd ben Scheheriar | 4 | 632

Saracen Dynasty. | 411 | 636

XI. SARACEN DYNASTY, 636 YEARS, p. 277.

From Abulsaragi, Abulfeda, &c.

Y. | A.D. | HEG.
---|---|---
1. | Mahomet's Hegira, or flight | 10 | 622 | 1
## Synopsis of the Chronology

### Caliphs

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End of the Dynasty 636 1258 656

XII. TURKISH DYNASTY, p. 366.

From Herbelot, Knolles, Playfair, &c.

OTTOMAN SULTANS.

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### II. EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY, p. 400.

#### I. ANTECILUVIAN DYNASTIES, p. 416.

**Primary Gods, 2256 years.**

- **Saturn, or Adam.**
  - 2256 years
  - **5411**
- 12 Generations, to the deluge
  - **3155**

#### II. POSTDILUVIAN DYNASTIES, p. 417.

**Demigods and Heroes, 743 years.**

1. **Noah and his sons.**
   - 524 years
   - **3155**

2. **Misraim and his successors.**
   - 201 years
   - **2613**

- **End of the Heroic age.**
  - 743 years
  - **2412**

#### III. EGYPTIANS, p. 418.

**First Dynasty, 253 years, p. 418.**

- **Menes and his successors, &c. ending with Timaus.**
  - 253 years
  - **2412**
- **or Concharis**
  - **2159**
# SYNOPSIS OF THE CHRONOLOGY.

## SECOND DYNASTY, Shepherd Kings, 260 years, p. 418.

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- First pyramid begun, about
- Abraham visits Egypt
- Expulsion of the Shepherds

## THIRD DYNASTY, Natives, 251 years, p. 418.

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- Joseph Governor of Egypt
- Jacob's family settle in Goshen
- Joseph's death
- Exode of the Israelites

## FOURTH DYNASTY, 340 years, p. 418.

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<td>1394</td>
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16. Harmesses ........................................ y. 66, 2 m. 1393
17. Amenophis III. or Maeris ........................ b.c. 1327
Death of Maeris ........................................ 340, 7 m. 1308

FIFTH DYNASTY, 342 YEARS, p. 419.

1. Sethos, Sethosis, Sesosis, Sesostis, or Osymandes, or Vezoris. .................. 33 ....... 1308
2. Rampses, or Pheron ........................................ 61 .... ... 1275
3. Cetes, or Proteus, or Ramesses. ................................... 50 .... ... 1214
   Paris and Helen driven to Egypt .................................. 1194
   Menelaus comes to Egypt ...................................... 1183
4. Amenophis IV. ............................................... 40 .... ... 1164
   Fictitious expulsion of the Israelites ...................... 1130
5. Rampsinitus .................................................. 42 .... ... 1124
6. Cheops, or Chemmis .......................................... 50 .... ... 1082
7. Cephrenes, Cephres, Sesak or Susak. .................................. 56 .... ... 1032
   invades Rehoboam ........................................... 986
8. Mycerinus, or Cherinus. ........................................ 10 .... ... 976
His death ........................................... 342 .... ... 966

SIXTH DYNASTY, 293 YEARS, p. 419.

A chasm .................................................. 151 .... ... 966

1. Bocchoris, or Asychis ........................................ 44 .... ... 815
2. Anysis .................................................. 2 .... ... 771
3. Sabacon, Soa, or So ........................................ 50 .... ... 769
   Anysis again ............................................. 6 .... ... 719
4. Sebecom, or Sethon ........................................ 40 .... ... 713
   Sennacherib invades Egypt ................................ 711
Death of Sethon ........................................... 293 .... ... 673

SEVENTH DYNASTY, 148 YEARS, p. 419.

12 Contemporary kings ...................................... 15 .... ... 673
2. Psammeticus ............................................... 39 .... ... 658
3. Nekus, or Pharaoh Necho ................................. 16 .... ... 619
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Nekus kills Josiah, and takes Cadytis or Jerusalem.</td>
<td>608</td>
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<td>4. Psammis</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>5. Apries, or Pharaoh Hophra</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td>Nebuchadnezzar ravages Egypt.</td>
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<td>6. Amasis</td>
<td>44</td>
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<td>Solon's visit.</td>
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<td>Cyrus conquers Egypt.</td>
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<td>Psammenitus. I. Revolt of Egypt.</td>
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EIGHTH DYNASTY, Persian kings, 112 years, p. 420.

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<th>Y.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cambyses reduces Egypt</td>
<td>38</td>
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<td>I. Persian Administration</td>
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<td>Darius Hystaspes. II. Revolt</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Xerxes reduces Egypt</td>
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<td>II. Persian Administration</td>
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<td>Artaxerxes Longimanus. III. Revolt</td>
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<td>reduces Egypt</td>
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<td>III. Persian Administration</td>
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<td>Herodotus visits Egypt</td>
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<td>Darius Nothus. IV. Revolt</td>
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<td>Amyrtaeus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pausiris</td>
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<td>Nephereus</td>
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<td>Acoris</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nectanebis</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tachus, or Teos</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nectanebus</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ochus reduces Egypt</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>IV. Persian Administration</td>
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<td>Alexander conquers Egypt</td>
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TENTH DYNASTY, Macedo-Grecians, 302 years.

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ANALYSIS

OF

PROFANE CHRONOLOGY:

CONTAINING

A CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY

OF

THE ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, ELAMITES, MEDO-PERSIANS, MACEDO-GRÆCIANS, PARTHIANS, PERSIANS, SARACENS, TURKS, AND EGYPTIANS.

Non sumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem.
Cogitât; ut speciosa dehinc miracula promat.—Horât.
ANALYSIS

OF

PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

SECTION I.

ANTE-DILUVIAN CHRONOLOGY.

THE Heathen Chronology of the primitive nations of the world, both before and after the deluge, is involved in profound obscurity. Only a few scattered fragments of their annals have survived the wreck of ages, and these are "a rude and undigested mass*," floating on the gulf of time, incongruous in themselves, and unconnected with each other, oppressed and smothered almost beneath successive accumulations of poetic fiction, philosophizing allegory, and recondite mysticism. See Vol. I. p. 266, 267.

Of the fragments respecting the Antediluvian ages, the most curious and valuable are the remains of the Phœnician history of Sanchoniatho, and of the Chaldean history of Berosus; which have been fortunately preserved in the writings of Josephus, Eusebius, and Syncellus, and other ancient chronographers.

Sanchoniatho, according to Porphyry, flourished about a century before the Trojan war; and among other historical materials consulted the records of Jerombaal, priest of the god Îfûw †; and dedicated his work to Abibalus †, king of Berytus in Phœ.

* Rudis indigestaque moles. Ovid.
† Bochart ingeniously conjectures that Jerombaal was the Phœnician pronunciation of Jerubbaal, the surname of Gideon, the celebrated Judge of Israel, B.C. 1359. Judg. vi. 32; viii. by changing the first b into the kindred consonant m, as in Ambubaææ, Sambuca,
Analysis of Nicia, a most ancient city, between Byblos and Sidon. It was said to be translated into Greek by Philo Byblius, in Adrian's reign, who styles the author ἀνὴρ πολυμαθῆς καὶ πολυτραγῳδῶν, "a very learned and inquisitive person." Eusebius. Præparat. Evangel. I. § 9.

1. The following list of primordial generations of men, furnished by Sanchoniatho, and collected from Eusebius, ibid. § 10. is evidently caricatured from the Scriptural genealogies of Cain and Noah.

SANCHONIATHO.

1. Protogonos and Αἰών. .......... Adam and Eve........... 5411
2. Genos and Genea. .............. Cain and his Wife ........ 5281
3. Phos, Pur, Philox. .............. Enoch ................. 5091
4. Cassios, Λιβανος, &c. .......... Irad .................. 4901
5. Memrumus, Usous. .............. Mehujael ............... 4731
6. Ageus, Halicus. ................. Methusael ............ 4566
7. Chrystor, Hephaistotos. ......... Lamech ............... 4404
8. Technites, Geinos. ............... Jabal, Jubal and Tubal Cain .... 4239
9. * * * * *
10. Agros, Agrotes. ................. Noah. ............... 3755
11. Amoumos, Magos. ............... Ham .................. 3181
12. Misor, Sydik. .................. Misraim ............... 3018
13. Tauta, or Thoth. ............... Caphtor .............. 2888

&c. And Gideon was self-appointed priest of the God Iêwo, (the Phœnician pronunciation of the Hebrew Iaw, יוה, or Jah, the God of Israel,) to whom "he made an ephod," or formed a religious establishment. Judg. viii. 27. See Vol. II. p. 283, 284, of this work. After Gideon’s death the Israelites fell into the neighbouring idolatry of Baal Berith, or of the Sun, worshipped at Berytus. Judg. viii. 33. Supposing, therefore, with Porphyry, that Sanchoniatho was contemporary with Gideon, this would place him 176 years earlier than the destruction of Troy.

But it is not necessary to suppose that the Hebrew records, which Sanchoniatho consulted, were written by Jerombaal himself, or that they both were coeval. These records might rather have been of or concerning his acts, or administration, as judge, contained in the Old Testament; which might have been consulted by Sanchoniatho long after. If the Abibalus here mentioned as reigning when Sanchoniatho wrote his history was the father of Hiram, king of Tyre, who proposed riddles to Solomon, and assisted him in building the temple, according to Josephus, from the Tyrian records cited by the historian Dio, Ant. p. 340, Contr. Apion. p. 1340; this would make Sanchoniatho contemporary with David, who began to reign B.C. 1070, or above one hundred years after the destruction of Troy. And, indeed, there is abundant cause to suspect that Sanchoniatho lived at a much later period, from the ensuing sketch of his fragments.

For further information concerning Sanchoniatho and his writings, consult Bishop Cumberland, Stilligfleet's Origins Sacræ, Dodwell’s Dissertation, the Ancient Universal History, Jackson’s elaborate Dissertation of the Phœnician Antiquities and Chronology, Vol. III. p. 1—110, Bryant's Ancient Mythology, Faber on the Cabiri, and Richardson's Oriental Dissertations.
The first pair, in Sanchoniatho's list, evidently denote Adam the first man, and Eve “the mother of all living.” Gen. iii. 20. Their names, πρωτογονος, denoting “first born,” and αὐαώ, “living.” They are supposed to have been both mortals, begotten of the Wind Κόλπωι, and his wife Baau, signifying night. According to Aristotle, Εγκόλπιας is “a wind issuing from caverns,” (εκ κολπων;) and it resembles the SPIRIT OF GOD which “brooded upon the face of the waters;” while the term Baau is plainly the Hebrew לְבָנָה, Bhu, or Bhuau, descriptive of the earth in its primary chaotic state, as “void or waste;” when “darkness (or night) was upon the face of the abyss.” Gen. i. 1, 2. See the Creation of the World, Vol. I. p. 310, of this work.

Αἰων, or Eve, is said to have found out the use of food from trees; plainly alluding to her transgression in eating the forbidden fruit. Gen. iii. 6.

2. The second pair strongly resemble Cain and his sister wife, by change of kindred letters, from the Hebrew sin, Kain, and its feminine לָשׁ, Kainah. Both are said to have been the offspring of the first pair. They dwelt in Phœnicia, and in seasons of drought stretched out their hands toward the heavens, to the sun, whom they accounted the only Lord of Heaven, calling him בֶּלֶשֶׁמ, Baal Shamim, “Master of the Heavens.” Thus does Sanchoniatho explicitly trace the origin of the Zabian idolatry, or adoration of the sun, moon, and stars, up to the time of Cain. This was unquestionably the earliest corruption of the pure primeval theology. Its revival, after the deluge, is noticed by Job with abhorrence, xxxi. 26—28. See Vol. II. p. 95.

It is indeed highly probable, that when Cain, after his transgression, was banished from the presence of the Lord, or the visible Shechinah, stationed before Paradise, he and his family, in the land of Nod, or of their “exile,” (which is generally supposed to have been Chusistan, or Susiana,*), forgot God, and fell into that stupid idolatry of worshipping the creatures instead of the Creator; of whom, the most glorious were the celestial luminaries. Diodorus Siculus, himself a hea-

* Instead of Susiana, eastward of Paradise, Sanchoniatho, to exalt his own country, placed Cain's family in Phœnicia, westward.
then, observes, that "the first men, looking upwards to the heavens, and struck with awe and admiration at their nature, supposed the sun and moon to be the chief and eternal Gods." Compare Wisd. xiv. 12, &c.

I have attempted to adjust the chronology of Sanchoniatho's list by reference to Cain's line, which is nearly related to Seth's. See Vol. II. p. 1. Assuming that Adam was only 130 years old at the birth of his first born Cain, and according to the Jewish apocryphal book, called the little Genesis, that Cain was 190 years old at the birth of his son Enoch; and that the remaining generations of both lines were equal in length respectively.

3. The third generation were said to have found out the art of kindling fire, by rubbing dry sticks together, and to have taught it to mankind. This was intimated in their names, Φως, light, Πυρ, fire, and Φλόξ, flame. Here we are led to remark, that the gradual discovery of the useful arts, and improvement of social life in the ensuing generations, is evidently borrowed from the scriptural account of their rise and progress in the family of Cain. Gen. iv. 17—22. See Vol. II. p. 32.

4. The fourth generation, their immediate offspring, were of uncommon bulk and stature, who are said to have given names to the mountainous regions which they occupied, namely, Cas-sius, Libanus, Antilibanus, and Brathys.

5. The offspring of these giants, begotten on prostitutes who lay with all the men they met, were named by their mothers Memrumus and Hypsouranius. This fifth generation strongly resembles that produced by the promiscuous intercourse of the sons of God, or pious Sethites, with the fair daughters of men of the idolatrous race of the Cainites, recorded in Scripture. Gen. vi. 1, 2. See Vol. II. p. 36.

Hypsouranius is said to have dwelt at Tyre, and to have invented the art of building huts of reeds, sedge and papyrus. His brother Usous, with whom he was at variance, first invented clothing for the body with the skins of wild beasts which he had contrived to catch. And when the friction of the trees in a wood, near Tyre, during violent storms of wind and rain, had set fire to the branches, Usous formed a canoe out of a tree, whose branches he had lopped off, and ventured first to embark therein on the sea. He consecrated two pillars to the Elements of Fire and Wind, and offered sacrifices and oblations to them of the wild beasts which he caught in hunting.
After their decease, the survivors of that generation consecrated stocks, (or wooden images) to them, and also adored the pillars, and held anniversary feasts in honour of them.

Here we have a natural account of the progress of primeval idolatry and superstition, beginning with the *Zabian*, proceeding to the adoration of the *Elements* of Nature, and ending with the deification of *dead men*, or *Heroes*, for their useful inventions *.

6. Many years after, *Agreus* and *Halieus*, the descendants of *Hypsouranianus*, are said to have invented hunting and fishing, as their names imply.

7. Their offspring, in the seventh generation, were two brothers, who found out the use and method of working iron. *Chrysor*, one of them, cultivated logic, divination and incantations. He was also called *Hephaistus*, or *Vulcan*. He invented hooks and baits and fishing tackle; and was the first who practised navigation. After his decease, he was worshipped as a God, under the title of *Diamichius*, (probably from דִּיָּמִיכִּים, *Dīmichi*, "the power of engines." Ezek. xxvi. 9.) His brothers, according to some, found out the method of building brick walls.

8. Of this family were afterwards born two youths, the one called Τεχνουρής, "artist," the other Γενοὺς αὐτοχθόνων, "Native son of Earth." They found out the art of mixing stubble with clay to make bricks, which they dried in the sun. These brothers resemble *Jabal*, *Jubal* and *Tubal Cain*, in Scripture. Gen. iv. 20—22.

With this generation *Sanchoniatho* ends the line of *Cain*. A plain proof that he had no other original document, beside the *Mosaical* account, to continue that line to the deluge; of which he takes no manner of notice in this fragment; perhaps, because the impious and idolatrous race of *Cain* were destroyed therein, whom he chose to record, in preference of *Seth’s* pious line.

* The following remarkable passage relating to *Sanchoniatho* is recorded by *Cyril* in his answer to *Julian* the Apostate, Lib. VI. p. 205.

" *Sanchoniatho* speaks like one full of the Grecian superstition. For the most ancient of the Grecians, and especially the *Phoenicians* and the *Egyptians*, (from whom the rest of the world received it,) reckoned those the *greatest gods* who found out matters of public utility, or in any respect served the world; and accounting such persons *benefactors*, and authors of many goods, they worshipped them as *gods*; and they built temples to their use, and consecrated pillars and stocks in their names. And the *Phoenicians*, highly venerating them (pillars,) held the greatest feasts to them," (the gods.) See the original passage, *Jackson’s Chronology*, Vol. III. p. 370.
9. Recurring therefore, of necessity to Scripture, Sanchoniatho resumes the genealogy, after the deluge, with Seth's line, in Agros, or Agrotes, signifying "husbandman," who is plainly the representative of Noah. Gen. ix. 20.

Sanchoniatho continues his idolatrous system, in the person of Agrotes, whom he represents as having a statue and a shrine in Phœnicia, drawn about by a yoke of oxen; that he was worshipped, and called, at Byblos, by way of eminence, "the greatest of the Gods." It is highly probable, indeed, that when the Heroic Idolatry was revived after the deluge, in the fifth generation of Nimrod, the first object of it was the second ancestor of the human race, as Adam, the first. The veneration of Noah would easily degenerate into idolatry among the family of Ham, who strongly resemble that of Cain before the deluge. Noah and his wife seem to be the same divinities, whom Sanchoniatho, shortly after, entitles Εὐσεβείας, "the most high God," and Βηρυθ, Beryth, "the Covenant;" figuratively alluding to the Divine grant of the whole earth and its productions to Noah and his family; and the covenant of the rainbow, established with them by the Most High God, Possessor of Heaven and Earth. Gen. ix. 13; xiv. 22.

10. We next find his descendants noticed, and strangely caricatured, in Αμούυ, denoting "the race of Ham," and Μαγικός, "Magician," famous in Egypt. Exod. vii. 11. These are represented as the immediate offspring of the Ανατολά, "Wanderers," and Τραυκίς, "Giants," of the dispersion that followed the confusion of tongues at Babel. Gen. xi. 8—10.

11. The sons of Amun and Magus, were Misor and Sydik. The former was evidently the father of Misraim, "the Egyptians," Gen. x. 6.

12. The son of Misor was Taaot, or Thoth. He was the first, according to Sanchoniatho, who took religion out of the hands of the ignorant vulgar, and moulded it into a rational system; but who, in reality, appears to have been one of the first corrupters of the primitive patriarchal religion in Egypt, by philosophizing thereon. And these corruptions were propagated by the sons of Sydik, the Dioscuri, Cabiri, and Corybantes, in Samothrace, Greece, and the rest of Europe. See Faber's Cabiri.

And here also, Sanchoniatho ends the line of Ham, in the third descent, corresponding to Caphtor, the father of Caphtorim, the Egyptians of lower Egypt. Gen. x. 13, 14. The
The remainder of the fragment is filled with a strange, confused and unintelligible jargon, heterogeneously collected from the Mythologies, or fabulous Theologies of the Egyptians and Greeks, furnishing internal evidence, indeed, the most satisfactory, that Sanchoniatho's writings, if genuine, were of later times; much later than Hesiod, Homer, and Orpheus, those grand corrupters of Pagan Theology. The total silence, however, of Josephus, that learned Jewish antiquary, respecting Sanchoniatho, who was himself so well acquainted with the Tyrian and Phænician records, affords a reasonable doubt of the existence of this author, and gives colour to Dodwell's suspicion, that his reputed writings were a spurious fabrication either of Porphyry, or of Philo Byblius, artfully ascribing thereto a remoter antiquity and authority, in order to prop the sinking cause of Pagan Polytheism and Idolatry, after the promulgation of Christianity. Still, the fragment is curious and useful.

II. The chasm in the Antediluvian Chronology of Sanchoniatho, is fortunately supplied by another and more valuable fragment of Berosus, whose genuineness is indisputable.

Berosus was a Chaldean by birth, and a priest of Belus at Babylon. He lived, as he himself said, in the time of Alexander the Great, and wrote the Chaldean or Babylonian history, in three books, which he dedicated to Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, about B.C. 268. He collected his history from most ancient archives, preserved in the temple of Belus, and from early histories, and was held in the highest repute by Josephus, Alexander Polyhistor, Julius Africanus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Vitruvius, and Eusebius. Pliny relates, that he was in such estimation for his Astrological predictions, that the Athenians erected a statue to him with a golden tongue, in the Gymnasium.

The first book of his Chaldean History contained an account of the Creation of the World, and of the early ages of mankind, corresponding to the Mosaic account. The second book began with a dynasty of ten kings who reigned in Chaldea before the deluge; and also recorded ten generations of men after the deluge to Abraham, conformably to Scripture. But only a few scattered fragments of his writings are preserved. The rest are unfortunately lost.

The following list of Chaldean kings who reigned before the deluge, from Berosus, is compiled from the varying accounts of
ANALYSIS OF


### CHALDEAN DYNASTY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Alerus, a Babylonian</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>4355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Alasparus, or Alaparus</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Amilon, of Pantibibla</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>4225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ammenon, of Chaldea</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>4095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Megalarus, of Pantibibla</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>3975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Daonus, a shepherd of Pantibibla</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Euedoreschus, of Pantibibla</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>3695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Amenpsinus, a Chaldean of Larancha</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Otiartes, the same</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>3415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Xisuthrus, his Son, in whose reign</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>3335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The great Deluge happened.</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>3155</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Berosus computed the reigns of these kings by Sari, or decades of years. For the term Saros, or Sar, stript of its Greek termination, is evidently derived from the Hebrew יסאר, Asar, or Chaldee, אסאר, Asara, “ten,” by elision. And in Syriac, ي hend sar, signifies un-decem, or “eleven,” by a similar elision of the Hebrew, י hend, Ahhad, “one.” See Vol. I. p. 19, note, of this work.

According to Polyhistor, and the Egyptian Chronologers, Anianus and Panodorus, the Saros consisted of 3600 days, which is the amount of ten Chaldean years of 360 days each. And Syncellus, p. 30, notices a period of 432,000 years, as including the reigns of their first kings. But this is evidently the amount of 1200 years, multiplied by 360 days. The Chaldeans, in after ages, to enhance their antiquity, magnifying days into years. See Vol. I. p. 40, 41 of this work.

And that this was the true length of the Saros is decided by a true variation between the tables of Africanus and those of Apollodorus and Polyhistor; the former reckoning the reign of the sixth king Daonus, only 99 years, or nine Sari and nine years: the latter ten Sari, or 100 years.

This dynasty, according to Berosus, ended at the deluge. Ascending, therefore, from its established date, B.C. 3155, through the intermediate reigns, we get the commencement,
B.C. 4355, or year of the world, 1056, in the days of Lamech, the seventh from Adam, by Cain's line; and of Chrysor, or Hephaistos, Vulcan, according to the foregoing adjustment of Sanchoniatho's Chronology. Whence we are warranted to suppose that the Chrysor of Sanchoniatho, and the Alorus of Berosus, the first king of this dynasty, might have been one and the same person, as living at the same time.

And this is confirmed by the remarkable analogy of their names. Chrysor was probably הָרוּשׁ אֵאָל Hhoresh Aur, or Or, "Artificer of light, or of fire." And Alorus, stript of its Greek termination, אֵל אֵוֶר, Æl Aur, or Or, "God of light, or of fire;" which are plainly synonymous titles. יָוֵן, Aur, Ur, or Or, is immediately applied to the Sun, by Job, xxxi. 26, reprobating the revival of the Zabian idolatry, in his age; and was also the name of the original settlement of Abraham's family in Chaldea; Gen. xi. 28, who were idolaters, Josh. xxiv. 2. See Vol. II. p. 95, 113, of this work; and Jackson, Vol. I. p. 206.

It is further confirmed by the consonance of the early Egyptian Chronicles; in which, of their thirty dynasties, according to Manetho, (who wrote about ten years after Berosus) the first dynasty of the Aurites, or Gods, began with Vulcan; in the 1058th year of the world, according to the Egyptian Chronologer Panodorus; only two years later.

Lamech, in Scripture, was a signal example of lust and violence, the reigning vices of his age, which accompanied the promiscuous intercourse of the "Sons of God," or pious Sethites, with the fair but frail "daughters of men," of the apostate Cainite race. Gen. iv. 19—24; vi. 1—4. See Vol. II. p. 36, of this work.

That obscure prophecy, usually attributed to Enoch, the contemporary of Lamech, and which is introduced in the midst of the account of the defection of the Sethites, and is generally understood to foretel the deluge, after 120 years of respite, while Noah was building the ark, may perhaps, with more propriety, be understood of the 120 Sari, which included the whole dynasty; and might not unaptly be denominated years, on account of the tenfold longevity of the Antediluvians, reaching to nearly 1000 years.

And to support this conjecture, Berosus obscurely intimates the prophesying of Enoch, at the commencement of the dynasty, in the following figurative narration.
ANALYSIS OF

“In the beginning of the reign of the first king Alorus, there came out of the Red Sea, and appeared near Babylonia, an intelligent* animal, called Oannes, which had the entire body of a fish; but beneath the fish’s head, another head, which was human; and also human feet, which came out of the fish’s tail. It had also a human voice; and ‘its image was still preserved,’ said Berosus, ‘in my time.’”

Helladius observes, in explanation of this riddle, that “he was really a man, and appeared only to be a fish, because he was clothed with a fish’s skin.” And Polyhistor adds, that “he conversed with men in the daytime without eating anything; and delivered to them the knowledge of letters, and of various arts and sciences. He taught them to live together in cities, to erect temples, to enact laws, and instructed them in Geometry and Astronomy. He showed them also how to gather and lay up seeds and fruits; and in fine, instructed them in every thing necessary to civilize their manners. This Oannes also wrote of the origin of things, and of civil government.”

His name is written with some variation; Euahanes, by Hyginus, which bears a nearer resemblance to that of the illustrious patriarch, Hanoch, or Enoch; and his extraordinary learning was equally celebrated by Jews and Mahometans. The Apocryphal book of Enoch †, stated, that “the archangel Uriel, who presided over the stars, disclosed to Enoch, in the 165th year of his age, the nature of the month, and of the tropical year.” And the Mahometan historians (who call him Edris, from his knowledge,) report, that he received thirty books of revelations from God, in which were written the mysteries of the most occult sciences. In the true spirit of Islamism, they also add, that “he was the first who took up arms in the cause of God and Religion; for that having been sent to preach unto, and reclaim the wicked posterity of Cain, when they refused to hearken unto him, he made war upon them, and carried off their wives and children into slavery.”

That Enoch indeed did prophesy to the corrupt Antedi-


† This book of Enoch was referred to and cited by Eupolemus, B.C. 174; Polyhistor, B.C. 88; Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, and Origen; and an abstract of it is preserved by Syncellus. See Jackson’s Chron. Vol. I. p. 59, 60.
luvians, we learn from the apostle Jude, ver. 14, 15; see Vol. II. p. 35: but that he was the first author of religious persecution, is incredible. On the contrary, he most probably was persecuted by that impious and wicked generation of scof-fers, because he threatened them with the divine judgments for "all their deeds of impiety, and hard speeches" against God; and he might have been miraculously rescued from their violence, like Elijah afterwards, on a similar occasion. And surely, the strongest attestation to the truth of Berosus' account, so explained, was the prevalence of the worship of the Fish God, or idol Dagon, (from Ἰπ, Dag, "a fish," ) with a human head, and hands; 1 Sam. v. 2—4, among the Assyrians, Babylonians, Syrians, Phoenicians and Philistines*, in after ages; evidently founded on this primeval tradition. See Vol. II. p. 297, note, of this work.

Moses does not directly tell us, that there was any kingdom set up before the deluge; but he plainly intimates, that after the earth was grown populous, great alterations were produced in the manners and state of men; when, from the promiscuous intercourse of the Sons of God with the fair daughters of men, sprung a race of giants, mighty men of old; and the earth grew corrupt, and was filled with violence. Gen. vi. 4—11.

This state of things is well represented by the mythological poet, Ovid, describing the rapine and violence, the impiety and injustice, that then prevailed.

Vivitur ex rapto: non hospes ab hospite tutus,  
Non socer a genero, fratrumque gratiae rara est;  
Virtis jacet pietas, et virgo, cede madentes,  
Ultima Celestum, terras Astraeae reliquit.  
——— Sed et illa propago  
Contemplex Superum, servaque avidissima caedis,  
Et violenta fuit. METAM. I.

And Macrobius well explains the meaning of "giants," as distinguished for their enormous impiety: "Gigantes autem, quid aliud fuisse credendum est, quam Hominum quandam impiam gentem, Deos negantem?" Saturnal. I. 20.

The natural progress of such a state, was an innovation in the patriarchal regimen of the heads of families, under which

* May we not attribute the immediate influence and authority of Jonah's preaching in subsequent ages, on the Ninevites, after his miraculous deliverance from the great fish, to their thinking, that he came in the spirit and power of Oannes, as an ambassador from God?
Adam's descendants had been hitherto governed; and a tyranny, or absolute monarchy, was erected in its stead, A.M. 1056; about half a century after the descent of the Egregori, or "watchers" of the pious Sethite race, from the mountain, or high country where they lived, to intermarry with the Cainites, about the 40th year of Jared, or 1000th year of the world, according to Abulfaragi, p. 6, Cedrenus, Panodorus, and Syncellus. See Jackson, Vol. I. p. 62 *

The scene of this usurpation is laid by Berosus, in Babylonia, that fertile region finely watered by the confluent streams that formed the Tygris and Euphrates. And the first kings were elective. Most of them were Babylonians, of Pantibibla, which, according to some, was the site of Sipparæ, the city of the Sun, mentioned afterwards, near the Euphrates, between Babylon and Ninereh, probably the Sepharraim of Scripture, where the Sun was worshipped, 2 Kings xvii. 24–31. Others were of Larancha, in Chaldea; and only the last Xisuthrus succeeded his father Otiartes, in the regal government. Thus does Berosus furnish a valuable supplement to the short Mosaical account of the Giants.

The following account of the deluge, is furnished by Polyhistor, from Berosus.

"When Otiartes died, he was succeeded by his son Xisuthrus, in whose reign the great deluge came upon the earth. Saturn (or God) appeared to Xisuthrus in a dream, and told him, that on the fifteenth day of the month Dæsius, mankind should be destroyed by a flood. Therefore he commanded him to write a history of the origin, progress, and end of all things, and to bury the writings underground, in Sipparæ, the city of the Sun, [from the Chaldee, סִפְרָאָה, Siphrae, or Sipparae, signifying "books."] Then he ordered him to build a ship, and to enter into it with his kindred and friends; and also to store the vessel with provisions, and to take into it fowls and four-footed beasts; and when he had thus provided every thing, if he should be asked, whither he intended to sail? he should say, To the Gods, to pray for happiness to mankind.

"Xisuthrus did not disobey the divine command, but built a vessel five furlongs in length, and two furlongs in breadth; and

* This date of the thousandth year of the world, seems preferable to A.M. 1070, adopted in this work, Vol. II. p. 34, from Africanus. See Jackson, i. p. 61, 203.
having got all things in readiness, put on board his wife, children, and friends. After the flood was at the height, and soon began to abate, Xisuthrus let out certain birds, (viz. a raven and a dove, Gen. viii. 7, 8.) which, finding no food, nor a place to rest on, returned again to the ship, (ver. 9.) After some days, (viz. seven days, ver. 10.) he let out the birds again; but they came back to the ship a second time, having their feet daubed with mud, (the dove with an olive branch in her mouth, ver. 11.) but being let out the third time, they returned no more to the ship, (ver. 12.) whereby Xisuthrus understood that dry land had appeared, (ver. 13.) Then he opened the side of the ship, and seeing that it rested on a certain mountain, (the summit of Ararat, ver. 4.) he went out of it, with his wife, and daughter, and Pilot; and after he had worshipped the earth, and built an altar, and sacrificed to the Gods, (ver. 18—20.) he, and those who went out with him, disappeared."

"But they who had staid in the ship, finding that Xisuthrus, and his companions, did not return, went out to seek him, calling him aloud by his name. Xisuthrus, indeed, was seen by them no more; but his voice was heard issuing from the air, and commanding them, as their duty, to be religious; and informing them, that himself, on account of his piety, was gone from them, to dwell with the Gods; and that his wife, daughter, and Pilot, were partakers of the same honour. He told them, further, that they should go again to Babylonia; and that it was ordained for them to take the writings from Sippara, and communicate them to mankind. He added, that the place where they then were, was in the country of Armenia. When they heard this, they offered sacrifice to the Gods, and went unanimously to Babylonia. And when they came thither, they dug up the writings at Sippara, built many cities, erected temples, and rebuilt Babylon."

This Chaldean account, though blended with fictions, remarkably accords with, and confirms the Mosaic account of the deluge.

1. It establishes the primitive tradition, that the Deluge began in Spring; that the second scriptural month (Gen. vii. 11.) corresponded to the second Macedonian month, Dæsius; the first, Artemisius, beginning with the vernal equinox, which, at the time of the deluge, began about April 17. See Vol. i. p. 25, 54, of this work.
2. It differs only two days from the scriptural account; "the fifteenth," instead of "the seventeenth day of the month." (Gen. vii. 11.)

3. It hyperbolically describes the prodigious size of the ark, built by divine appointment. See its just dimensions, Vol. I. p. 323, of this work; while it plainly intimates, that it was built in Babylonia, the residence of Xisuthrus, and the seat of his government.

4. It expressly states, that the mountain on which this ark rested, was in Armenia, according with the scriptural account of Ararat. See that article, Vol. I. p. 332, of this work.

5. It relates the deification of Xisuthrus, or Noah, in exact conformity with Sanchoniatho's shorter account of Agrotes, who was reckoned the greatest of the Hero Gods, after his decease; and Canopus, Noah's pilot, was translated into the southern constellation, Argo, the ark, in the primitive Chaldean sphere.

6. In the Saturn of Berosus, we have the true Kronos, the God of Time, or the Ancient of Days, who was afterwards degraded by the Grćian Poets and Mythologists into the hero, Noah himself, and his three sons, among whom the dominion of the universe was divided; Heaven, or the northern regions, to Jupiter, or Japhet; the Sea, or middle regions, to Neptune, or Shem; and Hell, or the southern, to Pluto or Ham; in conformity with their geography, placing the north pole above, and the south pole below, the horizon *.

* Homer has well described this partition of the earth among the families of Noah's sons, according to the divine decree, communicated to them in Noah's prophecy, in the following geographical allegory, which he puts in the mouth of Neptune, when provoked at Jove's command to desist from assisting the Greeks, in the Trojan war.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ω ποσοί, η ρ', αγάθος περ εών, ύπερπλον ειπεν,} \\
\text{Ει μ' δμοτιμών ενότα βης αεικόνα καθεξε:} \\
\text{Τρεις γαρ τ' εκ Κρονον ειμεν αδέλφοι, ούς τεκε Ρειη,} \\
\text{Σευς και Εγώ, τριταγός δ' Αίδης ενεροειν ανασων'} \\
\text{Τριχθα δι παντα διδασται, ικαστος δ' εμορε τιμης'} \\
\text{Ηνου Εγών ελαχον πολιην ἀλα ναιεσσαν αιε,} \\
\text{Παλλομενων, Αίδης δ' ελαχ ξοφον ηροντα:} \\
\text{Σευς δ' ελαχ' ουρανον ευρετον εν αυθη και νυφλογι} \\
\text{Γαϊα δ' ετι ἐνυν παντων, και μακρος Ολυμπος.}
\end{align*}
\]

" Jove, alas! though good himself, hath spoken proudly,
In thus compelling me, his compeer, against my will,
To withdraw. For we three are brothers, whom Rhea
To Saturn bore: Jove, and I, and Pluto third,
Who rules the shades. When the universe was
Sanchoniatho degraded Saturn still lower, and represented him as one of the descendants of Cush, or Canaan, who flourished after the dispersion; he dethroned his father Uranus, who reigned in Phœnicia; he gave the kingdom of Attica to his daughter Athena, or Minerva; he offered up an only son, whom he had by the nymph Anebrit, for a burnt-offering to his father Uranus; he circumcised himself, and compelled all his allies to do the same; he gave Berytus to Neptune and the Cabiri; and going into the southern regions, he made the God Taaut, king of all Egypt*. See a fuller account, Jackson, Vol. III. p. 20—36. These heterogeneous fictions and absurdities, borrowed from the Phœnician and Grecian Mythology in later times, demonstrate the comparative recency of the boasted writings of Sanchoniatho. Philo, his translator, has given the following excellent account of the rise and progress of the mythology of the Greeks.

"The Greeks," says he, "excelling all others in polite accomplishments, claimed most of this history of the Gods to

Into three parts divided, each an equal share
Obtained, on casting lots. My lot it was
Thenceforth in hoary sea to dwell: to Pluto,
Next, did fall the gloomy shades below:
Jove's lot, the spacious sky in air and clouds.
But still the earth, and lofty heaven, were left
Common to all."  
ILIAD xv. 184—193.

Homer here critically distinguishes between οὐρανὸς, "the sky," or upper region of the atmosphere, and Οὐλύμπος, heaven, or the mansion of the gods. It is remarkable, that the learned Bochart, in his classical allusions to Noah and his three sons, has omitted this passage, though so remarkably apposite.

* Saturn's descent to the southern regions, in Sanchoniatho, is thus geographically described by Homer, in Jove's threat to Juno, for assisting the Trojans, in opposition to the decree of Fate.

'Oc γαρ θεσφατον εστι' σεβεν δ' εγω ουκ αλεγιξω
Χωμινης, ουν' ει κε τα νειατα πειραθ' ικηαι
Γανις και ποντων, ιν' Ιαπετος τε Κρονος τε
Βμινων, ουν' ανγης ιπεριωνος ηηλιον
Τερανων' ουν' ανεμοιου βαθυς δε τε ταρταρους αμφις.

"So is it decreed. Thy wrath regard not I,
Not though to earth and sea's remotest bounds
Thou goest [to complain:] where sit Japetus and Saturn,
In the bosom of Tartarus; not by the upper sun's
Ray, nor by breezes, cheared."
ILIAD viii. 478—481.

Oi περ νυμφεων εισι θεοι, Κρονον αμφις εωνες
"'Where are the nether Gods, in Saturn's train."
ILIAD xv. 225.
themselves; and studying to amuse the imaginations, and tickle the ears of people, with a variety of pleasant fables, they exaggerated, and embellished it with various ornaments. Hence it was, that Hesiod, and the itinerant bards, sung about in their poems, the generation of Gods, battles of Titans or Giants, the cutting off of privities, &c. which they themselves feigned, and by their circumforaneous rhapsodies, the true facts were stifled. And men, being accustomed from their infancy, to hear nothing else; and prepossessed, from age to age, in favour of these fictions, they laid them up as a sacred treasure. These having gained credit by long usage, it was not easy to dispossess men's minds of the belief of them; so that truth appeared to them as an idle tale, and their fabulous narrations were received for truth."

The correcter history of Berosus, we may presume, gave rise to those truer accounts of the deluge which are found interspersed in the fabulous accounts of the Scythian and Grecian Deucalions, in Ovid *, Lucian †, &c. Subsequent writers, trans-

* The mythologist Ovid has transferred to the Grecian Deucalion, king of Thessaly, and his partial deluge, B.C. 1548, the history of Noah, and occurrences of the universal deluge.

† Lucian, in like manner, has transferred to the Scythian Deucalion, the occurrences of the universal deluge.

It is by no means unlikely, that Ovid had access to the Septuagint Greek translation of the book of Genesis.

"The present race of men, according to tradition, were not the first; the former having all perished. The present was a second race, descended from Deucalion. Of the former, it is said that they committed acts of violence and injustice, for they neither regarded oaths, nor were hospitable to strangers, nor showed mercy to suppliants. In return for which the great calamity befell them. Immediately the earth discharged much water [from the abyss, or fountains of the great deep, then broken up, Gen. vii. 11.] And great rains fell [from the clouds; when the windows of heaven were opened, Gen. vii. 11.] And the swollen rivers descended, and the sea rose to a great height, until the whole
ferring to other countries, and to later ages, the circumstances of the general deluge, from the usual propensity of mankind to signalize their own countries, and their own ancestors. It is thus excellently explained by an ingenious French Scavant, Bailly, sur l'Atlantide, p. 28.

"When a nation, either in a body, or by colonies, changes its habitation, in this peaceable migration, it transports every thing along with it, all its institutions, sciences, remembrance of past transactions, and memory of its ancestors. The history of its first state has always preceded the history of the second. At length its traditions are altered by their antiquity; time has confounded the whole; and the two histories form at length no more than one. See then, how facts true in themselves become false as referred to the places where they are supposed to have happened. This observation may serve to throw much light on the obscurity of history."

Such ancient heathen records, however, when the wheat is separated from the chaff, by the critical process of a corrected chronology and geography, often form valuable vouchers of the truth of the Mosaical history, and furnish the best means, perhaps, of reclaiming and converting such philosophizing infidels of modern times, as Bailly himself.

earth was covered with water; and all perished, except Deucalion, who alone was left for a second race, on account of his wisdom and piety.

"His preservation was effected by means of a great ark which he had made, into which, having embarked his children and their wives, he entered himself. On entering there came to him swine, and horses, and lions, and serpents, and other land animals, all in pairs. Having received them all, they did not hurt him, but great concord from Jove prevailed among them. So they all sailed in the same ark so long as the water prevailed. After this a great chasm was made in the country of Hierapolis, which absorbed all the water. And when this was effected, Deucalion made altars, and consecrated a temple to Juno, which he built upon this chasm."

"I myself," proceeds Lucian, "saw this chasm under the temple, but it was very small. Whether it was formerly great I know not; that which I saw was but small." Lucian, De Syria Dea, § 12.
SECTION II.

ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN CHRONOLOGY.

The adjacent countries of Mesopotamia and Assyria proper, separated only by the great river Tigris *, were the first settlements of mankind both before and after the deluge, from their contiguity to Paradise before, and to Armenia after. Hence their history and chronology are necessarily connected and interwoven together.

The first tyrannical innovation in the pristine patriarchal regimen of the first race of mankind began in Chaldea and Babylonia, as we have seen. And it was afterwards renewed in the second race, by the mighty hunter Nimrod, that "arch rebel" in religion and government, who first claimed divine honours, and usurped the domains of his neighbours after the deluge; and whose early celebrity is recorded not only in Scripture, but all over the East and West, in his titles, Maha Bala, "the great Master," Belus, and Orion.

Artapanus, in his Jewish history, written about a century before the Christian era, says that Nimrod was the only survivor of a race of giants who inhabited Babylonia, and were destroyed for their impiety by a divine judgment. That he dwelt in a tower at Babylon, and was afterwards deified.

Sir William Jones also learned from the most intelligent Mussulmans in India, that "a powerful monarchy had been established for ages in Iran before the accession of Cayumers; that it was called the Mahabadean dynasty, and that many princes, of whom only seven or eight are named in the Dabistan, and among them Mahbul, or Maha Bali, had raised their empire to the zenith of human glory." Sixth discourse on the Persians. Asiatic Research. Vol. II. p. 48, 8vo.

The beginning of his kingdom, we learn from Holy Writ, was Babel, in the land of Shinaar. Here he settled himself after the dispersion of the builders of Babel, for their impious opposition to the divine decree regulating their settlements. And he finished the city of Babylon, and afterwards built some other

* See the geographical description of those countries, Vol. I. p. 322, 448, of this work.
cities, *Erech* and *Accar* and *Calneh* in the land of *Shinaar.* Gen. x. 10, xi. 1—9.

The foundation of his kingdom is dated by the excellent Armenian annalist, *Abulfuragi,* in the seventieth year of *Reu,* or B.C. 2554, about sixty years after the families of Noah's sons had begun to separate from their primary settlement, and to spread themselves into the adjoining fertile regions of *Assyria,* *Media,* and *Mesopotamia.* See the article *Nimrod,* Vol. II. p. 47, of this work.

We learn also from *Dositheus,* an old Phœnician poet, that "the ancient city of *Babylon* was founded by the Tyrian (or Assyrian) *Belus.*" See Vol. II. p. 48, note, which Ammianus Marcellinus confirms, Arcem *Babylonis* antiquissimus rex condidit Belus. *Strabo* says, that he was buried there, and worshipped as the chief *Babylonian* god. And *Babylon* was built about B.C. 2547, in the seventh year of Nimrod's reign; as collected before from *Eustathius* in his commentary on the Perigesis of *Dionysius,* and from *Herodotus.* Vol. II. p. 48, note, of this work.

The land of *Shinaar* seems to have been originally allotted by the divine decree to the family of *Arphaxad.* *Josephus* says that the *Chaldeans* were originally called *Arphaxadeans,* Ant. I. 6, 4, and a tract of country southward of *Assyria* proper, was called *Arapachitis* by the ancient geographers. Not content with usurping the territory of this branch of the *Shemites,* *Nimrod* next invaded *Assyria,* the lot of *Assur* 's family, where he built *Nineveh,* his capital city, which is uniformly styled by the Greek historians, *Herodotus,* *Diodorus,* &c. HeaderText, "the city of *Ninus,*" or of *Nin,* "a son," which seems to have been his original name, until parodied into *eth Nimrod,* "the rebel." See Vol. II. p. 48. *Tacitus* calls it vetustissima sedes *Assyriae.* Annal. 12, 13.

*Nineveh* was finely situate on the eastern bank of the *Tigris,* and its ruins are still to be seen opposite to the modern city of *Mosul,* built on the western bank. See Vol. I. p. 449.

He afterwards built *Rehoboth,* higher up on the river, and *Chalah,* on the river *Lycus,* which runs into the *Tigris,* and "the great city" of *Resen,* above their junction. *Xenophon* seems to have noticed this by the name of *Larissa,* (composed, perhaps, of the particle *L,* or *La,* signifying "to" in Hebrew, and *Rissa,* which resembles *Resen,*) and his description of it
ANALYSIS OF

corresponds. "It was anciently inhabited by the Medes; and its wall was five and twenty feet in breadth and a hundred in height; and the circuit of the enclosure was two parasangs. It was built of bricks, and the base of the wall was of stone, twenty feet high." Anab. B. 8.

He also mentions another greater city in that neighbourhood, called Mespila, formerly inhabited by the Medes. The base of its wall was built of hewn stone scoloped, the breadth of which was fifty feet, and the height fifty. On this was built a brick wall, fifty feet broad and a hundred high, whose circuit was six parasangs. Might not this have been the ruins of the palace, or fortress of Nineveh *

Nimrod is supposed to have reigned only six years, by Africanus, (see Syncellus, p. 90) which is quite too short for his exploits and his buildings; 47 years, by David Ganz; 65 years, by Petavius; and 98 years, 8 months, by Polyhistor, which last is most probable. See Jackson, Vol. I. p. 214.

The following list of his successors is given from Syncellus, by Jackson, Vol. I. 233, so corrected in Nimrod's reign.

I. ASSYRIAN DYNASTY. 317 Years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Nimrod, Ninus I. Belus †, or Maha Bala</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Evechous, or Chosma Belus</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Xenophon's fifth encampment from the Zabates, in his famous retreat, must have been near, or beside Nineveh, which strengthens this conjecture; though neither he, nor Alexander, who passed so near it in his way to the field of battle at Arbela, take the least notice of its ruins. Tacitus notices a city, called Nineveh, in this quarter, in the reign of Claudius.

† ORIENTAL TITLES.

Oriental titles of rank, honour and royalty, are significant, and when rightly explained, contribute much to the elucidation of ancient History and Mythology; because they express the leading traits in the characters of the several personages to whom they were attributed. As from the titles of this first Assyrian monarch, Nimrod, "the Rebel," we learn his crimes; and from Belus and Orion, that he was deified, during his life, and after his death, translated to the heavens. Tigrath Pilesar; "Tyger, Lord of Assyria," intimating his ferocity, &c.

These titles are either simple or compounded: and it is the province of skilful etymological analysis, founded on the nature and genius of Oriental languages, to resolve the compound titles into their constituent or elementary parts, carefully tracing their variations through the several kindred dialects of the east and west, all branching off from the primeval language, when it came to be corrupted at the Confusion of Tongues;
and still more, in process of time, and at remoter distances from the original settlement of mankind in the countries round Mount Ararat.

These elementary terms, or ingredients, are frequently altered in composition, so as to retain little of their pristine form, in three ways; either, 1. By interchange of kindred consonants, or letters of the same, or neighbouring organs of speech, gutturals, labials, liquids, dentals, palatales. 2. By substitution of various vowels at pleasure; these being wanting in Oriental alphabets, are to be supplied by the reader, or writer, according to the usage of his country, either by a graver or deeper, or by an acuter or shriller pronunciation. 3. By retrenchment of radical letters or syllables, and by addition of servile, the former usually at the beginning or middle of the titles, the latter at the end.

The ensuing Dynasties of Assyrian, Babylonian, Median and Persian kings, furnish frequent examples, the principal of which I shall attempt to explain in this note.

The chief elements of their compound titles, were 1. בָּאָלָה, (Baal) "Master or Ruler." Whence Baal, Bal, Beel, Bel, בָּל בֶּל, and Bel-us. And by change of consonants, Pal, Pol, and Pul.

2. אדון, (Adon) "Governor, or Regent," whence Adan, Adin, Adon, Chaddon, Chedon, Haddon, or Hedon.


4. נב, (Nabi) "Prophet;" whence Nabo, Nebo, or Nebu.

5. סר, or Phenician, סָרָה, (Sar) "a chief, Lord, or great," סָרָה, (Sarnim) "chiefs or Lords." Whence Czar, and חֶסָר, (Hasar) "the chief," or Asar, Esar, in composition.

6. בָּאָבָה, (Ab) "Father;" אָבָבָה, (Abba) "the father," in Persic and Syriac.

7. חָוָר, (Chur) "a furnace;" Khur, "the sun," in Persic. Whence שָׁוָר, (Churos, not Choresh) or Chosar, the name of Cyrus the Great, in Scripture and the Persian historians, and Chosroes, the title of the Persian and Parthian kings.

8. מֶלֶךְ (Melech) "king;" whence Malek, and Malka, in Persic.

The following seem to be pure Persic:

9. קָז, Schah, Sultan, all signifying "king," and Dara, "the king," by way of eminence.

10. מיתר, and Mithras, "the sun."

From these elements or radicals, are formed the compound Assyrian and Babylonian titles, בָּל-אָדָן, (Bal-adan); רֵגִּי-בֵּליָס, (Regi-beila), or Esar-adin, or Esar-haddon, or Sar-chedon, or Sar-danapal-us; שָׁלְמָן-אָסָר, (Shalman-assar), Nabon-assar, Nabo-pol-assar, Nebu-chad-ezzor, or Nebu-chadr-ezzor, or Nebu-chad-on-osor, or Bo-čhtan-sor.

And the compound Persian and Parthian titles, קָי-סָרָה, (Kai-sar), Kai-umarath, or Kai-umrath, Kai-chobad, Kai-kaus, Kai-chosr, Kai-achsueros; whence the Kū-uʃarŋ, Cy-
Of Nimrod's successors we know nothing but the names. Chosma Belus, signifying "the strength of Belus," might have been his eldest son. Gen. xlix. 3. The only circumstance handed down to us in Scripture, during this dynasty, is a predatory excursion of three bands of the Chaldeans into the land of Uz, in Arabia, who carried off Job's camels, about B.C. 2337, in the reign of the fifth prince Abius. Job i. 17*.

After the reign of the last prince a long interregnum of near a thousand years ensued. The several provinces which composed the Assyrian empire, shook off the yoke, and regained and maintained their independence, till the second Ninus reduced them to subjection.

This dissolution of the Assyrian empire is proved by various documents sacred and profane.

1. By the war in Abraham's days between the four confederate princes of Assyria, Amraphel, king of Shinar, Arioch, king of Ellasar, or Arabia; Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, or azaraes, דארא, Darius (not Darawesh) and Darab, Schah Abbas, Mithraeus, or Mithridates, &c.

Sometimes we find compounded titles, composed of nearly synonymous terms, are used, as of a famous prince in the eleventh century, Sultan Malek Schah. This usage was probably derived from the scriptural amplification of the Divine titles, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, or the God of Gods, the Lord, which was blasphemously adopted by some of those profane princes.

If the important study of Etymology was more skilfully cultivated among the learned, upon the broad basis of Oriental Grammar, and of Logic or Universal Grammar, many absurd and incongruous guesses would be banished, that disgrace the systems of some of the first classical scholars of the age.

The learned Orientalist Richardson, to whom we are indebted for several of the foregoing Persian derivations, has exposed the fanciful derivations of Oriental terms, founded in acknowledged ignorance of Oriental languages, which the ingenious but over-fanciful Bryant has introduced into his new Analysis of ancient Mythology. However considerable his merits in Grecian literature, Richardson has irrefragably proved his ignorance in this branch of Etymology; and shewn, that his elaborate work is incorrect in its Chronology of the Deluge, of the migrations of the families of Noah's sons, of the Cuthite expeditions; irreconcilable with Scripture, and inconsistent with itself. P. 376—474.

* Richardson derives Darab from Dara, "the king," and Ab, "water." Dissert. p. 57, 242. But the latter seems rather to denote a "father." And the compound, "the father-king," or parent of his people, like Schah Abbas.
Persia; and Tidal, king of Goim, or the mingled nations of Coele Syria and Galilee, against the five kings of the Pentapolis, Bera, king of Sodom, Birsha, king of Gomorrah, Shinab, king of Admah, Shemebar, king of Zeboim, and the king of Bela, afterwards called Zoar, who had rebelled* from the king of

* war of the gods and giants.


This was the war in which Abraham engaged, in the tenth generation, B.C. 2070, and the first recorded in Scripture. It was memorable, as the first accomplishment of Noah's famous prophecy; Gen. ix. 25—27; for in it, the Shemites and Japhethites of the North made captives, or "slaves, the Hamites of Canaan's race" in the South. See Vol. I. p. 350—357 of this work.

The references to this war in the classic authors, Hesiod, Homer, Pindar, Horace, Virgil, Ovid, &c. are numerous.

1. Horace, so well acquainted with Hesiod's Theogony, (see Vol. I. p. 245, note,) has circumstantially described the Gods and Giants engaged in this war; or the chieftains of Elam and Sodom. The four confederate kings of Elam, who came from the upper regions of the North, are represented by Jove and his associate Gods, Pallas, Juno, and Apollo; with Vulcan, the forger of thunderbolts, who originally was the same with Jove himself. The five rebel kings of Canaan, or the South, are represented by the Giant-brothers, Typhoeus, Mimas, Porphyryon, Rhoecus, and Enceladus. These struck great terror into Jove at first, when Abraham defeated the Assyrians, and rescued the captives; but were vanquished and overwhelmed at last, with thunderbolts, when "the cities of the plain were destroyed by fire and brimstone from heaven;" and were buried under the Dead Sea, or Asphaltite lake, sixteen years after, B.C. 2054. Gen. xix. 24, 25.

Scimus, ut impios
Titanas, immanemque turmam,
Fulmine sustulerit caduco,
Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventosum; et Urbes, regnaque tristia Tartari
Imperio regit, unus, aequo.

Magnum, illa, terrorem intulerat Jovi,
Fidens, Juventus horrida, brachis;
Fratresque, tendentes opaco
Pelion imposuisse Olympos:
Sed quid Typhoeus, et validus Mimas,
Aut quid minaci Porphyron statu,
Quid Rhoecus, evulsisque truncis
Enceladus, jaculator audax,
Contra sonantem Palladis regida
Possent ruentes?—Hinc, avidus stetit
Vulcanus; hinc, matrona Juno, et
Nunquam humeris positurus arcum—
Delius et Patareus Apollo.

Od. III. 4.

2. Hesiod, the prime corrupter of the Greek Mythology, represents this war as last-
ANALYSIS OF

Elam, after they had served him twelve years; and were defeated by him, and his confederates, and the people carried away

ing ten full years, Theog. v. 634. And he afterwards states, that Typhæus, the first of these brothers, was the youngest son of Earth and Tartarus, ver. 820: thus aptly representing the king of Sodom as a descendant of Canaan, the youngest son of Ham, which signifies black, or burnt; and who derived his poetic title, Τυφωνεσ, from τυφός, signifying inflation, or arrogance, for his noted impiety and inhospitality to gods and men, we presume, at Sodom. Gen. xviii. 20, 21; xix. 4–13; Heb. xiii. 2.

3. Homer also marks the theatre of this war to have been Aram, or Syria, of which the land of Canaan was a department.

4. Virgil represents these giant brothers as the sons of Earth and Titan, or the Sun: a mystical allegory, denoting that they were "earth born," (γηγενεῖς) or produced from the slime, and hatched by the Sun's heat; like the ἐπτυχεῖος αὐτὸχθων, or "native son of earth," of Sanchoniathon. With these, he joins in Tartarus, their relations, the two Aloïdes, (ἀλωίδαι) or "field born," who aptly denote the two young Canaanites, of Hebron, Aner and Eschol, who assisted Abraham, their neighbour, in the war of Sodom; and were therefore embarked in the same cause with the five Giants, and involved in the same poetic doom.

Virgil, however, has altered Homer's geography; for ου εἰς Ἀρμοῦς, substituting Inarime, a volcanic isle near the coast of Italy.

5. The Pierides, or nine Thessalian Nymphs, who challenged the nine Muses, boastingly described the exploits of the Giants in their war against the Gods. Pindar thus censures them.
captives, B.C. 2070, until they were rescued by Abraham, his
servants, and two young neighbours of Mamre; his associates,

`Οσσα δε μη πεφληκε
Ζευς, ανυζονται βοαν
Περιδων αιοντα,
Γαν τε, και πουτον κατ' αμαμακενον'
'Oς τ' εν αιων Ταρταρω κει-
tαι, θεων πολεμιος,
Τυφως εκατοντακαρανος τον ποτε
Κηλικιον βρεψαν πολυω-
nυμον αντροννυν γε μαν
Ται θ' υπερ Κυμας αλευρεις οχθαι
Σικελια τ' αυτου πιεζει
Στερνα λαχνεντα' Κιων
Δ' ουρανας συνεχει
Νιφοσος' Άιτνα, πανετες
Χιονος οξειας τιθηνα.

"Whatever shades were not beloved by Jove,
Tremble*, in earth or raging sea inclosed,
Hearing the Pierian loud and impious lay.
Even Typhos hundred-headed, foe of Gods;
Who, prostrate, long in gloomy Tartarus lies.
Him whilom bred the famed Cilician cave:
But now, alas! the sea-girt shores of Cuma,
And Sicily too, oppress his shaggy breast:
Ætna, snow capp’d, the prop of heaven, the nurse
Of chill perennial frost, now him confines."

PYTH. i. 25.

6. This "Pierian lay," referred to by Pindar, is given by Ovid, in his Metamorphoses. One of the Pierides, who had challenged the Muses, chose for her subject, the war of the Gods and Giants; in which she magnified the exploits of the latter, and depreciated the former. She sung how the Gods were terrified, and put to flight by Typhaeus, who pursued them into Egypt. There, in their fright; they hid or concealed themselves under various animal forms: Jove became a ram; Apollo, a crow; Bacchus, a goat; Diana, a cat; Juno, a cow; Venus, a fish; and Mercury, an ibis, or stork.

"Tunc sine sorte, prior [Pieris] quæ se certare professa est,
Belld canit Superum; falsoque in honore Gigantes
Ponit, et extenuat Magnorum facta Deorum.
Emissunque [canit] imæ de sede, Typhoëa, terræ,
Caëlitibus fecisse metum; cunctosque dedisse
Terga fugæ, donec fessos Ægyptia tellus
Ceperit, et septem discretus in ostia Niles.
"Huc quoque terrigenam venisse Typhoëa †, narrat,

* "Even the demons believe and tremble," (δαμονα—φρισονος) James ii. 19.
This parallel passage supplies the substantive, δαμονα, understood in Pindar, agreeing with ὅσσα. The demons, in Jewish and Grecian Mythology, were supposed to be the spirits of dead men, good or bad. The latter are marked by μη πεφληκε Ζευς. See Vol. III. p. 104, note, and Vol. III. p. 520.
† Ovid, in his Fasti, ii. 461, identifies Typhaeus, with Typhon, the Egyptian god of
Aner and Eshcol; who pursued and surprised the camp of the confederates on the fifth night, defeated them, and recovered the captives and the spoils. Gen. xiv. 1—16. See Vol. II. p. 112, of this work.

Though the king of Shinar is named first in the list, on account of the priority of his kingdom, it is evident, that the king of Elam, or Persia, was the head of the confederacy; and that at that time, the sceptre had departed from Assyria to Persia.

This is confirmed by the Persian historians, Mirkhond, Ferdusi, the Tarik Montekheb, or Select Chronicle, the Sharistani, the Tabari, the Jehan Ara, and others, cited in Herbelot's valuable Bibliothèque Orientale. In their pompous and inflated narrations, fiction and fable are frequently so blended with historical truth, that it requires no small attention and skill to develop them, and separate the wheat from the chaff; and, above all, to reduce the monstrous extravagance of their chronology to the sober and consistent standard of sacred.

Mirkhond* has given two dynasties of Persian kings, reaching from the earliest times, to the subversion of the Persian empire by Askander, or Alexander the Great. The first, contains the race of the Pischdadians; the second, of the Kaianites.

Et se mentitissuperos celasse figuris:
Duxque gregis, dixit, fit Jupiter; (unde recurvis
Nunc quoque formatus, Libya est cum cornibus Ammon)
Delius, in corvo; proles Semeleia, capro;
Fele, soror Phoebi; nivea Saturnia, vacca;
Pisce Venus latuit; Cylenius Ibitis alia."

METAM. v. Fab. 5.

This metamorphosis marks the corruption of the pure and spiritual Patriarchal Theology, by the hieroglyphic symbols of Egyptian Mythology. The different attributes and perfections of the Deity were marked by the characteristic excellencies of different animals; the ram and bull indicating strength in their horns; the cow, plenteousness, or abundance; the goat, stability; the cat, seeing in the dark, or all-seeing; the fish, prolific fecundity; the crow, longevity; the ibis, or stork, serpent destroyer, &c. But at length the symbols were forgotten, and the vulgar sunk into the most brutal polytheism, and grovelling idolatry.

* This celebrated Persian historian, Mohammed Khavendschah, commonly called Emirchond, or, by elision, Mirkhond, observes in the preface to his Universal History, that "since the age of reason and discernment, he had employed his time incessantly in tempests and hurricanes. He was the fabled son of Earth likewise, produced by a stroke of the jealous Juno's hand, or a blast of wind. See Homer's account of his birth, Hymn to Apollo, v. 306—352.
I. PERSIAN DYNASTY, 529 YEARS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Kaiumarath, or Keiomerras</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Hushang, or Houschenk, called Pischdah, or Che-deloraomer</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Taihurasa</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Giamschid, or Giemschid</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Dahak, Zahak, or Zoak</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Aphridun, Phridun, or Pheridun</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Manugiahr, called Phirouz</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Nodar</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Apherausiaab, or Afrasiaab</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Zoab, Zab, or Zoub</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Gershap, or Gershasp</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1691</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The extravagant reigns of some of these princes, 560, 700, 1000, and 500 years, are corrected by the soberer accounts of other oriental writers, so as to reduce the whole length of the dynasty to a moderate compass. The chronology is adjusted from the resemblance between the actions of Hushang and Che-deloraomer, who might alike have been slain by Abraham, in B.C. 2070. From this fixed epoch, counting the reigns both upwards and downwards, the dates of each are determined.

KAIUMARATH.

He is allowed by all the oriental writers to have been the first king, and of the earliest antiquity. Budhari, and the greatest part of the Arabian historians, reckoned him the first man, Adam, also. But the most judicious of the Persian writers

the reading and research of history; collecting every thing useful and agreeable from the works of the best writers: when, having been invited by the Emir Ali Shir, to superintend a valuable library, filled particularly with historians, carefully collected at a great expense, he had thus resolved to digest the labours of his life." This learned and magnificent prince was governor of Chorassan, about the end of the fifteenth century. His noble library was deposited in the city of Herat. Richardson's Dissertations, p. 243.

Khondemir, or Khoudemir, the son of Mirkhond, wrote an abridgment of his father's great work, which he called Khilasat al Akhbar, "the Marrow of History," he is frequently confounded with his father, and even by Herbelot. Art. Khondemir.
reckon him to have been the son (or descendant) of Aram, the son of Shem, the son of Noah, who reigned in the countries first planted after the deluge. They report, that the people of Adherbigian, or Media, including part of Armenia, wearied with the evils of anarchy, unanimously agreed to elect Kaiumarath their king, for his conspicuous virtues: he was, with much reluctance, prevailed on to accept the Tagi, or imperial Tiara; and by the wisdom and justice of his administration promoted the prosperity of his people. This induced the neighbouring provinces also to put themselves under his protection; so that his empire was extended by the same means that it was instituted. He built several cities in Persia, and the provinces Balch, &c.

His eldest son, called Nazek, was slain by robbers: and he resigned the crown at length, wearied with the fatigues of government, to his grandson, Siamek, who was slain shortly after in battle. This obliged Kaiumarath to resume the reins of government; after which he reigned thirty years with great applause and reputation.

This account of the anarchy that gave rise to his election well accords with that which probably followed the rebellion of the provinces, and dissolution of the first Assyrian empire, about B.C. 2237, as we have seen. For, from thence to B.C. 2190, the date of the election of Kaiumarath, (according to the foregoing adjustment) was an interval of forty-seven years, which was fully sufficient to give those provinces a surfeit of the evils of anarchy, Judg. xvii. 6. Precisely the same cause is stated by Herodotus, after the second rebellion of the Medes, in B.C. 710, for the election of Dejoces.

Some oriental authors insert an interregnum of two hundred years * between this reign and the next, of Hushang. But this was probably done to enhance the antiquity of Kaiumarath, contrary to the history; for Hushang was the son of Siamek.

HUSHANG, SURNAMED PISCHDAD.

Next to the founder of the Persian empire, this is the most celebrated prince of the whole series, whose title of Pischdad,

* See the ancient Universal History, Vol. II. p. 173, 174, folio edit. from which the foregoing table, of the Pischdadian dynasty, is collected.
“the just,” conferred on him for his wise and impartial administration of justice, became the distinguished appellation of the dynasty. He is said to have built Susa.

He was no less celebrated for his courage and his marvellous exploits in a Persian romance, entitled Hushang Nameh, “Hushang's History,” of very extensive circulation in the East. Persia indeed, or Iran, from the earliest times, seems to have been the great classic ground of oriental mythology and romance, which diverged and spread from thence, with its roving tribes, the Palli and Pelasgi, &c. to almost every surrounding and distant country, both of the east and of the west. The fabled wars of the gods and giants, which pervade the Greek and Latin classics, as we have seen, most probably originated from the wars of their heroes, or ancient kings, with the Dives, or rebellious demons, in which they were supposed to be assisted by the Peris, or fairies, the good demons and guardian angels of mankind; both acting under control of the Supreme Being *.

* ANCIENT PERSIAN MYTHOLOGY.

Some knowledge of the popular mythology of the East is no less necessary to understand their classic writers, their historians and moralists, poets and fabulists, than of the Grecian mythology, to understand the classics, Hesiod, Homer, Pindar, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid.

The fabulous ages of Asiatic mythology stretch far beyond the creation of man. The world is supposed to have been repeatedly peopled by creatures of different formation; who were successively annihilated, or banished, for disobedience to the Supreme Being. An Eastern romance, entitled Caherman Name, or “Caherman’s History,” introduces that hero in conversation with the monstrous bird, or griffin, Simurgh, who tells him that she had already lived to see the earth seven times filled with creatures, and seven times reduced to a perfect void. That the age of Adam would last seven thousand years; when the present race of men would be extinguished, and their place be supplied by creatures of another form, and more perfect nature, with whom the world would end. She declared that she had then seen twelve periods, each of seven thousand years; but was denied the knowledge of the term of her own existence. And Sadi, a Persian moralist of the first class, praises Providence for providing so bountifully for all his creatures, that “even the Simurgh, notwithstanding her immense size, finds on the mountains of Kaf sufficient for her sustenance.”

In this Persian tale we trace the Jewish legend of the seven millennial ages of the world; the Babylonian and Cumean Sibyls’ ages of the world, and restoration of the Golden Age, recorded in Hesiod, Virgil, and Ovid; and the several Hindu Avatars, or successive transformations of Vishnu, in the Asiatic Researches.

The last race of beings supposed to inhabit the earth immediately before the creation of Adam were called Peris and Dives, or good and bad genies; both formed of the element of fire; and though long-lived, subject to death. The former are described as beautiful and benevolent, and though guilty of errors which had offended Omnipotence, they were supposed, in consequence of their repentance, still to enjoy distinguished marks of
In Persian romance Hushang is represented as attacking and subduing giants and monsters, mounted upon a monstrous Divine favour. The latter, on the contrary, are pictured as hideous in form, and malignant in disposition, roaming perpetually round the world, to scatter discord and wretchedness among the sons of Adam. The Peris are, by some writers, supposed to be all females, and the Dives males, but without having any communication; each having the separate power of continuing their species: yet the brothers of the Peri Merjan are noticed in the Tahmuras Namè; and the kings of Shaskekan in the Caherman Namè.

Beside these, there are other winged monsters of the imagination: the Simurgh, already noticed; the Rakshe, whose ordinary food was serpents and dragons, who was tamed by Houshang, king of Persia, and rode by him in his wars with the Dives; the Soham, with a horse's head, and four eyes, and the body of a flame-coloured dragon, who was conquered by a Persian hero, called Sam Neriman; the Ouranabad, described as a fierce flying hydra; the Ejer, the Eshder, or Eshdeha, dragons of different kinds; the Syl, or Basilisk, the sight of which makes every creature fly, the approach to it being certain death.

There were also nations with the heads of fishes, dragons, &c. The most whimsical of these creatures was the nim juzc and nim chebr, supposed to be a human figure split in two, the male forming the right half, and the female the left; each having half a face, one eye, one arm, and one foot, yet running with incredible speed, and reckoned very dangerous and cruel.

These various creatures, who preceded Adam, were supposed to have been governed by a succession of either forty or seventy-two kings, of the name of Soliman. The Mohur Solimani, the ring, or seal of Solomon Jared, the fifth monarch of the world*, gave to its possessor the command of demons, elements, and every created thing. The shield of the last monarch, surnamed Jan, Ben Jan, his impenetrable cuirass, and flaming sword, were more famous in the East than the shield of Achilles, and his celestial armour, in the West.

This last monarch, having offended Omnipotence, the angel Hares, (signifying a "guardian, or protector," whence the Hara of the Hindus, and the Latin Herus, "master," was sent from heaven to chastise him, which he did, and governed in his stead; but being intoxicated with power, Adam was created, and all the earth ordered to obey him. Hares scorned submission to a clay-formed creature, and rebelled against the Divine will, and was joined by the Dives. But the Peris, submitting thereto, became thenceforth the friends and protectors of the human race. Hares, with his chief followers, was cursed by God, and doomed to a long period of torment in the infernal regions. On his fall his name was changed into Iba, "the refractory;" Eblis, "the desperate;" and Sheitan, "the proud," among the Arabians.

The residence of these imaginary beings, was supposed to be the mountain Kaf, which was long thought to surround the earth, as a ring the finger; denoting the "stony girdle" of mount Taurus; so called by the Arabian Geographers, in its several divisions of Caucasus, Imaus, &c. Atlas, and other great ridges in Asia and Africa. The whole of this visionary region of Fairy land, was called Jinnis Tan, or "the country of Jin," or Jan, and

* The Tarikh Moutekheb, and other oriental histories, suppose that this was Soliman ben Daoud, "the son of David;" but the earlier work of the Tahmuras Namè, says he was the Praæadamite king. And the Kaiumarath Namè says the giant Hussam told that prince that he had served under three different Solimans, for 3000 years past. See Herbelot, p. 801.
griffin, which he had tamed, called Raksche. Among his other conquests he reduced the people of Mahier, famous for fishes

supposed to be divided between the Peris and the Dives. The cities of the former were called Shadukam, "pleasure and desire;" Gouherabad, "the city of Jewels;" Amberabad, "the city of Ambergris." The capital of the Dives, was called Ahermanabad, "the city of the principle of evil;" where was the enchanted castle, palace, and gallery of the Dive king, Arzshenk, so celebrated in Eastern fable.

Between the Dives and Peris, there was incessant warfare. Whenever the Dives took any of the Peris prisoners, they shut them up in iron cages, hung them on the highest trees, and exposed them as a public spectacle to the chilling blasts. In their confinement, their companions brought them the choicest perfumes, the only nourishment of Peris; possessing also the virtue of repelling the Dives, whose malignant nature can endure nothing fragrant.

Whenever the Peris were in danger of being overpowered by the Dives, they always solicited the assistance of some mortal hero, which furnished a wonderful fund of picturesque machinery for eastern poetry and romance. To put the knight on a par with the gigantic Dives, he was generally armed with enchanted armour, furnished with talismans, and mounted on some winged monster. One of the most famous adventurers in Fairy land was Hushang, the second Pishdadian king. He tamed the monstrous griffin Rakshe, and mounted on her back, subdued the people of Mahiser, with fishes heads, and performed other wonderful exploits. His successor, Tahmuras, was honoured with a splendid embassy from the Peris, entreating his aid: the Dives also, who feared him, sent another. He consulted the griffin Simurgh, who spoke all languages, and knew future events. She advised him to prefer the Peris, and to assist them; and forewarned him of the dangers he was to encounter in the expedition, and she offered to carry him herself to Jinnistan. As a mark of her regard, she pulled some feathers from her breast, to form a plume for his helmet; and then, mounted on her back, and armed with the shield of Jan ben Jan, he crossed the dark abyss, which mortals could not pass, without supernatural assistance, and at length arrived at the castle of Arzshenk, and defeated him. He then vanquished another fiercer Dive, called Demrush, living in a gloomy cavern, surrounded with vast piles of plundered wealth. Here he liberated a fair captive, the Peri Merjan (or "pearl") whom her brothers had long sought in vain, and he chained the vanquished demons in the centre of the mountain Kaf; whence he got the title of Divebend, "binder of the Dives;" but he was slain himself at last by another more powerful Dive, called Houdkonz.

In the Shah name of Ferdousi* the celebrated Rostam, several ages after, slew, in fierce combat, the dive Arzshenk, who had escaped from the chains of Tahmuras, and fought with a human body, and head of a bull, and afterwards he killed the Dive Sepid, or "white Dive." And Gershab, the last king of the Pishdadian dynasty, wounded the Dive Munheras with an arrow in the mouth; and Sohrab, the son of Rostam, afterwards slew him, after he had assumed various forms; first, the head of a hog; next, a head with two faces, of a lion on one side, and of a wild boar on the other.

These Peris and Dives, the friends and foes of mankind, and all the machinery of their conflicts, seem to have furnished the ground-work of the prevalent notions of good and bad demons, of gods and giants, that pervade the whole of eastern and western romance. We find them in Jewish, Indian, Grecian, and Roman Mythology. The apocryphal book of Tobit, written during, or after, the Babylonish Captivity, introduces Raphael,

* Ferdousi, who may be reckoned the Homer of Persia, spent thirty years in the composition of this work. He died at an advanced age, in A.D. 1018.
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heads, probably the *Ichthyophagi*, or "fish-eaters" of the Greeks, residing on the Persian gulph. At length, after a glorious reign

the guardian angel of Tobias, the wicked spirit Asmodeus, who was fond of Sarah, and destroyed her seven husbands on their wedding nights; who was driven from her bed-chamber by the perfume of the burnt heart and liver of the fish that attempted to devour Tobias, when bathing in the Tigris; the flight of Asmodeus to Egypt, where the angel bound him, we may presume in the Red Sea, with Pharaoh and his magicians. The *Hares* of the Persians, *Iara* of the Hindus, *Eblis* and *Sheitan* of the Arabs, correspond to "Beelzebub, the prince of Demons," to whom the Scribes and Pharisees compared CHRIST. And our Lord refuted them upon their own principles; "when the strong (ὁ ὁμοκράτης) armed, keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace; but when the stronger (ὁ ὁμοκράτης) cometh upon, and conquereth him, he taketh from him his panoply, in which he trusted, and distributeth his spoils." Luke xi. 21, 22 And the deeply-learned Paul adopted this beautiful imagery, when warning his Gentile converts of their spiritual conflict with the foes of the Gospel. "Put on the panoply of GOD, &c." Eph. vi. 10—17.

In Europe also, this machinery forms the basis of Gothic Romance. We trace it in the Ippogriffo, mounted on which, Astolpho took his flight to heaven; and the magic ring of Bradamante, in the Orlando Furioso of Ariosto; the various enchantments of Armida and Ismeno, in the Gierusalemme liberata of Tasso; the many-headed monster of Duesa, and the shield of King Arthur, in the Faery Queen of Spencer; the faery Morgain (the copy of the Peri Merjan) who conveyed away king Arthur from the battle of Camelon, to the delights of Faery land, in the old British Romance; Satan's journey from Pandemonium to this earth, across the chaotic abyss, in the Paradise Lost; and the Masque of Comus, in Milton; the play of the Tempest, in Shakspeare, &c. &c.

Some ingenious Antiquaries have considered this Romantic Mythology as of Arabian growth; because it abounds in Arabian authors, especially in that most entertaining work, the Thousand and one Nights; in which it is fully displayed. But neither the scenes are laid, nor the technical terms of this mythology found, in Arabia. The warriors who figure in Faery land, are exclusively Persian, the kings and heroes of the first Pishdadian dynasty; and the Arabic language has no appropriate terms to express the Peris, Dives, Simurgh, Rakhe, or Ouranobad, &c. For the terms it substitutes, Angels, Devils, Genies, Giants, Afirete, Gules, &c. are only figuratively applied to these imaginary beings; radically denoting creatures which really exist. The Peris and Dives of Persian romance, are neither angels nor devils, but supposed intermediate classes between both; nor do they accurately correspond to the demons of the Jews and Greeks, which were generally supposed to be the spirits of dead men, good or bad. See Vol. III. pp. 104, 520.

A very early intercourse subsisted between Iran, and India eastwards, and Europe westwards, in the time of the Pischadadian dynasty; which was renewed under the Kaalian. And many traces of the Syriac, or ancient Persic, are to be found in the Sanscrit, and other dialects of India, and in the Greek and Latin, and Celtic languages of Europe. The crusades afterwards introduced many more, into the modern languages, Italian, French, German, English, &c. In the last, the number of pure Persic words is very considerable; as, CHODA, or GODA, "God," DIV, or Devil:" PERI, "Fairy," PADER, "πατηρ, pater," or PHADER, "Father," MADER, "μητηρ, mater," or MODER, "Mother," BRODER, "Brother," DOCHTER, "Daughter," HOKOAZ, a "conjuror," whence the vulgar hocus pocus tricks, &c.

The curious and recondite information contained in this note, is chiefly collected from
of fifty years, he was slain by a fragment of rock hurled against him by the giants, his mortal foes, who had occupied the strength of the mountains of Damavend, in the province of Adherbigian.

This remarkably corresponds to Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, in Abraham's days, who subdued the Pentapolis, and probably the eastern countries of Arabia, stretching to the Arabian and Persian gulfs; for among his auxiliaries, was Arioch, king of Ellasar, or Arabia: and he might have been slain, either when surprised by Abraham in his camp, in the mountainous country, near the springs of the Jordan; or afterwards, upon his return home, in some later engagement. It is also remarkable, that the giants in Horace, hurled rocks against Jove, and his confederate gods; as shewn in the preceding note. This seems to leave scarcely a doubt of the identity of Chedorlaomer and Hushang; and therefore tends to remove the veil that has hitherto been spread over the chronology of the romantic accounts of the oriental historians.

To this famous monarch is ascribed a very ancient book entitled Ghiovidan Chrad, or, "Eternal Wisdom;" which, among many other fine sentences, contains the following.

"Great kings are gods upon earth, and have all the attributes of power, wisdom, and mercy, in a superior degree, with respect to private persons, as the Almighty has over them. Let not this, however, encourage them to use their subjects with rigour. Thunder is seldom heard, but the sun shines every day: we see ten thousand instances of God's goodness, for one extraordinary act of vengeance. Let kings imitate him, by doing all the good they can: and always remember, that though death is in their power, yet life is not. They may order a man to be cut into a thousand pieces, but there their dominion ends; they cannot call him into being again. Beware, therefore, of sudden judgments, and of repentance coming too late." What an admirable comment does this furnish on our Lord's divine discourses. Matt. v. 45—48; Luke vi. 36.

the learned and ingenious orientalist, Richardson's Dissertations, Herbelot's Bibliotheque Orientale, and Hyde's Religio veterum Persarum.

The high antiquity of the primitive Persian language, is also held by Sir William Jones, who considers it as the original Syriac, or Chaldean tongue, and the mother of the Sanscrit, and consequently of the Zend, and Parsi, as well as of Greek, Latin, and Gothic. Sixth Discourse on the Persians, Asiat. Res. ii. p. 54, 64.
This prince was the son, grandson, or kinsman of Hushang; and, succeeding him, reigned with high reputation. Finding that the wars of his predecessor had impoverished his subjects, and introduced disorder and licentiousness into his dominions, he first remitted all taxes for three years, repressed irregularities by new laws, and took care that they should be duly executed by the magistrates. He fortified the frontiers of Persia, in order to prevent sudden invasions; and shewed himself not inferior to his illustrious predecessors, in the arts of government, and with the like success: for he gained the confidence of the neighbouring nations, who voluntarily submitted themselves to him, and acknowledged him for their sovereign. At length, after a glorious reign of 30 years, he died of a raging and epidemic pestilence.

He also was one of the most famous adventurers in Faery Land, as shewn in the foregoing note.

GIEMSCHID.

It is not clear whether this prince was the son, or grandson, or nephew, of his predecessor; but all agree, that he was of the royal line of Kaiumarath, and was inspired with a laudable ambition of equalling at least, if not excelling, his ancestors. He divided his subjects into three classes, of soldiers, husbandmen, and artizans. He first corrected the Calendar, and instituted the festival of the Neuruz, or new year, at the vernal equinox, which lasted six days. He built the great city of Estechar, which some think to be Persepolis, and others Schiras. But at length, elated with prosperity, he fancied himself immortal, and required to be worshipped with divine honours. This lost him the hearts of his subjects, who revolted; and, under the command of Dahak, defeated, and took him prisoner; when that cruel tyrant immediately ordered him to be sawn asunder in his presence.

DAHAK, OR ZOHAK.

This prince was an Arab, by the father’s side, but descended from Kaiumarath by the mother’s. As he gained the crown by
the sword, so he ruled by the sword. His outrageous cruelty at length excited an insurrection, headed by Kaoh, a smith, in revenge for the death of his sons, slain by Dahak. He made use of his leathern apron, as a standard for the insurgents, defeated the tyrant, and recalled the rightful heir of the throne, Phridun, the son of Giemshid, who was only three years old at his father's death, and had been concealed from the jealous tyrant's continual researches, by his careful mother, Phramak. Dahak marched with an army to oppose his rival; but being deserted in the engagement by his troops, was taken prisoner, and confined in the caves of Damavend. This victory, being gained about the time of the autumnal equinox, gave rise to the anniversary feast of Mihragian, celebrated at that season.

The authors of the Lebtarikh, and Tarik Montekheb, Mirkhond, and Chondemir, all make Abraham contemporary with Zohak; furnishing a valuable chronological character, corresponding to Sacred Chronology, which represents Abraham's birth B.C. 2153, and his death, B.C. 1978, two years after Zohak's death. This furnishes an additional proof of the accuracy of the present adjustment of the Pischdadian Chronology.

PHRIDUN, OR FERIDUN.

The first act of this prince was to appoint Kaoh, the smith, general of his armies. This faithful partizan, in the course of twenty years, recovered many of the refractory provinces that had revolted during the late troubles, and added considerably to the empire, on the western side. To reward his long services, Feridun made him governor of the first province of the realm, Aderbigian, and provided nobly for his family. The leathern apron, which had been the original standard of insurrection against Zohak, he made the royal standard of Persia, entitled, Dirfesch Kaviani, "the standard of Kaoh." And it was continually adorned with the richest jewels, by this prince and his successors, so that it became at last of inestimable value; and when taken in the decisive battle of Cadesia, A.D. 636, which put an end to the last Persian dynasty, with Jezdejird, it enriched the whole army of Omar, the second Caliph of the Saracens.

Feridun was an excellent prince, who consulted the happiness of his people. He was a zealous worshipper of the true
God, and repressed the Zabian idolatry. His wise maxims were treasured up by the oriental writers.

To his successors, he bequeathed the following advice:

"Reckon that all the days of your reign are so many leaves of your book of life. Be careful then to write nothing thereon, that shall not be worthy of being handed down to posterity."

On the front of one of his pavilions was this inscription.

"Remember, whoe'er thou art, the failures of this world:
Give then thy heart to the world's Creator,
For He will never fail thee.
Trust not in power, nor in riches, here below;
For this age has reared many, such as thee,
Whom, notwithstanding, she leaves to perish.
When a good man is on the verge of another life,
What imports it, whether he die upon a throne,
Or upon the floor?"—Herbelot. Art. Feridoun.

These are advantageous specimens of the primitive religion of the Persians, before it was corrupted by the errors of Zabiism at first, and of Magism in later times, receding from the purity of the original Magian religion†. It was, indeed, that which

* The following fine poetic paraphrase of this inscription is given in the Universal History, Vol. II. p. 183, folio.

"Man should weigh well the nature of himself,
The varying frailness of this flattering world,
And the true excellence of Heaven's high Lord;
Then would he this despise, and trust in Him:
The world deceives us all; in God is truth.
Let not thy riches nor thy power prevail,
To swell thy bosom with conceits of pride;
Look back, remember those thou hast seen high,
And mark if thou hast never seen them sink:
Let this teach thee. One end awaits us all!
And when inevitable Death commands,
That we should follow to his dreary realm,
Matters it much, if from a royal couch,
Or from a mattrass, thrown upon the ground,
We rise to take our journey?"

† PRIMITIVE MAGIAN RELIGION.

The Magian Religion seems to have been originally designed to correct the errors of the Zabian idolatry, or worship of the sun, moon, and stars, which began to prevail in the fifth generation of Nimrod, after the deluge, and reached Arabia, in Job's days, xxxi. 26–28.

The founder of this religion was the elder Zerdasht, Zerdusht, or Zoroaster of the Greeks, king of Bactria, who is supposed by Diodorus and Justin, to have been slain by
Newton calls the oldest (and it may justly be called the noblest) of all religions: "A firm belief that one Supreme God made

Ninus, the first king of Assyria, and by many of the Persian writers, to have been the contemporary of Abraham; and, according to others, of Thamurias, the third Pischidian king, coeval with Abraham. Some think he was Dahak himself. The near concurrence of these accounts seems to fix his time within the limits of the Pischidian dynasty. He is not therefore to be confounded (as he is by several oriental authors) with the younger Zoroaster, in the days of Darius Hystaspis, the reformer of the Magian Religion.

Porphyry cites the following testimony of Eubulus, concerning the elder Zoroaster's religion.

"Zoroaster, first of all, in the mountains [of Bactria] adjoining to Persia, consecrated a natural cave, adorned with flowers, and watered with springs, in honour of Mithras, the maker and father of all things; this cave affording him a symbol of the world which Mithras made." And this "Mithras," whom the ancient Magi called ὁ κρύφος Θεός, "the hidden God," thus represented by the darkness of the cave; could not possibly denote the Sun; to which the term was misapplied in after ages, by the worshippers of the solar light. See the original passages; Cudworth's Intellect. System, p. 285, 286.

This primitive cave-worship of Mithras is finely described by Maurice, in his Elegy on Sir William Jones.

"Where the dark cliffs of rugged Taurus rise,
From age to age by blasted lightnings torn,
In glory bursting from the illumined skies,
Fair Science poured her first auspicious morn.

"The hoary Parthian seers, who watched by night,
The eternal fire in Mithras' mystic cave,
(Emblem sublime of that PRIMEVAL LIGHT,
Which to you starry orbs their lustre gave,)

"Exulting saw its gradual splendors break,
And swept symphonious, all their warbling lyres,
'Mid Scythia's frozen glooms, THE MUSES wake,
While happier India glows with all their fires."

The sacred fire was not peculiar to the Persian Magi. It was kept constantly burning on the altar before the Tabernacle in the Wilderness, and the Temple at Jerusalem; and was never to go out, Lev. vi. 13. It was kindled from heaven, in the time of Aaron, Levit. ix. 24; of David, 1 Chron. xxi. 26; of Solomon, 2 Chron. vii. 1, and was not to be rekindled with strange fire, nor any other to be used in sacrifices, under penalty of death, Lev. x. 1, 2. Among the Persians, it was to be rekindled only from the sun, or with a flint, or from some other sacred fire. And the Persian usages resembled those of the Jews in many respects. See Hyde, p. 19.

The following sublime description of the Supreme Being, by "Zoroaster, the Magian," contained in a sacred collection of the Persian rites, is furnished by Eusebius, Prepar. Evangel. Lib. I. cap. ult. p. 42.

'Ὁ Θεός εστι κεφάλην ἐκών ἱερακος· οὐτος εστιν ὁ πρωτος, αφθαρτος, αἰῶν, αγενήν, ἀμερης, ανωμοτατος, ἰννοχος παντος καλον, αὐωνοδοκητος, αγαθων αγαθωτατος, φρονιμων φρονιμωτατος· εστι δε και πατηρ εννομας και δικαιουντης, αυτοδιακος, φυσικος, και τελειος, και σοφος, και λεον φυσικου μονος εὑρετης.

"The God is [represented] having a hawk's head. He is the First, Incorruptible, Eternal, Unmade, Indivisible. Most unlike every thing, the Leader, or Author, of all good,
the world by his **power**, and continually governed it by his **providence**; a pious fear, love, and adoration of Him; a due re-

Unbribable, the **Best of the good, the Wisest of the wise**: He is also the **Father of equitable law and justice, Self taught, Perfect, and the only Inventor of the natural Holy**.

This admirable description of the attributes of the **DEITY**, is disgraced, however, by the frontispiece, representing him with a *hawk's head*; expressive, in reality, of his *sharp sightedness*; with one glance viewing and inspecting the whole creation, throughout the universe. That **Zoroaster** indeed could have understood this literally, is impossible; because it would be utterly inconsistent with the *spiritual* attributes, immediately following. Indeed the expression, *στριφὶς ἐκως*, indicates representation; for otherwise it would be *ἐχει* "Hath," if meant of the actual head of a *hawk*. This is perhaps the first instance on record of *symbolical* representation blended with pure *spiritual* description. And in this respect, it is highly curious, as furnishing, perhaps, the earliest specimen of those *animal hieroglyphics*, attributed to the Deity so copiously in *Egypt*, still to be found on their ancient monuments; which, when the recondite or mystical meaning came to be lost, in process of time, produced all that multifarious *Polytheism*, which corrupted the primitive theology of the *Egyptians, and Indians, Greeks, and Romans*; as shewn in a preceding note.

The primitive **Magi** held to first principles; one, the sole uncreated principle of Good, or **God**, called in their language, *Yezad, or Izad*, "adorable;" and the other, a created principle of Evil, called *Ahariman, or Ahriman*, and by the Greeks, *Αριμανιος, Arimanius*: from *Ahar, "filthy," or "vile;" and Reiman, or Reiman, "a deceiver;" as *deceiving the whole world.* Rev. xii. 9. And to mark their detestation of him, in their old books, the name is usually inverted thus, *ωνιμανυ*. This compound term corresponds to the scriptural phrase, *"the foul spirit,“* Mark ix. 25; or, to the old English, *"the foul fiende.* And their religion is thus explained by Ibn *Shahna*, a Mahometan Arab.

*"The religion of the Persians is very ancient, and the proficient therein are called *Keiomarsians, (or followers of Kaiumarath.)* They state, that there is an eternal Being, whom they call *Yezdan*, meaning thereby **God**: and another, created from darkness, whom they call *Ahreman*, denoting the **Devil**. They maintain, that God the Creator, created both *light* and *darkness*; and that He is alone, and bath no associate: and that good and evil, right and wrong, are made of a mixture of light and darkness, (for that if these two had not been mixed, the world could not have existed;) and that these mixtures will not cease until the good shall be appropriated to its world, [heaven], and the evil, to its world, [hell; both at the consummation of all things]."* Hyde, p. 161–163.

The genuineness of this curious account, is vouched by Scripture. *Isaiah* introduces his prophecies concerning *Cyrus*, with the following sublime and magnificent statement of the doctrine, as from the **ALMIGHTY** himself.

*I am the LORD, and none else; Beside Me, there is no GOD:— I form light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil. I, the LORD, do all these.*" Isa. xlv. 5—7.

And the significant parable of the *Wheat and the Tares*, left to grow together in the field of this world, until the harvest, or general judgment, is an apt illustration of the mysterious subject; tending "to vindicate the ways of **God** to **man,**" from the charge of partiality or injustice, at the final retribution; which clearly appears to have been the
verence for parents and aged persons; a paternal affection for
the whole human species, and a compassionate tenderness even
for the brute creation." See his excellent summary of the
182—184.

Feridoun, for his wisdom, called "the Solomon of Persia,"
divided his extensive dominions, in his life-time, between his
three sons. A division of considerable importance, because it
still subsists in Oriental Geography. To Iragé, his youngest,
and most deserving son, he gave the body of the Persian em-
pire, thence called Iran *, consisting of Persia, Media, Ar-
menia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia. To Tur, his eldest,
his all the Eastern provinces, beyond the river Gihon, or
Oxus, including India and Tartary, as far as Cathai and China,
thence called Turan, and afterwards Turkestan, whence the
Turks derived their name. And to his second son, Salme, all

belief of the pious and moral race of Pischdadian kings, from the specimens here given
of their conduct, and of their maxima.

From Ibn Shahna, we also learn, that Zoroaster was not the author of this religion:
he ascribes it, and with truth, to Kaimarath, the illustrious founder of the Pischdadian
Dynasty. Nor was he the inventor: it flourished in Job's age, or the seventh generation
after the Deluge, as we have seen, in the foregoing analysis of his book, Vol. II. p. 55,
of this work, &c. before the primitive patriarchal religion of Noah, came to be gradually
corrupted, all over the face of the earth.

Another Persian title of the Supreme Being, was Oromasdes, signifying "holy, or
beneficent, lights," from the Hebrew, סנדר דונא, Aurim Hasdei; and corresponding
to the scriptural phrase, "THE FATHER of LIGHTS." Jam. i. 17. See Jackson, Vol.
III. p. 302, 371.

* See Sir William Jones' description of the boundaries of Iran; in his sixth discourse

It may seem strange, that such extensive regions as Iran and Turan, and such titles as
Fag-four, Kaisar, and Schah, should so long survive these three short-lived princes, who
all died in their father's life-time, and even soon after the partition of his dominions be-
tween them. But the wonder will cease, when we attend to the circumstances of the
history. The death of these princes, entailed a long hereditary war between their
descendants, who founded their claims thereon. The whole empire belonged to Feridoun.
Hence, the posterity of Tur, the eldest son, claimed the whole, in right of primogeniture.
On the other hand, the posterity of Iragé, or Manugiahr, asserted the right of Feridoun,
to divide his dominions as he pleased.

The Turkish historians derive their name, Turks, from Turk, the eldest son of Japheth,
their ancestor; who seems to be the Tiras of Scripture. Gen. x. 2. But the account of
the Persian historians seems more probable. For Amurath, the first Ottoman Emperor,
seems to have assumed the title of the first Pischdadian monarch, Kai-Umarath; and his
successors, especially after they got the upper-hand of the Persians, were proud to add
to their titles, that of Afrasiab, the grandson of Tur; both to mark their nobility and their
the provinces of Mogreb, "the West," beyond the river Euphrates, comprehending Syria, Asia Minor, Europe, the Isles of the Mediterranean Sea, Africa, stretching to the Atlantic Ocean. Feridoun also gave his sons titles, which are remarkably handed down to the present day. To his eldest, the title of Fagfour, which is still retained by the Porcelain China ware, in the Levant, corruptly called furfouri. To his second, Kai-sar, or Cesar, still assumed by the emperor of the West; and to his youngest, Schah, the leading title of the Persian Monarch, at this day.

**MANUGIAHR, OR MANUGEHER.**

He was either the son or the cousin of Irage, appointed by Feridoun to avenge that virtuous prince's death upon his unnatural brothers, Tur and Salme, who basely assassinated him, envying his lot, and conspiring to divide it between themselves. Manugiahr slew them both in battle, with his own hand, and was rewarded with the Tagi, or Tiara, which his aged grandfather, now blind, took off his own head, to place on his.

Manugiahr was an excellent prince: he cultivated the arts of peace, during the first part of his reign. He cut canals * from the great rivers Euphrates and Tigris, to water the lands: he studied gardening, and explored the virtues of plants, and made many wise regulations.

In the sixtieth year of his reign, Apheresiab, or Afrasiab, the reigning king of Turan, invaded Iran with a prodigious army, under the pretence of avenging his ancestor, Tur's death; against whom, being unable to contend, Manugiahr ceded to him all the country eastward of the great river Gihon, or Oxus, which rises at the foot of Mount Imaus, and runs into the Caspian Sea; which tract, thenceforth, took the name of Ma over al nahar, "over," or beyond "the river."

Tabari, an ancient Persian author, has recorded the following pious speech of Manugiahr, delivered in a great council of

* Major Rennel, in his curious map of Babylon, Geography of Herodotus, p. 335, traces seven canals of communication between the Euphrates and Tigris: one of which he calls the "Ancient Nahrmalka," signifying "the Royal River," or grand Canal, running from Ctesiphon, on the Tigris, to Neapolis, on the Euphrates. Might not this, and some of the others, have been the works of Manugiahr?
his nobility, when he heard that the Turks had passed the river Gihon to invade him.

"The Most Holy and Most High God gave me this kingdom, that I might render him praise and glory, and that I might be the guardian of my kingdom, and consult the welfare of my subjects, and exercise judgment among the people, that so God, the best and greatest, may increase this my kingdom. But if I be found guilty of ingratitude, in not giving him thanks, He will take away from me this kingdom, and will, moreover, torment me in the other world.—God, of his greatness, hath granted us this grace, and we are thankful; and we beseech Him, to keep us in the right way, and to guard our heart in the truth; for we know that all this (the Turkish invasion) is from Him; and to Him let us return." See Hyde, p. 156—158.

How nearly does this resemble the substance of Daniel's speeches to the haughty Nebuchadnezzar, iv. 19—37; and the impious Belshazzar, v. 17—29.

The surname of this illustrious prince, was Firouz; signifying "happiness," "victory," or a precious stone, called a turquoise, of a deep blue colour, found in the mountains of Farganah.

In his days, according to the Persian historians, "the prophet Schoaib, (or Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses,) was sent, by God, to preach the Faith to the Midianites;" and afterwards "Moussa and Haroun, (Moses and Aaron) were sent, by God, to Valid, the Pharaoh *, or king of Egypt, who was of the race of Had." Herbelot, p. 559, 772.

Moses was born B.C. 1728, twelve years after the death of Firouz: therefore Jethro, his father-in-law, and high-priest of Midian, must have flourished in his reign. The embassy of Moses and Aaron, to the king of Egypt, in B.C. 1648, was only thirteen years after the end of the Dynasty.

The critical coincidence of these chronological characters with the preceding adjustment of the period of this Dynasty, affords a satisfactory proof of its correctness.

* Pharaoh, in the Egyptian tongue, signified "a king;" Phiraon, in Arabic, "a crocodile." The Arabs call the Egyptians, Phiraon koumi, "the people of the crocodile;" rather as a name of contempt. It may be questioned, whether the Egyptians themselves ever gave this title to their kings. Richardson, p. 260.
ANALYSIS OF

NODAR.

Firouz was succeeded by his son, Nodor, whose reign was short and unfortunate. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Persian empire, occasioned by the intrigues and seditions of the grandees, Parhang, the next king of Touran, invaded Iran, a second time, with a prodigious army of 400,000 horse and foot, under the command of his eldest son, Apheresiab; who defeated Nodor, and slew him with his own hand. This decided the war; and left the kingdom in possession of the Turks.

APHERESIAB.

The cruelties of this Intruder, and his haughtiness and insolence, roused the Persians to revolt; and at length, under the conduct of that famous general, Zalzer, the son of the Visier Soham, he was so harassed, and weakened by repeated engagements, though not decisive, that the Turkish prince agreed to retire into Turan, without molestation, and leave Iran under the protection of Zalzer. This loyal subject, refusing the crown, sought out Zab, or Zoub, the legitimate heir of the house of Kaiumarath; and put the crown upon his head.

ZAB.

This prince applied himself to restore, as well as he could, the shattered affairs of Persia: and associated in the empire his nephew, Gerschasp, or Gershab, to whom he resigned the crown, having been advanced in years at the time of his accession.

GERSCASP.

He was a prince of great merit, and deserved a better fate than he met. Afrasiab, disregarding the former treaty with Zalzer, took advantage of the disorders of the kingdom, to invade it, a third time; and, in a pitched battle, defeated the Persians, and slew their king. With him the Pischdadian Dynasty ended, by the general consent of the Persian historians; though Khondemir supposes, that it ended with his predecessor, Zab.
This Persian Dynasty differed widely from its predecessor, the Assyrian; that was founded in rebellion against God, and usurpation against man: this, in piety and virtue, and the willing consent of its constituent provinces, and it was rightly termed Pischeddadian, or "the just," from the uniform endeavours of its princes to administer justice, and promote the happiness of their subjects. It is much to be regretted, that the Grecian writers, who adopted the romantic mythology of the Pischeddadian Dynasty, were strangers, in great measure to their history.

That the Pischeddadian Dynasty indeed, ended about B.C. 1661, or not long after, we may collect from Holy Writ. For the Israelites were reduced to servitude by Chusan Rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, in B.C. 1572; and were rescued eight years after, by Othniel, their first judge, who defeated Chusan in battle. After which, the land had rest forty years. Judg. iii. 8—10. Chusan appears to have been an independent prince, who made war on his own account, from the change of the former title of Shinar, into Mesopotamia; but he seems to have been only a petty prince, since he was not able to retrieve a single defeat: for we hear no more of him, or his people, in the book of Judges.

This first Persian dynasty was succeeded by a very long interregnum of more than a thousand years. During which, Iran was subject to the empire of Turan, and afterwards of Assyria, until the revival of the second Persian dynasty of the Kaianites, B.C. 641.

The grand and fundamental error of the Persian historians and chronologers, was the supposition that the Kaianian dynasty followed the Pischeddadian, in continuity, or immediate succession. This gave rise to the enormous reigns which they assigned to their kings, in order to fill up the chasm; and it precluded all possibility of adjusting them with those of the Greek historians and chronologers; insomuch, that some learned antiquaries have questioned the veracity of the latter, and represented their accounts of the Persian dynasty either as fictitious, or as relating only to some provincial transactions of the mighty Persian empire, by their satraps, or deputies *.

* The learned Orientalist Richardson, so well skilled in Oriental etymology and Persian romance, as we have seen, has failed, most lamentably, in the important subject of chronology. Not being able to reconcile the dissonant accounts of the second, or Kaianian
The existence of this chasm, or long interregnum, is proved from the Persian historians themselves. Mirkhond and the rest dynasty, as delivered by the Greek and Persian historians, and giving undue credence to the latter, he has sceptically rejected the former, in great measure, as fabulous and unfounded. His objections are thus stated by himself.

"From every research," says he, "which I have had an opportunity to make, there seems to be nearly as much resemblance between the annals of England and Japan, as between the European and Asiatic relations of the same empire of the Medo-Persians, during the Kaianian dynasty, commencing with the Cyzares of the Greeks, about B.C. 610, according to Sir Isaac Newton's conjecture, and ending with the Macedonian conquest. The names and numbers of their kings have no analogy; and in regard to the most splendid facts of the Persian historians, the Persians are entirely silent. We have no mention of the Great Cyrus, nor of any king of Persia, who in the events of his reign can apparently be forced into a similitude. We have no Croesus, king of Lydia; not a syllable of Cambyses, or of his frantic expedition against the Ethiopians. Smerdis Magnus, and the succession of Darius Hystaspis by the neighing of his horse, are to the Persians circumstances equally unknown as the numerous assassinations recorded by Greeks. Not a vestige is at the same time to be discovered of the famous battles of Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Plataea and Mycale; nor of that prodigious force which Xerxes led out of the Persian empire to overwhelm the states of Greece. These famous invasions may possibly therefore have been simply the movements of the Governor of Asia Minor, to enforce a tribute, which the Persians might often pay, and the Greeks might never pay. Marathon, Salamis, and other celebrated battles, may indeed have been real events—but the Grecian writers to dignify their country, may have swelled the thousands of the Persian satrap into the millions of the Persian king." Dissert. p. 62—54.

To these objections it may be answered,

1. That there is not so great a dissimilitude as he represents, between the Grecian and Persian accounts throughout. There subsist, indeed, several strong and striking traits of resemblance.

2. There is a remarkable analogy between the names of several of the kings. 1. The Persian Kai-chobad is equivalent to Kai-achueros, and this is the parent of the Greek variation, Ku-αχαρης, Cyzares. 2. Kai-chosru, dropping the prefixed title Kai, leaves the remainder analogous to Χουρος, Churos, or Κυρος, by only reversing the three last letters, Χοσρος. (See the foregoing note on Oriental titles.) 3. Gushtasp is plainly Hystaspes, by interchange of gutturals. 4. Ardshir has little analogy to Artaxerxes, but his epithet, Dirazdest, signifies μακρο-χιρος, longimanus, or "long-handed." 5. The two last Darabs correspond to Darius Ochus and Codomannus. Three of the Grecian kings, indeed, Xerxes, Darius Nothus, and Artaxerxes Mnemon, are altogether omitted in the Persian account. And Queen Homai, on the other hand, is omitted likewise in the Grecian. But these omissions, and the other diversities, may be easily accounted for.

For, 1. where historical materials are copious, but scattered, different writers may select differently, according to their opportunities of information, or their views. 2. The Greek writers, in general, had not access to the Persian records; and the Persian writers, from a principle of national vanity, or through adulation of the reigning princes, by whose command they wrote, might naturally wish to omit disastrous events, and even to suppress entire reigns that tarnished the glory of the empire; and such were those of Xerxes, Darius Nothus, and Artaxerxes Mnemon. They did not hesitate, we see, to adulterate their chronology, and can we imagine they were more scrupulous in their his-
unanimously agree, that the Kaianian dynasty ended when Darab II. was conquered by Ascander, or Darius Codomannus;
tory? 4. They deal also to the full, as much, or more, in the marvellous, on the one side, as the Greeks on the other. 5. The supposed exaggerations of the Greek writers, even in the Persian war, are not confined to a single author, Herodotus; others vouch them likewise, and the variations in their accounts, upon which Richardson reckons so much, p. 308—310, only prove, that they were independent writers, that collected from different sources; while their general agreement, in the greatness of the armament of Xerxes, corroborates the curious and valuable catalogue given by Herodotus of the different provinces of the mighty Persian empire, which furnished their contingents of troops and ships for the Grecian war. B. vii. A catalogue which, in the main, bears strong internal marks of authenticity; so various and so minute in the description of the several remote nations especially, and their habits and weapons, that no Grecian could possibly have forged. And Herodotus travelled to Babylon and Assyria, and probably Media. 6. On the other hand, the history of Kaikaus and Kai Chosru in the Persian writers, is much more credible than the history of Astyages and Cyrus, in Herodotus; and it is supported, in the main, by Æschylus, Xenophon, Josephus, and Holy Writ. 7. Richardson himself candidly allows weight to the counter-objection, that "the principal historians of Persia now known in Europe, are all subsequent to the Mohammedan era; that Persian literature was almost entirely annihilated in the consequences of the Arabian conquest: that the Greeks wrote nearer to the events which they have recorded; and therefore, though foreigners, have a superior claim to our credence, than the natives of after ages, who must have compiled their annals under many circumstances of discouraging obscurity." P. 42.—This satisfactorily accounts for much of the rubbish of the Persian historians, as well as for their omissions, the latter not having been supplied in such ancient Persian writings as escaped the Arabian proscription of such as incultated the religion of the Magi. P. 64, 65.

3. The chronological speculations of Richardson are fanciful in the extreme, and tend to unsettle the fundamental dates of ancient chronology.

1. Misled by the supposed continuity of the Pischdadian and Kaianian dynasties, he places Zohak and Gemshid about or above 800 years before the Christian era, p. 154, 181, or about 1200 years below their truer time. In this he is followed by Sir William Jones.

2. He supposes that the Persian king, called Churos, (not Choresh,) by Isaiah in his prophecies, destined to release the Jews from captivity, and order the rebuilding of the temple, Isa. xliv. 28; xliv. 1, who, after the conquest of Babylon, B.C. 536, "when God had given him all the kingdoms of the earth," issued a proclamation to that effect, Ezra 1. 1—4, was not Cyrus the Great, of the Greeks, or Kai Chosru of the Persians, but another Coresh (or Kirsh) who lived in the reign of Ardeshir Dirazdest, and was appointed by him Deputy Governor of Babylon, in the room of the son of Bakhtunassar, (or Nabocodnassar,) who was deposed for oppressing the Jews. That Coresh issued the proclamation in question about B.C. 385, or B.C. 388, near the end of Arde-shir's reign, and consequently, that the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity began B.C. 458, near the end of the reign of Lohorash, by whose orders Nabocodnassar conquered Syria, Palestine, and other western districts. P. 90—93.

This hypothesis, to adopt his own expressions, "is founded on imaginary eras; and introduces, in consequence, a variety of anachronisms, in direct opposition to the historical books of Scripture, to Josephus, and to all observations on the longevity of man:" it is also at variance with the curtailed Jewish Chronicles, and even with the Persian reigns of the Kaianian dynasty, upon which it is professedly built. For,
by Alexander of Macedon, B.C. 331, which leads to the discovery and adjustment of the rest, and of their erroneous reigns, amounting to 712 years, according to Mirkhond, or 734 years, according to others; more than double the truth.

1. His first supposed date of the proclamation, B.C. 315, is deduced from the alleged date of the Jewish larger Chronicle, [or Seder Olam Rabba,) which finishes the building of the temple about thirty-four years before the fall of the Persian empire, B.C. 331, and after the building had been stopped by the Samaritans near twenty years. But B.C. 331 + 34 + 20 = B.C. 385. His second date, B.C. 388 is deduced by counting upwards from the end of the reign of Darab II. or Codomannus, B.C. 331, fourteen years for his reign; twelve for Darab I. thirty for Queen Homai, and the two last of Ardeshir. But B.C. 331 + 13 + 12 + 30 + 2 = B.C. 388. And from this supposed date of the proclamation, again he counts upwards, thirty-eight years more for Ardeshir, and about thirty for the reign of Kishtasb, or Gushtasp, and the two last of Lohorasb, till the commencement of the seventy years captivity. But B.C. 388 + 38 + 30 + 2 = B.C. 458.

Every step almost of this chronological computation is faulty. David Ganz, p. 55, reckons that the second temple was finished in the year of the world 3412, or B.C. 348, instead of B.C. 365, here assumed. And the reigns of the Persian kings, all except the last, are altered at random from the table of the Kaianian dynasty, some shortened, others lengthened, according to his fancy; "like the ancient tyrant, he tortures every circumstance to adapt it to his iron bed: where defective he stretches it upon the rack, and lops the superfluities where it threatens to prove too much." According to his own excellent description of systematic writers, or framers of systems. P. 39.

2. He contradicts the historical books of Scripture, in making his imaginary Coresh a deputy of the Persian king Ardschir, instead of the sovereign of the Median, Persian, and Babylonian empire; and he degrades the mighty and haughty Nebuchadnesszar to the same dependant state, acting as general under Lohorasb, or Cambyses the son of Cyrus, by a glaring anachronism!

3. He misunderstands Josephus. For "Sanballat," the Samaritan governor appointed by Darab II. or Codomannus, "who was alive in the time of Alexander," was quite different from the Sanballat in the time of Nehemiah, who gave so much interruption to the building of the temple. See Vol. II. p. 534, note. And he arbitrarily curtails the administration of the high priests down to Jaddua, in Alexander's time; asserting, contrary to fact, that "the Jewish high priesthood was remarkable for a very quick succession." See the lengths of their long administrations, Vol. II. Seventh Period, p. 448, and Eighth Period, p. 529.

4. He contradicts all observations of the longevity of man in that age, by making his imaginary Coresh, B.C. 388, the contemporary of the prophet Daniel, who was alive in the first year of "Cyrus the Persian," B.C. 536, when the proclamation was really issued, (and most probably by Daniel's counsel) 148 years before the fictitious proclamation!

The chronology of Cyrus is critically ascertained and adjusted, by means of Ptolemy's Scientific Canon, as it may justly be styled; and it forms the basis of all chronology, sacred and profane. See Vol. I. p. 270 of this work. To unsettle it is to unsettle all chronological history.

These strictures on an author, from whose learned works we have often derived instruction and entertainment, respecting "the languages, literature, and manners of Eastern nations," are a tribute to his celebrity. "It is error alone we should wish to reprobate: it is the path of truth we should wish to clear." Dissertations, p. 42.
II. DYNASTY OF THE KAIANITES.

| 1. Kai kobad, or Cyaxares | Y. | 100 | 120 |
| 2. Kai kaus, or Astyages | Y. | 150 | 150 |
| 3. Kai chosru, or Cyrus | Y. | 60 | 60 |
| 4. Lohorash, or Cambyses | Y. | 120 | 120 |
| 5. Gushtasp, Kishasp, or Darius Hystaspes | Y. | 120 | 120 |
| 6. Ardschir, Bahaman, or Artaxerxes I | Y. | 112 | 112 |
| 7. Queen Homai | Y. | 32 | 32 |
| 8. Darab I. or Darius I. Ochus | Y. | 4 | 14 |
| 9. Darab II. or Darius II. Codomannus | Y. | 14 | 6 |

Hence we get the accession of Kai kobad, or Cyaxares, B.C. 331 + 712 = B.C. 1043, according to the former computation; or B.C. 331 + 734 = B.C. 1065, according to the latter. Both long after the Pischdadian dynasty, even by their own accounts of its remote antiquity.

To fill up the chasm, of which they were aware, the Persian historians not only more than doubled the amount of the reigns of the second dynasty, but inserted the enormous reigns of the first, so as to carry up the antiquity of their empire beyond the deluge, by making their first king Kaiumarath contemporary with Alorus, the founder of the Babylonian dynasty of Berosus, in B.C. 4355, as we have seen. For if we subtract from this date the true end of the Kaianian dynasty, B.C. 331, the true interval is 4024 years. And with this nearly agrees the gross amount of the uncorrected reigns of the two dynasties. For the Pischdadian, including the four extravagant reigns, and 200 years interregnum after Kaiumarath, amounted to 3269 years, adding thereto the Kaianian of 734 years, we get the sum total, 4003 years, which differs only twenty-one years from the correct interval.*

So near a concurrence is not more curious than useful and valuable. It tends, 1. to verify and establish the present system of chronology, even from the very errors of the Persian histo-

* It is further remarkable that the Persian and Hindu era of the deluge Kali Yug, B.C. 3102, falls short only fifty-three years of the established era, B.C. 3155; and the birth of Abraham, according to the Chinese era of the Tchou, in B.C. 2131, falls short only twenty-two years of the established B.C. 2153. See Vol. I. p. 197, 200, of this work.
rians; and, moreover, to detect the source of those errors and enormous lengths of reigns, by tracing them up to the national vanity of claiming a high Antediluvian origin for their empire.

2. To shew that the errors of the ancient chronographers consisted rather in filling up or adjusting the parts of long periods of time, than in the outlines themselves; as instanced formerly in the case of Josephus, Vol. I. p. 300, 301, of this work, and afterwards of Ctesias and Herodotus, &c.

The same national vanity during the second dynasty led the Persian historians of that age to trace the foundation of their empire, in a continued series of kings, up to Ninus I. or Nimrod, to flatter the vanity of the reigning monarchs.

Hence Ctesias, the Greek physician, who was taken prisoner in the rebellion of Cyrus the younger, against his brother Artaxerxes Mnenon, B.C. 401, and spent seventeen years at the Court of Persia, in great favour with that monarch, for curing him of a wound he received in battle from his brother, who was slain, wrote a history of Persian affairs, as he says, "from the Royal records;" which he afterwards published in Greece with great applause, and was followed by Diodorus Siculus, Justin, and many other Greek and Latin writers.

Ctesias fabricated a list of thirty-six kings, from Ninus, B.C. 2127, to Thonus Concolerus, ending B.C. 821, during a period of 1305 years, or 1300 years in round numbers, according to Justin. The entire list is to be found in Eusebius, Syncellus, and the early chronographers, with considerable variations, and is skilfully corrected by Jackson.*

* The learned and laborious Jackson has given two lists, the one useful, the other fanciful. The first, Vol. I. p. 247—253, is the list of Ctesias, corrected from Eusebius, by critical comparison of other chronographers; raising the amount of the reigns from 1240 years, (or 1239 in the detail of Eusebius) to 1305 years. This list is valuable.

In the second list, p. 276—280, Jackson has altered the chronology of Ctesias for the worse, lowering it 111 years throughout, beginning B.C. 2016, instead of B.C. 2127, in order to accommodate it to the hypothesis, that Thonus Concolerus, the last king, denoted Esarhaddon, whose reign began with the revolt of the Medes, B.C. 710. Whereas, upon Jackson's own principles, he should rather denote Sennacherib, "whose death gives the true time of the revolt of the Medes." P. 282. Both suppositions, however, are unfounded: Thonus more correctly represents the predecessor of that king of Nineveh who reigned in Jonah's time, from comparison of sacred and profane chronology.

Jackson himself has furnished sufficient proof of the superior correctness of the chronology of the former list. He states, that Cassiodorus placed the first king of Athens, Cecrops, in the reign of Sparthaus, the fifteenth in the list. But the accession of Cecrops, in B.C. 1682, according to the Parian Chronicle, (see Vol. I. p. 112) fell on the 25th year of Sparthaus, according to Ctesias; but only on the 12th year of Ascalius, the
The first twenty-four reigns of Ctesias' list are not "true *", for they encroach on the first Assyrian interregnum and first Persian dynasty. The last twelve reigns will be found fully "sufficient *" for the duration of the second Assyrian dynasty, as follows.

### SECTION III.

#### II. ASSYRIAN DYNASTY. 431 YEARS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B. C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Mithraeus, or Ninus II.</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Tautanes, or Teutamus.</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Teutaeus.</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Thineaus.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Dercylus.</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Eupalis, or Empachmes.</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Laosthenes.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Pertiades.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Ophrataeus.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Epecheres, or Qfratanes.</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Acraganes, or Acrazapes.</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Thonus Concolerus.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>841</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

End of the Dynasty .................................. 431 821

The first prince in this table might have been surnamed *Mithraeus*, from *Mithras*, the sun, for the brilliancy of his exploits. And such was the character of Ninus II. to whom the conquests of the first Ninus, or Nimrod, were attributed. "Ninus,* says Justin, "was the first that made war on his nearest twelfth in the list, according to Jackson. Which shews, that he "has fixed the era of the Assyrian kings" too low; and not "Ctesias too high." See p. 279, note (77) of his work.

The average of the twelve last reigns in 431 years, here selected, is nearly 36 years apiece. This is rather high; Dr. Gillies therefore increased them to 17, which would give the average 25 years; nearer to the general standard. But the exact number of reigns is immaterial, provided the period itself of 431 years be correct. The present number, however, is supported by the agreement of the reigns of Teutamus and Laosthenes, with the references of Diodorus and Cyril; noticed in the text.

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neighbours, [finitimis] and having subdued them, made use of their aid to conquer, in succession, all the nations of the west, as far as Libya; and of the east, as far as India: that he died shortly after the reduction of Bactria, where he slew the king of that country, Zoroaster, the inventor of Magism and of Astrology: that he left a young son Ninyas, under the guardianship of Semiramis his wife: that she assumed the crown, built Babylon, invaded India, and, at last, was slain in the 42d year of her reign, (when she was an old woman) by her son, for courting him to her embraces! Justin i. 1, 2.

These conquests of Ninus are evidently an exaggeration of the conquests of Nimrod. The conquests of Nimrod, according to the soberer account of Holy Writ, did not go beyond Babylonia and Assyria, the first peopled countries of the earth. Herodotus and the Greek Historians (except Diodorus, whom Trogus Pompeius, or Justin copied) are silent respecting the western conquests of Ninus. But they were too remarkable to have been overlooked, and therefore were probably fictitious. On the contrary, 1. Herodotus states, that “the Assyrians held the sovereignty of all Upper Asia not more than 520 years before the defection of the Medes.” B. i. § 95. But the Medes revolted, B.C. 710, and counting backwards, from thence, 520 years, we get the commencement of the Assyrian dominion, B.C. 1230.

2. Appian says, that the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians successively ruled Asia 900 years. Proem. c. 9. But the Persian empire ended with the death of the last Darius, B.C. 330, from which, counting backward, 900 years, we get the commencement of the Assyrian dominion, B.C. 1230, as before.

The shorter period of 520 years, is evidently referred to by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in the following judicious remark: “The Assyrian empire, though ancient indeed, and carried up to the fabulous times, yet held the dominion of Asia but a short while.” Antiq. Rom. Lib. i. p. 2.

Surely then, the concurrent testimony of these three celebrated historians, Herodotus, Appian, and Dionysius Hal. greatly outweighs the authority of Ctesias and Justin, and the indecision of Diodorus Siculus, wavering between both accounts*.

* To the learned and industrious Diodorus Siculus, and his various and copious historical library, even in its present mutilated state, we owe, next to Herodotus, the most
The history also furnishes internal evidence in favour of the shorter account.

1. By a gross blunder, arising from ignorance of Oriental languages, Diodorus and Justin confound Ninuah, or Niveun, "the city of Nin," or Ninus, with his supposed son Ninuas, or Ninyas! And his wife Semiramis, with her namesake, the wife or mother of Nabonassar, who really walled Babylon, about B.C. 747; as we learn from Herodotus. See Vol. II. p. 48, of this work.

2. Justin confesses that Ninus lived after Sesostris, the famous Egyptian king, whom he calls Vexoris; and after Tanaus, king of Scythia. But Sesostris began to reign B.C. 1308; and in the course of his nine years' expedition, invaded Libya, southwards; Asia, including Assyria, eastwards; and advanced as far as Scythia, northwards, and returned home, about B.C. 1299, after having been checked, or perhaps defeated, by Tanaus, the sixth king of Scythia, in Pontus, as will be shewn in the ensuing Analysis of Egyptian Chronology.

The accession, therefore, of the twenty-fifth Assyrian king in the list of Ctesias, called Mithræus, B.C. 1252, critically cor-

curious and valuable information respecting the ancient kingdoms of the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, and Egyptians.

His accounts, however, of the duration of the Assyrian empire, are various and perplexed. In one place, he states the amount of the reigns of their kings 1360 years, as from Ctesias; and afterwards 1400 years, according to others. The former period counted backwards from the end of Thonos Concolerus' reign, in Ctesias, B.C. 821, would commence B.C. 2181; the latter, B.C. 2221. Hence he concludes, that "the Assyrians had been lords of Asia above a thousand years before the commencement of the Trojan war." For 1000 + B.C. 1193, = B.C. 2193.

And yet, a great part of this period, according to his own account, was barren of events. He gives a detailed account of Ninus, Semiramis, and Ninyas, and there he stops, with this observation: "It is needless to recite the names of the rest, or how long each of them reigned, since none of them did any thing worth remembering; save only that it may deserve an account, how the Assyrians assisted the Trojans, by sending them some forces, under the command of Memnon, the son of Tithonus." B. ii. chap. 1 and 2.

In his ensuing account of the Medes, he produces also, without expressing the least disapprobation, the counter-testimony of Herodotus, greatly reducing the foregoing period.—"Herodotus, who lived in the time of Xerxes, says, that the Assyrians were conquered by the Medes, after they had held the empire of Asia for the space of five hundred years," in round numbers; which Herodotus had reckoned, more accurately, 520 years.

Upon both accounts, therefore, we may reasonably infer, that Diodorus had a considerable leaning toward the shorter period, though he did not openly venture to oppose the prevailing authority of Ctesias, who wrote later than Herodotus.
responds, in time, to 

*Ninus II.* For *Ninus* might have finished his conquests, B.C. 1230, according to *Herodotus* and *Appian*, in the twenty-second year of his reign, according to *Ctesias*.

Instead of the second anachronous reign of *Semiramis*, in *Diodorus* and *Justin*, here follows the twenty-sixth in *Ctesias*, namely *Teutamus*, who reigned during the *Trojan* war, till the destruction of *Troy*, B.C. 1183. But according to *Diodorus*, he sent the son of *Tithonus*, then prefect of *Persia*, *Memnon*, with an army of 20,000 foot, and 200 chariots, to the assistance of his vassal *Priam* in this war; in which *Memnon* signalized his valour against the Greeks, until he was surprised and slain by the *Thessalians*: when the (Asiatic) *Ethiopians* rescued his body, and carried his ashes to his father *Tithonus*. *Diod. Lib. II. c. 2.*

*Leosthenes* also, the thirty-first in the list, was reigning 165 years after the destruction of *Troy*, or in B.C. 1018. *Cyril contr. Julian*, p. 11. But this was actually the thirteenth year of his reign, by the table.

Such remote and incidental coincidences of sacred and profane history and chronology, are highly curious and valuable. They tend strongly to corroborate the validity of the present adjustment, by the harmony and consistency of the parts, without altering the original documents, but only omitting such as are proved to be superfluous, or unsound.

*Thonus Concolerus*, the last in the list of *Ctesias*, has been injudiciously confounded either with *Sarac*, the last *Sardanapalus*, who perished in the overthrow of *Nineveh*, B.C. 606; or else with *Esarhaddon*, the former *Sardanapalus*, who began to reign when the *Medes* revolted, B.C. 710. But the end of the reign of *Thonus*, B.C. 812, according to *Ctesias*, so long before either of these princes, cannot possibly agree to either. It does, however, critically correspond to the commencement of the third and last *Scriptural* Dynasty; beginning with that king of *Nineveh* who reigned in the time of the prophecy of *Jonah*; and by a speedy and sincere *national humiliation* and repentance, averted the divine judgments and threatened overthrow of the city; and postponed it for nearly 200 years, until the iniquity of that exceeding great and corrupt city came to the full. Dr. *Gillies* supposes that the king meant was *Pul*. *Vol. I. p. 65.* But his predecessor is more probable.

By a signal providence, the mighty *Assyrian* power, before
this dynasty, was restrained and kept within its proper bounds, eastward of the river Euphrates, in order, we may presume, that it should not interfere with the divine grant of the promised land to the Israelites, from the great river Euphrates, northwards, to the river Nile, southwards; and from Arabia, eastwards, to the great sea or Mediterranean, westwards, during the whole time of its accomplishment; at first by Moses and Joshua, and afterwards by Saul, David, and Solomon. But when the Israelites grew great and prosperous, and waxed wanton and corrupt, and forgot the Lord their God, and fell into rebellion and idolatry, then, as they had been repeatedly warned by Moses and the Prophets, and not before, “God stirred up the spirit of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings against them,” in succession, until both kingdoms of Israel and Judah were overthrown, and the whole nation carried away into captivity. This is the true scriptural solution of “the mild and pacific reigns of the former kings of Assyria,” noticed by Gillies, Vol. I. p. 65. Compare 1 Chron. v. 26, with Deut. xxviii. 36–48; Amos v. 25–27; Isa. vii. 17–20; viii. 6–8; Hosea iii. 4, &c.

The following table of the last and scriptural dynasty of the kings of Assyria, is framed from careful comparison with Ptolomy’s Canon, of the reigns of the contemporary kings of Babylon; and the leading occurrences are endeavoured to be interwoven in their proper order of time. It is made to commence from B.C. 821, taking up the end of the third dynasty from Ctesias.

### III. ASSYRIAN DYNASTY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>BABYLONIAN KINGS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>821</td>
<td>1. Nabonassar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td>2. Nadius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>790</td>
<td>3. Chinzirus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>770</td>
<td>4. Jugaeus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>747</td>
<td>5. Mardok Empad, or Merodach Baladan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 215 YEARS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>1. King of Nineveh .......... 821</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td>Jonah’s prophecy ............. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>790</td>
<td>Pul, or Belus II. .......... 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>770</td>
<td>I. Invasion of Israel .... 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>747</td>
<td>Tiglathpilesar .......... 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>740</td>
<td>II. Invasion of Israel .... 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>726</td>
<td>Shalmanasar .......... 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>722</td>
<td>III. Invasion of Israel .... 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>719</td>
<td>Samaria taken .......... 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>714</td>
<td>Sennacherib .......... 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>711</td>
<td>I. Invasion of Judah .... 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*Note: The table above is a simplified representation of the historical events described in the text.*
### Assyrian Dynasty, continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>710</td>
<td>Esarhaddon, Asaradin, or Sardanapalus I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>710</td>
<td>Medes and Babylonians revolt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>680</td>
<td>Babylon regained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>674</td>
<td>II. Invasion of Judah, and Captivity of Manasseh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>667</td>
<td>Ninus III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>658</td>
<td>Nabuchodonosor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>641</td>
<td>Defeat of Arphaxad, or Phraortes the Mede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>640</td>
<td>III. Invasion of Judah, by Holofernes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>636</td>
<td>Sarac, or Sardanapalus II.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Babylonian Kings, continued.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.C.</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>709</td>
<td>Arcianus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>I. Interregnum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>702</td>
<td>Belibus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>699</td>
<td>Apronadius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>693</td>
<td>Regibelus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>692</td>
<td>II. Interregnum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>688</td>
<td>Mesessemorlach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>680</td>
<td>Asaradin, or Esarhaddon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>667</td>
<td>Ninus III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>658</td>
<td>Nabuchodonosor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>647</td>
<td>Chyneladon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>625</td>
<td>Nabopolassar, or La-bynetus I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>606</td>
<td>Nineveh taken by the Babylonians and Medes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The destruction of Nineveh, B.C. 606, forms a fundamental date in Profane Chronology, both upwards and downwards; upon which depends the adjustment of the antecedent periods of Assyrian and Babylonian Chronology, and also of the subsequent periods of Babylonian, Median, and Persian Chronology; and by its connexion with the Eclipse of Thales, (determined chiefly from thence, to B.C. 603) of Lydian and Græcian Chronology also.

This date is not specified in the Canon of Ptolomy, but may be collected from thence, and from a fragment of Berosus, cited by Josephus, Ant. 10, 11, 1; which states, that Nebuchadnezzar, (whom both Berosus and Ptolomy call Nabokolassar) having heard of his father's death, during his own expedition into Syria, Phœnicia, Judea, and Egypt, left his army and captives to the care of his friends, and hastened across the desert, with a small party, to Babylon, in order to take possession of the kingdom. The accession of Nebuchadnezzar is dated by the Canon in B.C. 604; but his father, Nabopolassar, died earlier, or in the Julian year before, B.C. 605, the date of the Babylonish captivity; as we have seen, Vol. II. p. 439 of this work. The capture of Nineveh, therefore, must have taken place in the year before his death, or not later than B.C. 606. Herodotus also mentions the capture of Nineveh among the last events of the reign of Cyzaares I. ending B.C. 601. Book i. §. 106. It probably, therefore, was not earlier than B.C. 606.

2. We learn from Scripture, that Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, went up against the king of Assyria, as far as the river Euphrates, to besiege Carchemish, (or Circutium, which belonged to Assyria, Isa. x. 9.) but Josiah, king of Judah, opposed Necho, and was slain at Megiddo, 2 Kings xxiii. 29. This determines the year of the invasion to B.C. 606, at which time there was a king of Assyria; who was then unable to oppose Necho, we may presume, on account of the siege of Nineveh, his capital, by the Babylonians and Medes, that same year; but the siege lasted two years, according to Diodorus Siculus, B. ii. ch. 2; and therefore was taken in B.C. 606: which also agrees with
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

PUL.

This prince was probably the son of the king of Nineveh, in Jonah's time. He first began to interfere in the concerns of the Western States; and invaded Israel, B.C. 770, in the twentieth year of his reign, commencing B.C. 790, according to Newton; and after having received a contribution of a thousand talents of silver, from Menahem, who had usurped the crown of Israel in the same year, and wished to purchase the favour and protection of Pul, as his vassal, he returned home. 1 Chron. v. 26; 2 Kings xv. 19, 20. See Vol. II. p. 416.

Pul was, perhaps, the second Belus of the Greeks; who built the temple of that name at Babylon; and, like the first, was deified after his death*. He probably attracted their notice by his excursions into Syria and Palestine.

TIGLATHPILESAR AND NABONASSAR.

Newton ingeniously conjectures, that at Pul's death, his dominions were divided between his two sons; when the sovereignty of Assyria was given to the elder, Tiglathpilesar, and the prefecture of Babylon to the latter, Nabonassar; from the date of whose reign, or government, the celebrated era of that name took its rise, B.C. 747. See Vol. I. p. 155, of this work. The celebrated Semiramis, who built the walls of Babylon, according to Herodotus, might have been either his wife, or his mother.

The ferocious Tiglathpilesar, in the seventh year of his reign, found an opportunity of intermeddling in the disturbances that the deaths of Tobit before, about B.C. 610; and of Tobias after, about B.C. 605, as shewn in the sequel.

3. When the siege was over, and the Assyrian empire destroyed, "the king of Babylon," Nebuchadnezzar, in the very first year of his reign, B.C. 605—604, retaliated, with a vengeance, on Necho, and strip't him of all his conquests, 2 Kings xxiv. 7, Jer. xliv. 2—26.

Hence we may conclude, with Eusebius and Jackson, that B.C. 606, is the correct date of the capture of Nineveh. See Jackson, Vol. I. p. 343—346.

* Jackson antedates Belus II. supposing that the celestial observations at Babylon, 1903 years before Alexander visited it in B.C. 330, were made B.C. 2233, at the Observatory, built by him. Vol. I. p. 242, 267. They might have been made still earlier; even from the days of Nimrod, or Belus I.
broke out in Syria and Palestine; having been invited by Ahaz, king of Judah, to assist him against Pekah, king of Israel, and Rezin, king of Damascus, who had confederated to dethrone Ahaz, and the family of David, and to substitute the son of Tabeal. They invaded Judea, and besieged Ahaz in Jerusalem, but could not take the city. During the siege a gracious sign of deliverance to Ahaz, and of stability to the house of David, was offered to him, from the Lord, by Isaiah the prophet; which Ahaz incredulously refused, trusting to the king of Assyria. Tiglathpileser accordingly came to his assistance, slew Rezin, and took Damascus, the capital of Syria, and carried away the inhabitants captives to Kir, or Assyria Proper; fulfilling the prophecies of Amos: “Syria shall go into captivity to Kir,” i. 5; “Have not I brought the Assyrians from Kir?” ix. 7. Compare 2 Kings xvi. 5—9, and Isa. vii. 1—11. And see the article Ahaz, Vol. II. p. 417 of this work.

At the same time the king of Assyria carried away the Transjordanite tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, captives to Media, where he planted them in Halah, Habor, and on the river Gozan, 1 Chron. v. 26; and also the other half of Manasseh, in Galilee, 2 Kings xv. 29. See Vol. II. p. 419. The geographical position of those several places in Media, and the policy of the kings of Assyria, in transplanting the captives thither, are explained, Vol. I. p. 460, 461.

SHALMANASSAR, OR SHALMAN.

This prince, called simply Shalman, Hos. x. 14, in the fourth year of the reign of Hezekiah, B.C. 722, invaded the kingdom of Israel, besieged Samaria, and took it the third year of the siege, in the sixth of Hezekiah, B.C. 719, and transplanted the seven remaining western tribes to Media likewise, in the same stations with their brethren, 2 Kings xvii. 3—6, xviii. 9—11. See Vol. II. p. 426.

The remainder of Shalmanassar's reign was spent in endeavouring to reduce the revolted western provinces of Syria and Phœnicia, and in the blockade of Tyre, which was raised at his death, as we learn from the Tyrian Annals, cited by Josephus, Ant. 9, 14, 2.
SENNACHERIB*.

Sennacherib succeeded his father, Shalmanessar, in the Assyrian throne. He made immense preparations for invading Judea; because Hezekiah had rebelled against him, and served him not, or withheld the stipulated tribute which his father, Ahaz, had paid to the king of Assyria, as his vassal, 2 Kings xviii. 7. For this cause, indeed, Shalmanessar had threatened to dethrone him, but was prevented by more urgent avocations, as we have already seen. The execution now devolved on Sennacherib, who, in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah’s reign, B.C. 711, came with an immense army, besieged, and took all the fenced cities of Judah; and having reduced Ashdod, or Azotus, by his general, Tartan, and taken Libnah, while he was besieging Lachish, (three important frontier towns toward Egypt, preparatory to his invasion of that country also, because So, king of Egypt, had encouraged the Jews to rebel,) he sent off a great part of his army to Jerusalem, under his generals, Tartan, Rabsaris, and Rabshakeh, to intimidate Hezekiah into a surrender, after having been guilty himself of a notorious breach of faith, in not accepting Hezekiah’s humiliation, when he had taken his money. But this army was miraculously destroyed in one night, by a pestilential blast; and the faithless and arrogant Sennacherib, who had defied the God of Israel, fled in disgrace to his own country; where he was, fifty-two days after, assassinated by his two eldest sons, who fled into the land of Armenia, fulfilling prophecy. See the article Hezekiah, Vol. II. p. 426—430.

ESARHADDON.

This prince, on their flight, reigned in his father’s stead. He was variously named, Sargon, Isa. xx. 1; Sarchedon, Tobit i. 21; and Asaradin, by Ptolemy, in his Canon. He came to the crown at a disastrous season of general rebellion and revolt of the provinces. The Medes first led the way; and, after a severe

* By a curious and valuable coincidence with Sacred History, Herodotus expressly mentions Sennacherib by name; and he notices his invasion of Egypt, and sudden flight from thence, by a divine judgment inflicted at the prayer of Sethon, the king.
battle, regained their liberty, and retained their independence. They were followed by the Babylonians, Armenians, &c.

The epoch of this general revolt is fixed by the defeat and death of Sennacherib to B.C. 710. In this same year, we may conclude, Merodach Baladan sent a letter of congratulation to Hezekiah, on his recovery, and a present; wishing, probably, to form an alliance with him against the common enemy. It is remarkable that Merodach is the first "king of Babylon," noticed in Scripture: his predecessors having been properly praefects, or viceroys, under the king of Assyria.

For several years after his accession Esarhaddon found full employment in retrieving his embarrassed affairs, and in reducing the revolted provinces to their allegiance. At length, in the thirtieth year of his reign, he recovered Babylon; the government of which seems to have fallen into great disorder and confusion after Merodach Baladan, if we may judge from the recurrence of five reigns and two interregnums of ten years, all in the course of twenty-nine years, preceding its reduction again under the Assyrian yoke.

When he had sufficiently re-established his dominion, and confirmed his authority at home, Esarhaddon undertook an expedition against the states of Phœnicia, Palestine, Egypt, and Ethiopia, to avenge his father's defeat, and to recover the revolted provinces on the western side of the Euphrates; and for three years he ravaged those countries, and brought away many captives, as foretold by Isaiah, xx. 3, 4. About two years after, he invaded and ravaged Judea; and the captains of his host took Manasseh, the king, alive*, and bound him with fetters, and carried him away captive, with many of the nobility and people, to Babylon, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11; Judith v. 19.

Esarhaddon was a great and prosperous prince. He seems not only to have recovered all the former provinces of the Assyrian empire, except Media, which still supported its independence; but to have added considerably thereto, if we may judge from the several states which his grandson, Nabuchodonosor, summoned as his auxiliaries in the war with the Medes; namely, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia, Judea,

* Instead of Behohim, Behohim, "among the thorns," according to the present Masorete text, the Syriac and Arabic versions seem to have read Behaiin, "in vivis," or "alive," which gives a better sense. Jackson, Vol. I. p. 331, note.
Persia, Arabia, and Egypt, unto the borders of Ethiopia or Abyssinia, Judith i. 6—10. See Jackson, Vol. I. p. 332. He is ranked by Ptolomy, in his Canon, among the Babylonian kings, probably because he made it his chief residence during the last thirteen years of his reign, to prevent another defection.*

This prince was the Sardanapalus of Diodorus and Justin, in whose reign happened the revolt of the Medes, B.C. 710; and whom both these historians unskilfully confounded with the last king, Sarac, who perished in the overthrow of Nineveh, above a century afterwards, in B.C. 606. This is the grand error which has hitherto chiefly perplexed and embarrassed the Assyrian Chronology, and given rise to the supposed double capture of Nineveh. See Vol. I. p. 217.

The distinction between the two Sardanapaluses, is clearly marked by the Greek historians.

1. Athenæus relates, from Clitarchus, that “Sardanapalus died of old age, after he had lost the Syrian (or Assyrian) empire.” Deipnos. Lib. xii. p. 53. This is partly true and partly false; he lost the empire in his youth, but he recovered it in his age.

2. His statue was erected at Anchiale, in Cilicia, with this remarkable inscription: “Sardanapalus, the son of Anacyndaraxes (Sennacherib) built Anchiale and Tarsus in one day. Stranger, eat, drink, and play; for all other human concerns are not worth this.”—a fillip, which the statue was in the attitude of giving with his fingers. And to this inscription, Paul, of Tarsus, evidently alluded:

“Let us eat and drink,
For to-morrow we die!”

“Be not deceived,” replied the Apostle, in the following Iambic of Menander:

Φθιρονουσιν ἡθη χρησθ' ὁμιλιαί κακαί.
“Evil communications corrupt good morals.” 1 Cor. xv. 32, 33.

Thus elegantly and classically intimating, from a better heathen authority, that the conversation of such sensualists, as

* When Esarhaddon transplanted a colony of Babylonians, Cuthites, and Syrians, into the waste cities of Samaria, about B.C. 675, (see Vol. II. p. 431 of this work,) it was probably to punish these nations for their revolt.
ridicule the hope of another life, is subversive of sound *morality*, as well as *religion*.

3. *Herodotus* also, so well skilled in *Assyrian* affairs, (whose promised History of *Assyria*, it is much to be regretted, either was not written, or has been lost) records the following curious incident.

"Some robbers having formed a design to steal the immense treasures of *Sardanapalus*, king of *Nineveh*, which were laid up in subterraneous vaults, began to carry on a mine in that direction, from the house in which they dwelt, to the king's palace. During the night, they threw the earth, which they had dug out in the day, into the Tigris, which flows beside *Nineveh*; and so they continued their work, until they effected their purpose."

B. II. § 150.

This demonstrates, that the last *Sardanapalus* could not be meant; for he perished with his treasures.

**Ninus III.**

*Syncellus* observes, from *Castor*, that a prince, of the name of *Ninus*, succeeded *Sardanapalus* at *Nineveh*. And we learn from *Ptolemy*, that *Saosduchin*, who was either his son, or his deputy, succeeded him also at *Babylon*. Both, therefore, began to reign in the same year of the Canon, B.C. 667.

**Nabuchadonosor.**

*Nabuchadonosor* succeeded *Ninus*. His accession to the empire is dated B.C. 658, seventeen years before the defeat of *Arphaxad*, or *Phraortes*, king of the *Medes*, B.C. 641, as determined in the ensuing rectification of *Median Chronology*, Judith i. 1—15. In the twelfth year of his reign, B.C. 646, *Nabuchadonosor* declared war against *Arphaxad*, and summoned all the states of his mighty empire to his aid. But the western and southern provinces of *Cilicia*, *Phoenicia*, *Judea*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, and *Egypt*, refused to obey the summons, and furnish their contingents of troops; and even insulted and ill-treated his ambassadors. It was not therefore, till his seventeenth year, that he was in a condition to take the field; when he defeated the *Median* army, near *Ragau*, or *Rages*, in their own territories; took *Arphaxad* prisoner, and slew him the
same day; stormed Ecbatana, his capital, which he had strongly fortified; demolished its towers, and spoiled its palaces; and then returned triumphant to Nineveh; where he feasted his various troops, for 120 days, or four months. This decisive battle was fought about November or December, near the close of the year B.C. 641. Compare Judith i. 16; with ii. 1.

The ensuing spring, B.C. 640, in the eighteenth year of his reign, he sent Holofernes, commander-in-chief of his forces, with a mighty army of 120,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, to chastise all the refractory states, who had refused to assist him in the Median war. Accordingly, Holofernes ravaged and reduced Cilicia and Syria, and part of Arabia, Ammon, and Edom, about the time of wheat harvest, Judith ii. 1—27.

These rigorous measures struck a panic terror into the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon, and of all the sea-coast, unto Azotus and Askelon; so that they humbly sued for peace. Holofernes granted it; but put garrisons into their towns, obliged them to furnish recruits for his army, destroyed the barriers on their frontiers, and cut down their sacred groves. "He destroyed all the gods of the land, that all nations should worship Nabuchodonosor alone, and that all tongues and tribes should invoke him as God," Judith iii. 1—8.

After he had spent "a full month" in the plain of Esdraelon, on the confines of Judea, waiting to collect the carriages of his army, Holofernes encamped in the valley over against Bethulia, the key to the hill country of Judea, with an army increased to 170,000 foot; and by the advice of the Edomites, Moabites, and Philistines, those old and inveterate foes of the Jews, he secured their fountains, and blockaded the town for four and thirty days; expecting to compel them to surrender for want of water. And he reduced them, at length, to such extremity, that they stipulated to surrender at the end of five days, if not relieved in the interim.

In this emergency, the pious heroine, Judith, exhorted her townsmen to trust in God for deliverance, and undertook "to do a deed which should be recorded to all generations:" and after praying fervently to God, that "he would make her speech and stratagem to be the wound and the stripe of the enemies of God, and of his sanctuary and people," she immediately put it in execution. She visited the Assyrian camp, attended only by her maid, and so fascinated Holofernes with her charms, that she
at length slew him in his own tent, and brought away his head to the Bethulians; who, thereupon, sallied forth, and routed, with great slaughter, the Assyrians, when filled with dismay and consternation at the strange assassination of their chief commander. Judith v.—xv.

Thus did the God of Israel punish the impious arrogance of the kings of Assyria; at first, by a pestilential blast, which weakened the empire; and afterwards, he inflicted a deadly blow, by the hand of a woman! The destruction of the army of Holofernes, humbled the pride, and reduced the power of Assyria to the lowest ebb. Nabuchadonosor did not long survive: he died three or four years after.

SÁRAC, OR SARDANAPALUS II.

This prince came to the throne at a disastrous crisis. Revolt and rebellion raged throughout the empire. The Medes not only recovered their spirits, after their late overthrow, but soon regained Ecbatana, and the territory they had lost. And the warlike Cyaxares, their king, eager to revenge his father's death, attacked and defeated the Assyrians, early in his reign, and besieged Nineveh in turn. But he was himself attacked and defeated by a powerful Scythian army, who possessed themselves of Upper Asia, and ruled, with great rigour, for 28 years; till Cyaxares massacred their chieftains at a banquet, and shook off their yoke, B.C. 612; as will be shewn in the ensuing article of Median Chronology.

Cyaxares next formed an alliance with Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, who also had recovered his independance, taking advantage of the disaster of Holofernes; and a marriage having been concluded between Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopolassar, and Amytis, the daughter of Cyaxares, the two kings of Media and Babylon jointly besieged Nineveh again, about B.C. 608.

Justin represents Sardanapalus as a most effeminate prince, who betrayed the utmost pusillanimity on the revolt of the Medes; and, instead of strenuously defending his crown, fled, after a feeble resistance, to his palace, and burnt himself and his treasures, on a pile, which he had erected for the purpose. "In this alone," says Justin, "imitating a man."

But the account of Diodorus is widely different, more circumstantial, and by far more probable. He states that, relying upon
an ancient prophecy, that *Nineveh should never be taken, until the river became its enemy*, Sardanapalus omitted nothing that prudence and courage could suggest for his defence and security. He sent off a great part of his treasures, along with his children, to the care of his intimate friend, Cotta, governor of Paphlagonia; and provided ammunition and provisions in abundance for the siege, and for the support of the inhabitants. At length, after the confederates had besieged the city for two years, without effect, a prodigious inundation of the Tigris, occasioned by continual rains in the mountains of Ararat, and sources of the river, overflowing its banks, rose up to the city, and threw down twenty furlongs of its great wall. The king, therefore, struck with dismay and despair at the unexpected fulfilment of the prophecy, burnt his concubines, his treasures, and himself, upon a great pile in the court of his palace, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy; who, having entered by the breach, sacked the city, and razed it to the ground, after it had stood about 1900 years *, from the days of Nimrod.

PROPHECIES CONCERNING NINEVEH.

God never left himself unwatched, at any time, in the heathen world. The light of Revelation, indeed, shone most copiously upon the Hebrews, and their descendants, the Jews, His most highly favoured people; but it was not withheld from the Gentiles. Significant visions and dreams disclosing futurity, were frequently vouchsafed to heathen Diviners and Princes; in the days of Job, iv. 15—19; xxxii. 18—20; xxxviii. 1, &c.; of Abraham, Gen. xx. 6, 7; of Isaac, Gen. xxv. 22, 23; of Jacob, Gen. xxxi. 24; of Joseph, xli. 1—8, &c. And in the days of Moses, the Assyrian diviner, Balaam, was a prophet of the first class, not inferior to Jacob and Moses themselves, whose prophecies he so admirably expounded and enlarged. See the article of his Prophecies, Vol. II. p. 119, &c.

The Hebrew Scriptures, however, were made the chief vehicles of the prophetic judgments denounced against the surrounding heathen nations, with whom God's chosen people had intercourse, either as friends, or as foes, in alliance, or in capti-

* Of the heathen classical historians, the nearest who has approached to the true duration of this city, is Velleius Paterculus; reckoning it 1700 years.
vity. And not long before Nineveh was appointed to scourge Samaria and Jerusalem, for their backslidings; a Galilean prophet, Jonah, was sent with a divine commission to warn that "exceeding great and corrupt city," the mistress of the Gentile world, at that time, and soon after, of the Holy Land also, that unless she repented, "ere forty days, Nineveh should be overthrown." The Ninevites repented at the preaching of Jonah, and the threatened judgment was deferred. For "God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil that he said he would do unto them, and He did it not." Jonah iii. 1—10.

But Nineveh was spoiled by prosperity, and her inhabitants relapsed into their evil ways; they recalled the prophecy, which was more explicitly renewed, as the time of its fulfilment drew nigher. Jonah, about B.C. 800, had simply foretold the overthrow of Nineveh; but how she was to be overthrown, whether by a "great earthquake," such as afterwards visited the land of Israel, about B.C. 791; and was foretold by Amos, viii. 8, 9, (See Vol. II. p. 413,) or by some other calamity, was then a mystery. This mystery was revealed about fourscore years after, by another Galilean prophet, Nahum, B.C. 721, or 115 years before the catastrophe, according to Josephus, Ant. 9, 11, 3. And at the time of Shalmanasar's invasion of Israel, when the Assyrian empire was in the zenith of its power and grandeur, and Nineveh in full splendour.

2. Nahum described "the burden, or doom, of Nineveh," as to be effected by water, fire, and sword.

"With an overflowing flood shall the Lord make an utter end of the place thereof," i. 8.

"The flood gates of the river shall be opened, and the palace and the fortress shall be dissolved," ii. 6, 7.

"The gates of thy land shall be set wide open to thine enemies: the fire shall devour thy barriers."

"Draw thee water for the siege; fortify thy strong holds; step into the clay, and tread the mortar; repair the brick kiln: there shall the fire devour thee, shall the sword cut thee off: it shall devour thee, like the locust," iii. 13—15.

And her final desolation is thus described:

"And it shall come to pass, that every one who seeth thee, shall flee from thee; and shall say: Nineveh is laid waste, who will bewail her! Whence shall I seek for the comforters?" iii. 7.
3. Nearer to her doom was the prophecy of Zephaniah, delivered in the 18th year of Josiah, B.C. 621, according to Abulfaragi, p. 45, a century after the former; foretelling her desolation, as the punishment of her pride and arrogance.

"The Lord will stretch forth his hand against the North, and will destroy Assyria, and will make Nineveh a desolation, a dry place like the desert. And the flocks shall lie down in the midst of her, and every kind of wild beast: the pelican, and the porcupine, shall lodge in her carved doors, their cry shall resound in the windows; the raven shall be found in the porch. For He hath laid bare her cedar-work. Is this the joyous city? that sat in security; that said in her heart, I am, and, there is none beside me?—How is she become a desolation! A place for wild beasts to couch in! Every passenger shall hiss at her, and shake his hand!"

Zeph. ii. 13—15.

4. The last and nearest, was Tobit's warning to his son, Tobias, shortly before his death, to quit the devoted city.

"Go into Media, my son, for I surely believe the things which Jonah, the prophet, spake concerning Nineveh; and that, for a time, peace shall be rather in Media.—And now, my son, depart out of Nineveh; for the things spoken by the prophet, Jonah, shall surely come to pass." Tob. xiv. 4—8.

Tobit died about B.C. 610, four years before the catastrophe; as may be collected from the following chronological computation.

Tobit was 58 years old when he lost his sight; xiv. 2. He lost it shortly after Sennacherib's death, and Sarchedon's accession to the crown, in B.C. 710; Chron. i. 22; ii. 1—10. But he lived in all, 158 years; xiv. 12; and consequently died, B.C. 610. He was buried at Nineveh; and his wife, Anna, after him, xiv. 11, 12.

Tobias then, after her death, departed, with his family, to Ecbatana, the capital of Media; unquestionably, before the siege of Nineveh began, in B.C. 608; and died there, aged 127 years. But before he died, he heard of the destruction of Nineveh, which was taken by Nabuchadonosor, [or Nabopolassar, king of the Babylonians], and Ahasuerus, [or Cyaxares, king of the Medes]. And before his death, he rejoiced over Nineveh, xiv. 13—15.

VOL. IV.
That Tobias, indeed, out-lived the capture of Nineveh, may
be collected from his age, and the circumstances of his history.

He was born before the captivity of his tribe, in B.C. 719, i. 9, 10. He was married in B.C. 702, eight years after his
father lost his sight; xiv. 2. And probably was not less than thirty years old, at his marriage; for he was grown up, when
his father became blind; ii. 1–3. And probably was not younger than his wife, Sarah, who had lost seven husbands, iii.
8. This would bring his birth to B.C. 732; and his death, to B.C. 605; the year after the destruction of Nineveh. If Tobias
was born in B.C. 732, his father, Tobit, was 36 years old at his
birth. And he did not marry early. Tobit i. 9.

The apocryphal book of Tobit, therefore, independent of its admirable piety and morality, is a valuable historical record*; for it contributes to confirm the correctness of the aforesaid date of the destruction of Nineveh, in B.C. 606. And also proves, in what high estimation the prophecy of Jonah was held in that age; and how the prophecies of the captivities and restorations of the Jews, were understood, before the coming of CHRIST.

SECTION IV.

BABYLONIAN DYNASTY.

Y. B.C.

Nineveh taken .................................................. 2 606

1. Nabokolassar, Labynetus I. Boktanser, or Nebuchad-
nezzar .......................................................... 43 604

............... subdues Elam, or Persia .................. 596

2. Ilverodam, or Evil Merodach .......................... 3 561

3. Niricassolassar, Neriglissar, or Belshazzar .......... 5 558

4. Nabonadius, or Labynetus II. appointed by Darius,
the Mede .......................................................... 17 553

Babylon taken by Cyrus ....................................... 70 536 †.

* See some remarks on the machinery of this book, in the preceding note on Oriental Mythology.
† The capture of Babylon, B.C. 536, is a fundamental date, upon which, principally, depends the adjustment of the antecedent and subsequent periods of Sacred Chronology. It is reckoned B.C. 538, in Ptolomy's Canon, two years higher. But deducting two
Nothing can exceed the various and perplexed accounts of the names and reigns of the princes of this dynasty, in sacred and profane history. This table is constructed from critical comparison of Ptolomy's Canon, Berosus, Abulfaragi, and Daniel, with Herodotus, Xenophon, Josephus, Ctesias, Justin, and the modern historians and chronologers, Scaliger, Marsham, Jackson, &c. and the Universal History*, &c. And the leading historical events of the period are recorded, Vol. II. p. 448—469, of this work.

The reduction of the Elamites, or Persians, in the eighth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, was foretold in prophecy, Jer. xxv. 22; xlix. 34—36; Ezek. xxxii. 24; and confirmed by Xenophon, in his account of Abradates, king of Susa, revolting to Cyrus, in his war against the Babylonians, Lydians, &c. for his generous treatment of Panthea in her captivity. B. 5.

Babylon stood about 2000 years from its foundation by Nimrod, till its capture by Cyrus. See the article Babylon, Vol. I. p. 453—460, of this work.

PROPHECIES CONCERNING BABYLON.

Notwithstanding her boasted antiquity, this city was founded in impious pride and rebellion against God, and retained her pristine character unto the end; surpassing her rival sister, Nineveh, in corruption and oppression, blasphemy and idolatry.

Hence severer and more circumstantial woes are denounced against her in Scripture, for all her crying sins and abominations; and that, both before and while she was in the zenith of her glory, and of her presumption.

1. The duration of her empire for seventy years, while she was destined to scourge the corrupt nations of the earth; and her own ensuing punishment and desolation, are thus minutely described by the prophet Jeremiah, in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 604. Jer. xxv. 1.

* See a learned note of these discordant opinions, Univers. Hist. Vol. II. p. 23—26, folio, and the reduction of the Elamites, p. 81.
“And this whole land [of Palestine] shall become a desolation and astonishment, and the nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years.*

“And it shall come to pass, when seventy years are accomplished, I will visit their iniquity upon the king of Babylon, and upon the land of the Chaldeans, and I will make it perpetual desolations. And I will bring upon that land all my sayings, which I have spoken concerning it; all that is written in this book, which Jeremiah hath prophesied against all these nations.

“For thus saith the Lord, the God of Israel, to me, Take the cup of the wine of this wrath from my hand, and tender it unto all the nations to drink, unto whom I shall send thee; and they shall drink, and stagger, and become mad, because of the sword which I am going to send among them.

(So I took the cup from the hand of the Lord, and tendered it unto all the nations to drink, unto whom the Lord had sent me:

To Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, and to the kings thereof, and the princes thereof, to make them a desolation, and astonishment, and hissing, and curse; as at this day;

To Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and his servants, his princes, and all his people;
And to all the mingled people, and all the kings of the land of Uz;
And to all the kings of the land of the Philistines, Askelon, Gaza, Ekron, and the remnant of Ashdod;
To Edom and Moab and the children of Ammon, and to all the kings of Tyre, and all the kings of Sidon, and the kings of the sea coast [of the Mediterranean;]
And to Dedan and Tema and Buz, and to all that are in the utmost corners [of the Arabian Peninsula,] and to all the kings of Arabia, and all the kings of the mingled people that dwell in the Desert;
And to all the kings of Zimri, and all the kings of Elam, [or Persia,] and to all the kings of Media; (compare Jer. xlix. 34—36, and Ezek. xxxii. 24.)

* This does not mean, that the captivity of the surrounding heathen nations should last as long as that of the Jews; but that in the course of this Babylonian dynasty, they all should be subdued, some earlier, the Moabites, Ammonites, &c.; others later, the Tyrians, Egyptians, &c.
And to all the kings of the North, both near and afar off, one with another; 
And to all the kingdoms of the world that are upon the face of the earth;)
And the king of Sheshach ['the drunkard *' city of Babylon] shall drink after them.” Jer. xxv. 15—26.
2. The retaliation of Divine vengeance, in the invasion of Babylon by the Medes and Persians; the surprize of the city unawares, the slaughter of its inhabitants, old and young, and its final destruction, are thus circumstantially described, in continuation, by Jeremiah, in the fourth year of Zedekiah, B.C. 598. Jer. l. 1; li. 59.
“Declare among the nations, and publish, and lift up a standard; publish, and conceal not; say, Babylon is taken, Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken; her idols are confounded, her images are broken!
“A nation from the North is come up against her, which shall lay waste her land; there shall be no inhabitant therein. Both man and beast are fled, are gone!—
“Remove out of the midst of Babylon, and depart from the land of Chaldea—
“For lo, I am raising up, I am bringing upon Babylon an assemblage of great nations from the land of the North. They shall array themselves against her; from thence shall she be taken. Their arrows, like those of a successful warrior, shall not return in vain.—
“Lo, I will visit the king of Babylon and his land, as I visited the king of Assyria. Go up, O sword, against the land of bitter afflictions. Visit upon it, and upon its inhabitants, and utterly destroy their posterity; even perform, according to all that I have commissioned thee.—There is a sound of war in the land, even great destruction.
“How is the hammer of the whole earth cut off and broken! How is Babylon become an astonishment among the nations!
“I have laid a snare for thee, O Babylon, and thou hast hast

* תוט, Sheshach, here, and afterwards, Jer. ii. 41, denoting Babylon, is most naturally derived from יוס, the abridgment of יוש, "who," in composition, and ירדו, "to drink;" whence Σακκας, Sacas, "a butler," or "cupbearer," in Persic. Cyroped. I. And the season called Σακκας, and Σακκας ημερας, "carousal" and "days of carousal" at Babylon; corresponding to the Saturnalia at Rome. Q. Curtius represents the Babylonians as excessively addicted to wine and the consequences of ebriety. B. v. 1.
been caught, even when thou wast not aware. Thou art found out, and taken by surprise, because thou hast contended against the Lord.

"The Lord hath opened his armoury, and hath brought forth the weapons of his indignation: for this is the work of the Lord in the land of Chaldea.—

"A sword shall be upon the Chaldeans, saith the Lord, and upon the inhabitants of Babylon, and upon the princes thereof, and upon the wise men thereof; a sword upon the impostors, and they shall be infatuated; a sword upon her mighty men, and they shall be dismayed; a sword upon her horses and chariots, and upon all the mixed multitude in the midst of her; and they shall become like women; a sword upon her treasures, and they shall be plundered; a sword upon her waters, and they shall be dried up; because it is the land of graven images, and in idols do they glory." Jer. 1. 18–38.

3. Most circumstantially does the prophet describe, in continuation, the particulars of the siege and surprize of the idolatrous city:

"Babylon is a golden cup in the hand of the Lord, intoxicating the whole earth; the nations have drunk of her wine, therefore are the nations mad. Babylon is fallen suddenly, and destroyed!—

"Sharpen the arrows, fill the quivers; the Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes; for His purpose is against Babylon to destroy it, because it is the vengeance of the Lord, the vengeance of his Temple.

"Set up the standard near the walls of Babylon, strengthen the watch, station the guards, prepare the liers in ambush; for as the Lord devised, so shall He do that which He hath spoken against the inhabitants of Babylon. O thou that dwellest upon many waters, abounding in treasures, thine end is come, O slave of thy covetousness.—

"Set up the standard in the land, sound the trumpet among the nations, enlist the nations against her; summon the kingdoms against her, Ararat, Armenia, and Phrygia; appoint a captain [Cyrus] against her, bring up the horse like the bristled locust.—

"The mighty men of Babylon have ceased to fight, they have remained in the fortresses; their strength hath failed, they have become like women: her houses are burned, her bars are
broken: post runs to meet post, and messenger to meet messenger, to inform the king of Babylon, [Nabonadius,] that his city is taken at [each] end; and that the passes [from the river] are surprized, and that the reeds [or thatch of the houses] are set on fire, and that the men of war are dismayed.

"For thus saith the LORD of Hosts the God of Israel, the daughter of Babylon is like a threshing floor, yet a little while, and the time of her threshing shall come:—And I will drain her sea and dry up her spring; and Babylon shall become heaps of ruins, a habitation of dragons, an astonishment, and a hissing, without inhabitant!

"In their heat I will supply them with drink, and I will make them drunken, that they may carouse, and sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake again, saith the LORD.

"How is Sheshach ["the drunkard" city] taken! and the praise of the whole earth surprized! How is Babylon become an astonishment among the nations!

"Thus saith the LORD of Hosts, The broad wall of Babylon shall be broken, and her lofty gates shall be burnt with fire; and the [hostile] people shall labour, with the power of havoc, and the nations, with the power of fire, even till they shall be weary." Jer. li. 7–58.

4. Habakkuk, who prophesied shortly before the Babylonian captivity, adopting the same allegory, represents the retaliation of Divine vengeance on Babylon, for seducing the world with her cup of idolatry.

"Woe unto him that maketh his neighbour drink, who putteth his flagon to him, and also maketh him drunken, that he may look on their nakedness! Thou art filled with shame instead of glory; drink thou likewise, thyself, and uncover thy foreskin; for unto thee shall be returned the cup from the right hand of the LORD, and shameful spewings shall be upon thy glory." Hab. ii. 15, 16.

5. Isaiah, at an earlier period, still more awfully and sublimely predicts the stupendous desolations of Babylon, in the year that Ahaz died, B.C. 725. xiii. 1, xiv. 28.

"Lo, I [the Lord] will raise up against them the Medes, who shall not regard silver, nor shall they delight in gold*:

* It is remarkable that Xenophon represents Cyrus, when setting out, as praising the Medes and his army, for their disregard of riches. "Ye Medes, and all here present,
their bows* shall dash to pieces the young men; they shall have no pity even on the fruit of the womb; their eye shall not spare the children; and Babylon, the beauty of kingdoms, the glory of the proud Chaldeans, shall become as Sodom and Gomorrah, which God overthrew. It shall never be rebuilt, neither shall it be inhabited from generation to generation. The Arab shall not pitch his tent there, nor shall the shepherds make their folds there: but the wild beasts of the desert shall be there, and howling monsters shall fill their houses, and the daughters of the ostrich shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there, and jackalls shall howl in their palaces, and dragons in their banqueting houses: for her time draweth nigh, and her days shall not be prolonged.” Isa. xiii. 17–22.

6. Isaiah introduces an elegiac ode, or funeral dirge, upon the downfall of some tyrannical king of Babylon; supposed to be sung by a chorus of Jews.

“And it shall come to pass in that day, when the Lord shall give thee a respite from thy sorrow, and from thy dread, and from the hard bondage laid upon thee, that thou shalt utter this parable against the king of Babylon, and say,

Isaiah xiv. 3–27.

"How hath the oppressor ceased, the golden tribute ceased!
The Lord hath broken the staff of the wicked, the rod of the rulers.
He who smote the peoples in wrath, with unremitting stroke,
He who ruled the nations in anger, is persecuted, and none hindereth.
The whole earth is at rest, is quiet; they burst forth into shouting;
Even the fir trees rejoice over thee, the cedars of Lebanon:
Since thou art laid low, no feller is come up against us!
Hades from beneath is moved, for thee,
To meet thee at thy coming;
He rouseth the mighty dead for thee,
All the chieftains of the earth:
He maketh to rise from their thrones†

I well know that ye accompany me on this expedition, not coveting wealth.” Cyroped. Lib. V.

* The Persian bows were three cubits long, according to Xenophon, Anab. IV. and therefore, when used as clubs, in the sack of a city, were powerful weapons of destruction.

† This is one of the noblest and boldest prosopopoeias, even in oriental poetry. Hades, "the king of terrors," or the heathen Pluto, is represented as raising from their cells or niches, disposed around a vast subterraneous vault or gloomy cavern, the shades of the mighty dead, who lay there in state; each, as it were, on his own couch or throne, with their swords and armour, to meet the fallen king of Babylon, at the entrance of the vault, and to receive him with mockery and insult.
All the kings of the nations:
All they shall answer, and say unto thee,
Art thou also become weak as we!
Art thou made like unto us!

Is thy pomp brought down to Hades!
The noise of thy musical instruments!
The worm strewd under thee,
And doth the earth worm cover thee!

How art thou fallen from heaven,
O Lucifer, son of the morning!
How art thou cut down to the ground,
Who didst weaken the nations!

Even thou, saidst in thine heart,
I will mount up to the heavens,
I will exalt my throne above the stars of God:
I will sit upon the mount of congregation [Moriah]
On the sides of the North, [of Sion *]
I will ascend above the lofty clouds,
I will be like the MOST HIGH †.

But thou shalt be brought down to Hades,
To the sides of the pit.
Thy spectators shall gaze at thee,
They shall contemplate thee:
Is this the man who made the earth tremble,
Who shook the kingdoms!
Who made the world a desert,
And destroyed the cities thereof!

Who opened not the prison for his captives?
All, even all the kings of the nations,
Lie down in glory, each in his own tomb,
But thou art cast out on the mountains,
As a detestable corpse, covered with the slain,
With them who are pierced with the sword,
Who go down to the stones of the pit.
As a carcass trodden under foot,
Thou shalt not be joined with them in burial,
Because thou hast destroyed thy country,
Thou hast slain thy people.

The seed of evil doers shall never be renowned.

Prepare slaughter for his children,
For the iniquity of their father:
Let them not rise and inherit the land,
Nor fill with cities the face of the world:
For I will arise against them, saith THE LORD
THE GOD OF HOSTS; and I will cut off from Babylon

---

* Mount Moriah, on which the temple was built, when the whole congregation of Israel assembled to worship THE LORD, lay northward of Sion. See Vol. I. p. 426, the Map of Jerusalem, and its explanation, p. 437, &c.

† This marks the most gigantic impiety; such as Belshazzar was guilty of, when he profaned the sacred vessels of the temple of the Lord, at his sacrilegious banquet.
The name and remnant, the son and grandson,  
Saith the Lord; and I will make it an inheritance  
For the porcupine, even pools of water;  
And I will sweep it with the besom of destruction,  
Saith the Lord of Hosts.  

The Lord of Hosts hath sworn, saying,  
Surely as I have devised, so shall it be,  
And as I have purposed, so shall it stand:  
To crush the Assyrian in my land,  
And to trample him upon my mountains.  
Then shall his yoke depart from them,  
And his burden be removed from their shoulder.  
This is the purpose purposed in the whole earth,  
And this, the hand stretched over all the nations.  

This majestic prophecy, of unrivalled excellence, was delivered, B.C. 725, as we have seen, when the Assyrian power was in the zenith of its glory; whose destruction, therefore, is foretold at the conclusion. Isaiah, in the foregoing part, describes some Babylonian king, of later date, who was a remarkable oppressor of the Jews. Commentators are divided in opinion, whom he intended. Bishop Lowth supposes, that the last king of Babylon, at the end of the captivity, is meant. But Nabonadius "was not slain, nor his carcase cast out on the mountains;" for Cyrus, when he had conquered him, treated him well, and made him Governor of Carmania in Persia, where he spent the remainder of his days, as judiciously remarked by Mr. Dodson, the lay translator, p. 227. Dodson supposes that Neriglissar, or Evilmerodach was meant; and Jackson supposes Laborosoarchod, son of Belshazzar. But Evilmerodach indeed, though slain by Cyrus in battle, was rather favourable to the Jews; for he released Jehoiachin from captivity, upon his accession to the crown, Jer. lii. 31—34; whereas, the king here meant, "opened not the prison for his captives," or did not liberate any of them. And Laborosoarchod was a child, and slain after a few months, by conspiracy; he could not therefore have been guilty of the enormities here described; and indeed is omitted, as insignificant, in Ptolomy's canon. There remains, therefore, only Belshazzar, the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, for the king meant; and to him the whole
description critically corresponds throughout. For, 1. He was remarkable for his oppression of the Jews. Isaiah, immediately after, ver. 29, describing this dynasty, calls Nebuchadnezzar, the father, "a serpent;" Evilmerodach, the son, "a cockatrice;" and Belshazzar, the grandson, "a fiery flying serpent," the worst of all.

2. Belshazzar was remarkable for his wanton cruelty to his own subjects; witness his atrocious injuries to Gobryas and Gadatas, the foremost conspirators against him; recorded by Xenophon. See Vol. II. p. 46.

3. He was most remarkable for his profaneness and impiety, which drew down the dreadful judgment denounced against him, in the hand writing upon the wall, recorded by Daniel, v. 1—30.

4. After he was slain, "Darius, the Mede, took, or received the kingdom." He was a mild and a merciful prince, and we may presume, also upon Daniel's account, who stood so high in his favour, gave the Jews some respite, or mitigation of their captivity, and relaxation or remission of the heavy "tribute of gold" laid on them by Belshazzar, here noticed in the prophecy.

5. If Sennacherib, king of Assyria, was so distinguished for his blasphemy, by the prophet Isaiah, is it likely that his sacrilegious compeer, Belshazzar, king of Babylon, should be passed over in silence by the same prophet, who has entered so minutely into the abominations of Babylon, and her dreadful doom? No surely. And since all the circumstances of this prophetic dirge critically correspond throughout to Belshazzar, and to none else, can we any longer question who was meant?

These awful prophecies against Babylon, acquire an additional interest from the numerous references thereto in the New Testament. Rome, the corrupt and idolatrous mistress of the western world, is compared to her prototype in the East, by the Apostle Peter, in his Epistles, and by John in the Apocalypse. Indeed, the rise of a similar power, in the latter times, was pointed out even in the Old Testament, especially in the chronological prophecies of Daniel, whose descriptions of the little horn and wilful king, (as we have seen) remarkably resemble the sacrilegious impiety of Belshazzar, "who lifted up himself against the Lord of Heaven, and glorified not the God in whose hand was his breath, and whose were all his ways." Dan. v. 24.
Similar judgments are also denounced against Rome, the mystical Babylon, and grand corruptress of the Christian Church. Rev. xiv. 8; xvii. 1–18; xviii. 1–24.

SECTION V.

MEDIAN AND PERSIAN CHRONOLOGY.

From the Babylonians, the sceptre passed into the hands of the Medes, and soon after, of the Persians. Their history, indeed, was intermixed, from the earliest times, under the Pisch-dadian dynasty; and now at length, their empire, after a very long interval of suppression, came to be revived; when the Medes revolted from the Assyrians, B.C. 710; and in their turn, acquired the sovereignty of Asia.

The political incorporation of the Medes and Persians, is aptly represented in prophecy, under the emblem of "a goat with two horns; of which the second," or Persian "horn" of power, sprouted "later, and grew up higher than the first," or Median. Dan. viii. 3. These emblems are still discoverable among the ruins of Persepolis. And accordingly, the Persian historians, as we have seen, unite the kings of both races, in their second, or Kaianian dynasty.

SECOND KAIANIAN DYNASTY. PART I.

MEDIAN KINGS. 159 YEARS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Median revolt, and interregnum</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Dejoces, or Arteus</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Phraortes, or Artynes, or Arphaxad</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Cyaxares I. or Astibaras, or Kai Kobad, or Ahasuerus</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first siege of Nineveh, and Scythian invasion</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scythian expulsion</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lydian war, and second siege of Nineveh</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nineveh taken</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lydian war ended with Thales' eclipse</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Astyages, Astyigas, or Aspadas, or Kai Kaus</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MEDIAN KINGS. 159 YEARS—continued.

5. Cyaxares II. or Fraiborz, or Darius the Mede 13
— succeeds Belshazzar at Babylon, and ap-
points Nabonadius prefect there 15

Accession of Kai kosru, or Cyrus the Persian 159

In this intricate and complicated period, so miserably embarrased and perplexed hitherto, by the great variety of the names of the several kings, and of the duration and dates of their reigns, in sacred and profane history, I have endeavoured to harmonize the jarring and discordant accounts of Aeschylus, Herodotus, Ctesias, Xenophon, Mirkhond, &c. with each other, and with Holy Writ; following the last principally, in the adjustment of the chronology, as our surest and safest guide.

Ctesias, immediately after Thonus Concolerus, interpolates four Median kings, Arbaces, Mandauces, Sosarmus, and Articas, as reigning in Assyria for 108 years in succession, from B.C. 821, until B.C. 713, (his incorrect date of the Median revolt). See Jackson, Vol. I. p. 253. But they are unnoticed by Herodotus, who was better informed in Assyrian history; and therefore, we may conclude, with Jackson, that they were no more than prefects of Media, governing it with kingly powers, under the four last kings of Assyria. That Media, indeed, was not independant during their time, we may collect from Holy Writ; for in B.C. 719, only nine years before the revolt, Shalmanassar, king of Assyria, transplanted the captive Israelites into various districts of Media, 2 Kings xvii. 6. He must, therefore, have been then, in full and undisturbed possession of that province.

Ctesias, however, in the ensuing Median dynasty, nearly agrees with Herodotus, and has given more correctly, the length of the dynasty, 159 years; as may appear from the following harmony.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HERODOTUS</th>
<th>CTESIAS</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Y.</td>
<td>B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Median revolt, and interregnum 6</td>
<td>(6) 710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Dejoces 53</td>
<td>704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Phraortes 22</td>
<td>651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cyaxares I 40</td>
<td>629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Astyages 35</td>
<td>589</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cyrus the Persian 156 554

Cyrus the Persian 159 551
Herodotus has not expressly given the length of the interregnum; but he has furnished the data: He reckons the Scythian dominion in Media, 28 years, and the whole length of the Median dynasty, 128 years more; or 156 years in all; but the reigns of the four kings, Dejoces, Phraortes, &c. amount to 150 years; which being subtracted from 156 years, leaves six years for the interregnum alone.

The difference of the names of those kings in Herodotus, Ctesias, and Mirkhond, might originate from the difference of their proper names before their accession, from their titles after. But the sameness of the persons may fairly be collected from the sameness of their reigns. Hence Phraortes and Artynes, &c. and the last, Astyages and Astygas, are evidently the same; we may supply therefore from the former, his reign of 35 years, which is wanting in the latter. See Diodorus Siculus, B. II. ch. 2.

The only variation in the times, between Herodotus and Ctesias, lies in the two first articles, the interregnum and first reign; yet their amounts nearly agree, 59 and 62 years; differing only three years, and producing the same difference in the totals. Hence we may collect, that the interregnum, and the reign of Dejoces, from their discordance, are incorrect in both writers. But their respective errors in defect and excess, may be rectified by comparison with Xenophon and Sacred Chronology.

Their common error lies in their joint omission of the reign of Cyaxares II. Nor is this error peculiar to them; it was countenanced by Aeschylus, by Mirkhond, and the Persian writers; and by the apocryphal author of Bel and the Dragon, ver. 1. See Vol. II. p. 466, 468, note. There it was attempted to be accounted for, from the greater celebrity of his nephew, son-in-law, and successor, Cyrus, which eclipsed his reign; during which, Cyaxares was nominally, but Cyrus really, king; by "that ascendancy which great souls have always over little ones."

If then we reduce the excessive reign of Dejoces, from 53 years, in Herodotus, to 40, in Ctesias; and the excessive interregnum of 22 years in Ctesias, to 7 years, only one more than in Herodotus; and if we subtract the sum 7 + 40 = 47 years, from the amount, 62 years in Ctesias, there will remain 15 years; which is the actual amount of the whole reign of Cyaxares II.
including his accession to the throne of Babylon, on the death of Belshazzar, which he survived two years, according to Sacred Chronology. See Vol. II. p. 466.

But if we substract the same sum, 47 years, from the amount 59 years, in Herodotus, there will remain 12 years for the reign of Cyaxares in Media alone; to which if we add three years, the difference between him and Ctesias, in the full amounts, it will give his additional reign in Babylon also, and critically harmonize both with each other, and with Sacred Chronology; supposing that Darius reigned three current, or two full years, as sovereign of the united empire of the Medes and Babylonians, and 12 full, or 13 current years, before, in Media alone.

The only alteration here made in the chronology of Ctesias, is the reduction of his Median dynasty from B.C. 713, to B.C. 710, the true date of the Median revolt; as proved in the foregoing analysis of Assyrian Chronology.

Thus, are these independent authors, Herodotus and Ctesias, hitherto at variance, not only reconciled to each other, but also rendered unintentional vouchers of the veracity of Holy Writ, and of that admirable philosophical historian Xenophon, and of the genuine fragment of Berosus.

DEJOCES.

The Median States, at the time of their revolt from the Assyrians, consisted of the Busians, Paratacenians, Struchates, Arizantines, Budians, and Mages. Herod. I. § 101. These states were independent of each other, and governed by their own magistrates. Of these magistrates, Dejoces distinguished himself, in his own district, by a vigilant and impartial administration of justice, at a time when the general government was lax and corrupt. Hence, his fame extended to the neighbouring districts, who flocked to his tribunal, in preference to their own,—so that, at length, he was most honourably elected king, by common consent of all the states, for his preeminent merit.

The first act of his government was the requisition of a life guard, to secure his person and maintain his dignity; the next, to build himself a strong and magnificent palace; and afterwards to build the royal city of Ecbatana, which Major Rennel places on, or near the scite of Hamadan, in al Jebal. It was
fortified with seven concentrical walls, of which, the outmost and largest, equalled the circuit of Athens *, and the inmost contained the royal palace and treasury. He then drew the main body of the people to reside around his new city. After this, he withdrew himself from public view, in order to increase the public respect and veneration for his person and government. And he dispensed justice, in which he was rigorous, by written depositions, conveyed to him from his official servants, to which he regularly returned his own decisions †. He also sent spies and informers into different parts of his dominions, wherever he heard that any outrage had been committed, and then the offender was brought before him, and punished according to his guilt ‡. Herod. I. § 96—100.

Dejoces was a great and wise prince, and a blessing to his country. His reign of forty years was fully sufficient for all his works and regulations; and the preceding interregnum of seven years sufficient to afford a fair trial of his judicial talents.

PHRAORTES.

Dejoces was succeeded by his son Phraortes, the Arphaxad of Scripture. He was a martial prince, and the first who subdued the Persians, his next neighbours; afterwards, by the accession of their forces, he overran and subdued Upper Asia, until he at length invaded the Assyrians of Nineveh; who, though weakened by the defection of their allies, were still strong enough to defeat and destroy him, with the greater part of his army, in the twenty-second year of his reign, B.C. 641, at

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* Herodotus here writes like an eye-witness, who had seen Ecbatana, and naturally compared it with the first of the Grecian cities.

† The same policy was imitated by our Norman kings. Henry II. instead of the immediate application for justice, to the king himself, in the Aula regis, or "great court," that constantly attended his person, instituted two other courts, of King's Bench and Common Pleas, to be stationary at Westminster; where all judicial proceedings were thenceforth to be conducted by pleadings before the Judges. By this regulation, justice was more orderly and more skilfully administered.

‡ This also resembles the institution of itinerant judges of assize, who were regularly sent on circuits, to take cognizance, in the law phrase, of offences and misdemeanors; corresponding to the historian's, "to spy out, or obtain information" of such; while "Achmutha," or Ecbatana, the capital, became the established place of public records, in after ages. Ezra vi. 2.

the decisive battle of Ragau, or Rages. Herod. I. § 102. Here the father of Grecian history confirms the testimony of the apocryphal book of Judith, as we have seen in the foregoing analysis of Assyrian Chronology. With him, therefore, the Median kingdom sunk again into subjection to the Assyrians.

**CYAXARES I. OR KAI KOBAD.**

This prince was the son and successor of Phraortes, and the most celebrated of the Median kings; insomuch that Æschylus, and the Persian historians, Mirkhond, &c. remarkably agree, in representing him as the founder of the second, or Kaianian dynasty. This dynasty seems to have taken its name from the ancient Persian title, Kai, or "king." Which was also attributed to his two next successors, by the Persian writers, as heirs to his "celebrity," indicated by Kobad, from the Hebrew Chabod, "glory." See 1 Sam. iv. 21.

Æschylus, who was born B.C. 525, forty-one years before Herodotus, and fought against the Persians in the famous battle of Marathon, and had opportunities of information, introduces the ghost of Darius Hystaspes, in his tragedy of the Persæ, v. 767, &c., thus describing the several kings of Persia, from their Median founder, to his own son, Xerxes:

---
Asia's brave hosts
A Mede first led. The virtues of his son
Fixt firm the empire; for his temperate soul
Breathed prudence. Cyrus third, by fortune graced,
Adorned the throne, and blessed his grateful friends
With peace. He to his mighty monarchy
Joined Lydia and the Phrygians; to his power
Ionia bent reluctant; but the gods
With victory his gentle virtues crowned.
His son then wore the regal diadem.
Next, to disgrace his country, and to stain
The splendid glories of the ancient throne,
Rose Mardus. Him, with righteous vengeance fired,
Artaphernes and his confederate chiefs
Crushed in his palace. Maraphis assumed
The sceptre. After him Artaphernes.

---

1 Cyaxares.
2 Astyages.
3 Cyrus.
4 Cambyses.
5 Smerdis Magus.
6 Maraphis.
7 Artaphernes.
ANALYSIS OF

Me\^ next, to the exalted eminence,
Crowning my great ambition Fortune raised.
In many a glorious field, my glittering spear
Flamed in the van of Persia's numerous hosts;
But never wrought such ruin to the state,
[As] Xerxes\^ my son. [He] in all the pride of youth,
Listens to youthful counsels, my commands
No more remembered: hence, my hoary friends,
Not the whole line of Persia's sceptred lords,
(You know it well!) so wasted her brave sons."

Potter's translation.

The Persian historians represent Kai kobad as renowned for his valour, wisdom, and piety, and as recovering the whole of Iran, or the ancient bounds of the empire, from the king of Turan, chiefly by the skill and courage of his famous generals, Zalzer, and his son, Rostam, or Rustan. Peace having been made, he applied himself to restore the affairs of his kingdom. He chose Ispahan, from its central situation, for his chief residence. He regulated the pay of his soldiers, and afterwards employed them in making great roads throughout the empire, and for every four thousand paces of road, (a space called phersengh by the Persians, and parasang by the Greeks,) he set up stones to mark the distances. These regulations mark a considerable progress in civilization, at that early age.

Herodotus has recorded several particulars of the reign of Cyaxares, agreeing with Kai kobad, and with Æschylus, and the Persian historians. He relates that Cyaxares was superior in valour to his ancestors; that he was the first who regularly trained the Asiatics to military service; dividing the troops, which had been embodied promiscuously before his time, into distinct companies of lancers, archers, and cavalry. He then adds, parenthetically, (this was he who waged war with the Lydians, when, during the battle, the day became night\^,) when he had confederated all Upper Asia beyond the river Halys, he marched with all that were under his command, against Nineveh, resolving to avenge the death of his father, by the destruction of that city. After he had defeated the Assyrians, he laid siege to the city, but was forced to raise it, by a

\^ Darius Hystaspes.
\^ Xerxes.

\* This parenthetical remark evidently refers to the foregoing fuller account of the eclipse, and of the issue of the battle. B. i. § 74. See that account, Vol. I. p. 77, of this work.
sudden invasion of his territories. For a numerous army of Scythians, headed by Madias, made an irruption into Media, who defeated him in a pitched battle, and reduced him and all Upper Asia, under subjection to them, for eight and twenty years. Then, in revenge for their galling impositions and ex-actions, he slew their chieftains, when drunk, at a banquet to which he had invited them, and expelled the rest, and recovered his former power and possessions.

After this, the Medes took Nineveh, and subdued the Assyrian provinces, all, except the Babylonians, their confederates in the war. Afterwards Cyaxares died, having reigned forty years, including twenty-eight years of the Scythian dominion. Herod. B. 1, § 102—106.

From this abridged account, in the historian's order, we are to collect the real and actual order of the events.

1. The first siege of Nineveh ranks among the first occurrences of his reign. He undertook it before the Assyrians had recovered from the consternation into which they were thrown, by the total defeat of their army, under Holofernes, B.C. 640, and when he was eager to revenge his father's defeat and death the year before.

2. The next was the Scythian invasion and victory, which raised the siege of Nineveh, and rendered him necessarily inactive during their dominion for twenty-eight years.

3. The Lydian war, which lasted five years, must have succeeded the Scythian expulsion. For it was occasioned by the refusal of Alyattes, king of Lydia, to deliver up some Scythian refugees, who, for a trifling offence*, had served up a Thyestean banquet to the king of Media, from whom they had found, at first, a hospitable asylum.

4. About the same time, probably, Cyaxares, and his ally, Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, renewed the siege of Nineveh, and took it, B.C. 606, as shewn in the foregoing analysis of Assyrian Chronology.

5. During the siege, the Lydian war languished, and was protracted five years, with various success; but was brought to a crisis in its sixth year, B.C. 603, by the terror of a great and

* The provocation mentioned by Herodotus, namely, the king's hasty reprimand, because they had not brought home game from hunting, seems by far too slight for such a barbarous revenge. Might not the Scythians rather intend to revenge the massacre of their countrymen at the banquet? Why else should Alyattes screen them?
total eclipse of the sun, during a battle between the Medes and Lydians, which it ended, and gave room for the powerful mediation of Labynetus I. or Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, in behalf of his ally, Cyaxares, to conclude a match between Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, and Aryenis, the daughter of Alyattes.

This eclipse, indeed, is noticed as the most remarkable occurrence of the reign of Cyaxares, at the very beginning of his history, parenthetically, and by anticipation. Whereas, it must necessarily have happened towards the end of it; for it was at the close of the Lydian war, which lasted full five years; but the Lydian war necessarily followed the Scythian dominion for twenty-eight years; and, therefore, upon both accounts, the eclipse could not possibly have been earlier than the thirty-third year of Cyaxares' reign, or B.C. 608, it was probably later, but not so late as the end of his reign, B.C. 601. Between these limits there were only two solar eclipses, that could answer the history; the former, B.C. 607, July 30, near the second hour in the afternoon; and the latter, B.C. 603, May 18, at nine hours and thirty minutes in the morning; the former was but partial, only eight digits; and the moon's shadow traversed the earth's disk in the vicinity and direction of the Equator, remote from the field of battle, and upon both accounts must be rejected; whereas, the latter was total, et cum morâ, and the moon's shadow traversed the earth's disk, near the mouth of the river Halys, the boundary of the two contending kingdoms; as shewn, Vol. I. p. 77, 78. Since, then, this is the only eclipse that will answer all the conditions of the history, we cannot hesitate to adopt it as the true eclipse, excluding every other as irrelevant. Two years after, Cyaxares died, full of years and of glory.

ASTYAGES, OR KAI KAU S.

This prince was the son of Cyaxares, according to Æschylus, Herodotus, and several of the oriental historians; though others say, the grandson. But the former is more probable; for though he married Aryenis only two years before his accession, yet Herodotus calls him γερών, "an old man," not long after it; when Cyrus, his grandson, was born of his daughter, Mandane, and his son, Cyaxares, or Darius the Mede, was born fourteen years before his accession. See Vol. II. p. 466. Cyaxares was
called *Fraiborz*, by the *Persian* historians; thus confirming the accounts of *Xenophon* and *Daniel*, and refuting *Herodotus*, who represents *Astyages* as not having any son.

*Mirkhond* relates, that in the beginning of his reign a rebellion broke out in *Mazandran*, a province bordering upon the *Caspian* sea, which he soon quelled by his prudent policy. For having besieged the rebellious chief in his capital city, and not being able to take it by force, he counterfeited a great want of provisions; and, by his emissaries in the city, purchased provisions from the keeper of the stores, at an immense price, until the stores were exhausted; and then he summoned the citizens to surrender, which they were compelled to do, by the discovery of this treachery.

His next war was with the king of *Turan*, in which he was defeated and taken prisoner, but was rescued by his famous general, *Rustan*; and afterwards carried his arms into *Shamah*, or *Syria*; *Rum*, or *Asia Minor*; *Mezr*, or *Egypt*; and *Yemen*, or *Arabia*.

*Herodotus* also incidentally confirms this testimony; for he observes that "*Nitocris*, (the queen of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and regent of the kingdom during his mental derangement) fortified *Babylon*, and the passes leading to *Media*; when she observed that the *Medes*, having become powerful, could not remain at rest after they had taken the city of *Ninus*, with many others." B. I. § 185.

*Mirkhond* represents *Kai kosru*, or *Cyrus* *, as the grandson

* This evidence of *Mirkhond*, stating that *Kai Chosru* was the grandson of *Kai kaus*, confirms the account of *Xenophon*, that *Cyrus* was the grandson of *Astyages*. The Grecian account, that he was the son of *Mandane*, the daughter of *Astyages*, is more credible than the Persian; because *Xenophon* lived much nearer to their time than *Mirkhond*; and from his travels through *Media* and *Persia*, learned the tradition of the natives, who were remarkably attentive to the genealogy of their most celebrated princes. And *Herodotus* agrees with *Xenophon* in this point. Hence, we are fully warranted to adopt the following judicious remark of Sir *William Jones*.

"That the Grecian writers before *Xenophon* had no acquaintance with *Persia*, and that all their accounts of it are wholly fabulous, is a paradox too extravagant to be seriously maintained: but their connection with it in war or peace had indeed been generally confined to bordering kingdoms under feudatory princes; and the first *Persian* emperor, whose life and character they seem to have known with tolerable accuracy, was the great *Cyrus*, whom I call, without fear of contradiction, *Cai khosrau*; for I shall then only doubt that the *Khosrau* of *Ferdausi* was the *Cyrus* of the first *Greek* romance, and the hero of the oldest political and moral romance, when I doubt that *Louis Quatorze* and *Louis the Fourteenth* were one and the same king." *Sixth Discourse on the Persians. Asiat. Research*. Vol. II. p. 45. 8vo.
ANALYSIS OF

of Kai kaus, by his eldest son, Siavek, who was assassinated shortly after his birth; and Khosru was then concealed by his mother, Franghiz, the daughter of the king of Turan. Kai kaus long sought his grandson, who, at length, was discovered at a hunt, by a Persian nobleman, and brought to the Persian court, received with great joy, and made commander-in-chief of the Persian forces. That some time after a competition for the succession to the crown took place between Cyrus, and his uncle, Fraiborz, or Cyaxares, the surviving son of Astyages. When Astyages, unwilling to decide between his son and his grandson, told them both that he would appoint his successor, whichever of the two should first, with equal forces, reduce a rebel town, investing it on both sides. The skill and valour of Cyrus prevailed, and to him the town surrendered; whereupon his grandfather declared him his heir, and soon after retired from the world to solitude, and left Cyrus in peaceable possession of the kingdom.

Herodotus' account is widely different, B. 1. § 107—130. He represents Cyrus as dethroning his grandfather, after he had routed and taken him prisoner in battle: and he represents Astyages, during the course of his reign, as foolish, mad, and infatuated. His whole conduct, indeed, is a tissue of the strangest absurdities and contrarieties, refuting itself.

1. Why should Astyages, who is supposed to have no son, marry his only daughter to a Persian prince, though he considered the highest Persian as greatly inferior in rank to the lowest Mede, merely because he had a significant dream, foretelling "the inundation of all Asia," or its subjugation by her offspring? Or rather, why should he suffer her to marry at all, if he was "terrified at the interpretation?"

2. Why should he, after he had a second significant dream also, of the "vine overspreading all Asia," while his daughter was pregnant, send for her from Persia, confine her like a criminal until her delivery, in order to destroy her child, for fear of being dethroned by his infant grandson, when himself was old? Or rather, why should he not have rejoiced exceedingly in a pregnancy of such high promise? Or how could he bear his daughter's reproaches for such unnatural and monstrous cruelty? as he apprehended himself. B. 1. § 118.

3. Why should his trusty friend, Harpagus, to whom he gave the infant, with a commission to destroy him, declare that As-
tyages was mad and infatuated, B. 1. § 109; and refuse to destroy the infant himself, as being his own relation; and also, for fear of incurring the vengeance of his mother, when she should ascend the throne; and yet, most strangely and inconsistently, immediately after give the infant to the king’s herdsman, to be exposed on the mountains, and left to perish?

4. Why should Astyages, as inconsistently, inflict such a cruel and horrible revenge on Harpagus, for disobeying his orders, after he had discovered his grandson, and declared him heir to the crown?

5. What but demoniacal possession, (as Herodotus himself intimates, B. 1. §. 127,) could induce Astyages to give the command of his forces against Cyrus to Harpagus, whose son he had killed, and served up to the wretched father, in a pie?

6. What could possibly induce Cyrus to rebel against his aged grandfather, after he was appointed his heir?

7. Is it not passing strange how Herodotus could not only swallow such complicated absurdities himself, but be followed by Ctesias, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plato, Aristotle, Strabo, Justin, &c. and the general current of modern historians, in the supposed dethronement of Astyages, by his grandson Cyrus! in opposition to Æschylus, Xenophon, Josephus, the Persian historians, Scripture, and common sense!

The chief blots, indeed, in the history of Herodotus *, are, unquestionably, his fabulous accounts of Astyages and Cyrus. The deserved celebrity of this great historian renders it more necessary to expose his failures when he is wrong: to vindicate his character from misrepresentation when he is right has been often attempted in the course of this work. We shall consider, when we reach the reign of Cyrus, the motives that might have influenced the historian to describe those illustrious kings in such unfavourable colours.

* Juvenal has censured his romantic account of the expedition of Xerxes.

Creditur olim
Velificatus Athos, et quicquid Graecia mendax
Audet in Historia.—

Sat. x. 173.
This prince succeeded his father, Astyages, at the age of forty-nine years. Being naturally of an easy, indolent disposition, and fond of his amusements, he left the burden of military affairs, and the care of the government, to Cyrus, his nephew and son-in-law, who married his only daughter, and was therefore doubly entitled to succeed him.

Xenophon notices this marriage as taking place after the conquest of Babylon, Cyropaed. B. 8. But to this Sir Isaac Newton justly objects:

"This daughter," saith Xenophon, "was reported to be very handsome, and used to play with Cyrus when they were both children, and to say that she would marry him: and therefore they were much of the same age. Xenophon saith that Cyrus married her after the taking of Babylon; but she was then an old woman. It is more probable that he married her while she was young and handsome, and he a young man." Chron. p. 310.

Cyrus was born B.C. 599; and therefore, at the taking of Babylon, B.C. 536, was sixty-three years old. He married early; for his son, Cambyses, was arrived at manhood when he succeeded*. Herodotus represents him as the son of Cyrus, by Cassandana, the daughter of Pharnaspe, B. 2. § 2. But is it likely that he married any other wife prior to his cousin, the heiress of the crown? Herodotus, upon his plan, was necessitated to marry him to another. Cassandana is unnoticed by Xenophon.

Newton supposes that Darius the Mede was the son of Cyaxares, and nephew of Cyrus; and that Cyrus rebelled against and dethroned him, two years after the capture of Babylon. But this is unfounded, for Darius the Mede was sixteen years older than Cyrus. We may therefore rest assured that he was Cyaxares himself, and none else.

* Smerdis, the younger brother of Cambyses, was come to his full strength and vigour when he bent the Ethiopian bow, which no other man in the Persian army could do.
## PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

### SECTION VI.

#### KAIANIAN DYNASTY. PART II.

#### PERSIAN KINGS. 228 YEARS.

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<th>Years</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
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<td>2. Cambyses, or Lohorasp</td>
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<tr>
<td>Smerdis Magus</td>
<td>7m</td>
<td></td>
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<td>6. Darius Nothus</td>
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Conquered by Alexander, or Ascander ....... 228* .. 331

The chronology of this period is adjusted chiefly by the help of Ptolomy's Canon, with some improvements, of 1. Supplying the accessions of Cyrus, to the thrones of Persia and Media, omitted by Ptolomy; and reducing the term of his sovereignty from the conquest of Babylon, to seven years, with Xenophon, instead of nine; as shewn Vol. I. p. 166-173, of this work. And 2. Annexing the oriental names of the princes of this dynasty, corresponding to those of the Grecian, recorded by the Persian historians.

#### CYRUS, OR KAI CHOSRU.

The birth, successive reigns, and death of this illustrious prince, the founder of the Persian monarchy, equally celebrated in sacred and profane history, form the most important epochs in the whole range of Ancient Chronology: since thereon depend, in great measure, the adjustment of the dates of the antecedent and subsequent periods; and the entire harmony almost, *Agathias*, a Greek historian of high character, who consulted the Persian records, states, that from the first year of the reign of Cyrus, the ancient Persian empire subsisted 228 years.
of sacred with profane history. They require, therefore, to be determined with peculiar care and attention. * See Vol. I. p. 269, of this work.

The reign of Cyrus began, according to Diodorus, Thallus, Castor, Polybius, and Phlegon, cited by Eusebius, Præp. Evang. Lib. 10, in the first year of the 55th Olympiad, corresponding to the Julian years, B.C. 560, and B.C. 559. He reigned in all, 30 years, according to Ctesias, Justin, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Eusebius; 29 years, according to Herodotus; and 31 years, according to Sulpitius. The mean, 30 years, is confirmed by Cicero; who, on the authority of Dino, a Persian writer, (whom he calls Dionysius), relates a remarkable "dream of Cyrus, in which he thrice attempted to catch the Sun in his hands, which thrice eluded his grasp, in its revolution. This the Magi expounded, to denote a reign of [three sari, decades, or] thirty years. Which so happened; for he lived till his seventieth year, and began to reign when he was forty years of age." De Divin. Lib. 1. § 23.

The year of his death, B.C. 529, is ascertained by a lunar eclipse, in the seventh year of Cambyses, B.C. 523. See Vol. I. p. 170. This determines the birth of Cyrus, B.C. 599, two years after his grandfather, Astyages, succeeded to the crown of Media, B.C. 601, which critically corresponds with the two dreams in Herodotus, between both dates.

Cyrus succeeded first to the crown of Persia on the demise of his father, B.C. 559, as determined by the thirty years of his whole reign. This corrects an error of Xenophon, who represents Cambyses as still alive after the capture of Babylon, B.C. 536; an error into which he was led perhaps, by confounding this capture with the death of Belshazzar, that "impious king," as he calls him, who was slain seventeen years before, B.C. 553, when Cyaxares, or Darius the Mede, "took" possession of the kingdom of Babylon. Cyrus succeeded his uncle, two years after, in the crown of Media, B.C. 551, as we learn from the foregoing adjustment of Herodotus, with Ctesias and Scripture. And when Nabonadius, who had been appointed viceroy of Babylon, by Darius the Mede, at length rebelled, and joined Croesus; he was defeated, B.C. 538, and Babylon

was taken by *Cyrus*, B.C. 536. This was the actual commencement of his full sovereignty. See Vol. I. p. 168, of this work.

We now proceed to sketch an outline of the history of *Cyrus*, guided principally by *Xenophon*, who, in his admirable *Cyropaedia*, or "education of *Cyrus,*" professed "to write, from careful enquiry and accurate information, the leading circumstances of the *family, disposition,* and *education* of this prince; so justly celebrated for excelling all others in the art of conciliating and governing men." See his preface.

The basis of the *Cyropaedia*, therefore, is true history, adorned and refined by philosophy. The exquisite traits of genuine simplicity, humour, and festivity, that adorn the childhood of *Cyrus,* seem to be faithfully drawn from the life, in the entertaining conversations, recorded in the first book. While the more serious dialogues that follow, are seasoned with much political and religious wisdom, skilfully invented, and adroitly introduced by the accomplished author, to illustrate by example, the morality of his *Memoirs of Socrates,* and to hold forth, as a pattern for imitation, the life and actions of a prince trained in the ancient *Persian* school of the *Pischdadians,* the parent of the *Socratic*.

The grand difficulty of explaining the history of the *Cyropaedia*, lies in the total want of dates. This has contributed much to give it the air of a romance. However, from the few characters of time, interspersed throughout, carefully compared with the corresponding accounts of *Herodotus,* and the miscellaneous information afforded by other *Greek* writers, and the *Persian* historians, its chronology may be adjusted with all the precision of true history.

*Xenophon* traces the pedigree of *Cyrus* up to *Perses,* who gave name to the country. And *Herodotus* notices his ancestors, *Achemenes,* the father of *Teispes,* the father of *Cambyses,* the father of *Cyrus.* B. VII. § 11. Hence it appears, that even during the *Median* and *Assyrian* dominations, the *Persians*
were still governed by their native princes; according to the usage universally prevalent throughout the east, from the earliest ages. A measure founded in sound political wisdom, in order to secure the attachment of the conquered countries, by the semblance, at least, of their former government.

Cyrus spent his childhood with his parents in Persia, where he was trained in the Persian simplicity of manners, and early inured to fatigue and hardship, till he was twelve years old. Then he went on a visit, with his mother, to his grandfather Astyages, B.C. 587, to whom he much endeared himself, and gained the affections of the courtiers, and of the Medes in general, by his winning behaviour, in the most entertaining part of the Cyropaedia, B. i. p. 14—44.

When he was about fifteen or sixteen years of age, B.C. 584, Evilmerodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, on a hunting match, a little before his marriage, made a predatory incursion into the Median territories, but was repulsed by Astyages, and his troops; chiefly by the valour of young Cyrus, who attended his grandfather in the expedition*, p. 14. The next year he returned home to Persia, where he continued till the death of Astyages, and accession of his uncle Cyaxares, B.C. 566, p. 44.

Evilmerodach succeeded his father Nebuchadnezzar, at Babylon, B.C. 561; and influenced, we may presume, no less by resentment at his former disgraceful defeat, than by the ambition of adding Media to his mighty empire, which comprehended Syria and Assyria, Hyrcania, Bactria, and Arabia, he set himself to form a powerful confederacy of the neighbouring states, the Lydians, Cappadocians, Phrygians, Carians, Paphlagonians, and Cilicians, westwards, and the Indians, or Turenians, eastwards, against the Medes and Persians; alleging, that by their junction and intermarriages, they were grown great and powerful; and unless they were opposed with the united force of the confederates, they would reduce them separately. B. i. p. 45, 46.

Cyrus, now king of Persia, about B.C. 559†, was appointed

* See a more particular account, Vol. II. p. 460, of this work.
† This was the year that Cyrus succeeded to the throne of Persia. Xenophon has assigned to Cambyses a long conversation with his son Cyrus, previous to his setting out on the expedition, containing much military and political information. Cyropaedia. i. 51—76. This was probably an embellishment.
general of the combined army of the Medes and Persians, by Cyaxares; and by his promptness and activity, anticipated the threatened invasion, for which the confederates had been making preparations for three years. He first, by a rapid expedition into Armenia, with a chosen body of horse, surprised the king, and his family, who had revolted, to join the confederacy, obliged him to pay the usual tribute, and send his quota of auxiliary troops, which he had withheld, and then restored to him his kingdom. And he afterwards attacked the confederates, routed them, and stormed their camp, after the king of Babylon, Evilmerodach, had been slain in the engagement, B.C. 558, in the fourth year of his reign. B. II.—IV. p. 77—186.

The critical harmony of Xenophon with Ptolomy's Canon, corrected, as to the length of Evilmerodach's reign, three years, vouches the propriety of that correction; and this, in return, confirms the accuracy of Xenophon's statement, as to the time of the preparations.

Croesus, king of Lydia, and the rest of the confederates, being greatly dispirited, retreated homewards, as well as they could, pursued by Cyrus. Cyropaed. B. IV. p. 186, 203.

Cyrus next invaded Assyria, and penetrated into the heart of the country; where he was gladly joined by Gobryas and Gadatas, those noblemen who had been so heinously injured by Belshazzar, the son and successor of Evilmerodach. They now, therefore, surrendered to Cyrus the provinces and castles entrusted to them. Belshazzar took the field against Gadatas, Cyropaed. B. v. 274; but was encountered and defeated by Cyrus, p. 284, and forced to return with great loss to his capital. We may date this defeat, B.C. 554, about the fourth year of his reign. The next year he was slain by conspirators, on the night of his sacrilegious feast, at Babylon; and Cyaxares, or Darius the Mede, "took" possession of the kingdom of Babylon, and appointed Nabonadius, a Babylonian nobleman, king, or viceroy, B.C. 553.

Upon the accession of Cyrus to the throne of Media, after the death of Cyaxares, B.C. 551 *, he took many cities, and re-

* That Cyaxares was dead, and Cyrus in full possession of the Median crown, in the ensuing Lydian war, may be collected from Xenophon himself: when Croesus was taken prisoner in Sardis, he "hailed Cyrus, χιλιεχωρ, ὡ δὲσποτα, as sovereign." And he disposed of the treasures of Croesus, as a sovereign, Cyropaed. B. vii. p. 383, 398, 481,
duced several provinces. Alarmed at his progress, *Cræsus* at length renewed hostilities; and, assembling his forces, crossed the river *Halys*, which formed the boundary of the *Lydian* and *Median* dominions, invaded *Cappadocia*, in *Syria*, ravaged the country, and took *Pteria*, the capital city, not far from *Sinope*. Thither *Cyrus* speedily marched to meet him, and a bloody battle was fought, but without any decided advantage on either side, if we believe *Herodotus*. However, *Cræsus* finding that his army was inferior in number, and yet that *Cyrus* did not seem disposed to renew the engagement next day, retreated without molestation, to *Sardis*, determined to apply for assistance to his confederates, *Amasis*, king of *Egypt*, the *Lacedemonians*, and *Labynetus* (or *Nabonadius*) king of *Babylon*, with whom he made an offensive and defensive alliance. *Herod. B. I.* § 75–77. We may date this battle of *Pteria*, B.C. 548, in which *Cyrus* had clearly the advantage, even from the accounts of *Herodotus*.

At this time, the king of *Babylon*, as we learn from *Xenophon*, joined *Cræus*, and brought with him a considerable treasure, for the purpose of hiring mercenaries. *Cyropæd. B. vi.* p. 322. The confederates, therefore, raised a great army from *Asia Minor*, *Ionia*, *Thrace*, and *Egypt*, and assembled at the river *Pactolus*, in *Lydia*, waiting for the *Lacedemonians*. But *Cyrus*, with his usual promptness and expedition, marched to attack the confederates before they were joined by the rest of their forces, and totally routed them at the great battle of *Thymbra*, or *Thymbra*, an extensive plain near *Sardis*, chiefly by the stratagem of opposing his camels to the *Lydian* horse, p. 336–373. The *Egyptians* fought most bravely, and when surrounded by the *Persians*, surrendered, and were settled by *Cyrus* at *Larissa* and *Cyllene*, in the country bordering on *Sinope*, near the *Euxine* Sea, where *Xenophon* afterwards, in his famous retreat, found their settlements, still called "the cities of the *Egyptians.*" P. 375–380.

To detract from the greatness of the victory, *Herodotus* represents it as fought by the *Lydians* only, before the arrival of the *Egyptian* auxiliaries. We may date this decisive battle of *Thymbra*, B.C. 548, towards the close of the year.

without any reference to *Cyaxares*: yet *Xenophon* dates his sovereignty from the capture of *Babylon*, p. 499.
The very next morning, as soon as it was day, Cyrus marched to invest Sardis, into which Cræsus had fled; and brought his machines and scaling ladders, in appearance as if he intended to assault the city in form. But the next night, he sent a chosen band of Persians and Chaldeans to climb the steepest and most rugged part of the ascent, under the conduct of a Persian guide, who knew a bye path leading from the citadel to the river. As soon as they shewed themselves in possession of the heights, the Lydians all fled from the walls, as fast as every one could; and Cyrus entered the town, took Cræsus prisoner, and humanely protected the citizens from pillage, upon the surrendering of their wealth and treasures*. Cyropæd. B. VII. p. 381—384.

Herodotus confirms this account in the main, but with some variations. He represents the city as taken on the fourteenth day of the siege, by the same stratagem, under the guidance of Hyroades, a Mardian; that it was given up to pillage, till stopped at the intercession of Cræsus; and that Cræsus himself, in fetters, with fourteen young Lydians, was ordered by Cyrus to be burned alive, on a great pile of wood: from which cruel death he was rescued, by thrice invoking the name of Solon, in his distress, which occasioned Cyrus to relent; and by a miraculous shower of rain, which extinguished the flames, when all human efforts had proved vain. Herod. B. I. § 86, 87.

This tale, so abhorrent from the mild and merciful disposition of Cyrus, is sufficiently refuted by the circumstances themselves, and by the historian's own account of the treatment of Cræsus, both before and after.

It was not the usage of Cyrus "to offer up either such first-fruits of victory," or "to make such savage vows," or to be influenced by idle curiosity, "to know whether any of the demons† would save Cræsus, on account of his piety, from being burned alive." Such are the different motives assigned by Herodotus. Nor is it likely, that Cræsus should calmly tell a long story of his conversation with Solon, after the fire was

* By a similar stratagem, Sardis was a long time afterwards taken by Antiochus; as described by Polybius.
† Εἰτε Μὴ δαίμονων ῥυεθαί τού μὴ ζωντα κατακαυθήναι. Herod. i. § 86. The demons were tutelar gods. Nebuchadnezzar had declared, before, in favour of the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego: "There is no other God that can deliver after this sort." Dan. iii. 29.
actually kindled, or *Cyrus* then be moved with remorse. *Herodotus* evidently introduced this tale as a set off against the remarkable deliverance of the three Jews, *Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego*, from the fiery furnace of Nebuchadnezzar, by their God, the God of Israel; with whom he covertly contrasts the god of *Cræsus, Apollo*, as saving his votary. He parodied, in like manner, the miraculous destruction of *Sennacherib’s army*, by converting the pestilential blast, into a multitude of *field mice*, at Pelusium, in Egypt, on the prayer of Sethos, the king and priest of Vulcan. B. II. § 141.

How kindly disposed, on the contrary, *Cyrus* was toward *Cræsus*, with whom he was connected by affinity, on account of the marriage of *Cræsus*, sister, *Aryenis*, with *Astyages*, appears from *Herodotus* himself. He relates, that before the battle of *Thymbra*, *Cyrus* issued orders throughout the whole army, not to kill *Cræsus*, even though he should resist after he was taken*; immediately after, he promised to grant all his wishes; treated him with the utmost kindness and familiarity, consulted him, and kept him constantly about his person; and, before his

* A similar incident is recorded by the Persian historian *Khondemir*, in his life of *Kai Khrosra*. This prince possessed the royal virtues of clemency, &c. in a high degree, of which he gave the following instance, in the beginning of his reign. He had an elder brother, by another mother, named *Furude*, who was made Governor of a province on the frontier of *Turan*, by his father *Siavesh*, the late king; and who seems to have revolted at his death. *Khosru* gave orders to his generals, *Fraiborz*, his uncle, and *Thus*, whom he sent with 30,000 horse, to invade *Afrasiab*, king of *Turan*, to do no injury to his brother *Furude*, if he should come to oppose them, but, on the contrary, to treat him with all manner of respect and kindness.

When the Persian army reached his province, on their march, they were opposed by *Furude*, who charged them with much youthful bravery. *Thur*, who commanded the advanced guard, sent to entreat him to retire from so unequal a contest. But *Furude* persisting, he sent again to inform him of the orders he had received from *Khosru*, touching his person. But *Furude* rejecting all the compliments and civilities of *Thur*, would not retire from the combat, but was unavoidably killed, to the great regret of the Persians, who in fighting for their king, wished to spare the royal blood of his family.

*Khosru* was inconsolable at this disaster, and immediately deposed *Thur* from his command, and had him sent prisoner to court; and afterwards appointed *Gudarz* in his room. *Herbelot, Art. Cai Khrosra*.

This Persian account, though differing in several circumstances, of persons, time, and place, yet tends, in the main, to confirm the Grecian, of the humane and merciful disposition of *Cyrus*, and his respect to the ties of affinity subsisting between him and *Cræsus*. It also contributes further to identify the persons of *Khosru* and *Cyrus*; which are indeed only the same name, transposed; and differ not more from each other, than from the incorrect Masorete punctuation, *Koresh*, as remarked in a former etymological note on Oriental Titles.
own death, recommended Creesus to the protection of Cambyses. B. i. § 74, 80, 86, 88, 90, 208.

After the Lydian war, so successfully terminated, Cyrus reduced some revolted cities of Media, namely, Larissa and Mespila, about B.C. 547 *, while Harpagus, his general, was employed in subduing Asia Minor, Ionia, and, among the rest, Halicarnassus, the native city of Herodotus. B. i. § 162—167. This furnishes probably the true key to his unfavourable accounts of Cyrus. Herodotus viewed Cyrus with aversion, as the enslaver of his country †. And this antipathy biased an

* Justin relates that "several cities which had been tributary to the Medes, on the change of empire to the Persians, thinking their condition changed also, revolted from Cyrus. This was the cause and origin of many wars to Cyrus." Lib. i. c. 7.

Xenophon takes notice of two of these revolted cities, Larissa and Mespila, in his Anabasis, B. iii.

1. Speaking of Larissa, whose ruins he saw on the banks of the Tigris, he adds, "When the Persians took (ελαμβάνον) the empire from the Medes, this city revolted, and (Cyrus) the king of the Persians, besieged, but could by no means take it. A cloud, however, happening to cover the sun, the inhabitants were dismayed, and so the city was taken."

Costard and others represent Xenophon as contradicting himself, and as suppressing in the Cyropaedia, the conquest of the Medes by the Persian, which he here confesses in the Anabasis.

But this is an unfounded charge: the verb, ελαμβάνον, implies peaceable, not violent possession. It is so used in the Cyropaedia, where the succession of Cyaxares to his father Astyages is thus related.

"In process of time, Astyages died in Media; and Cyaxares, the son of Astyages, and the brother of Cyrus' mother, took (ελαβὲ) the empire of the Medes."

Here, there cannot be a doubt of the meaning. And precisely in the same sense, the prophet Daniel used the Chaldee verb, ἐβασιλεύειν, to express the accession of Cyaxares to the throne of Babylon, on the assassination of Belshazzar, with the full consent of the Babylonians themselves. "In the same night, Belshazzar was slain. And Darius the Mede took the kingdom." Dan. v. 31. See this proved, Vol. II. p. 465 of this work. Hence, Theodotion's version judiciously renders the Chaldee verb in question, by παρελαβὲν, "received from" the people themselves, or from the Supreme Council of the State.

2. Describing the ruins of Mespila, in the neighbourhood of Larissa, Xenophon continues; "When the Medes lost the empire by the Persians (ἀπολέσαν—ὑπο) a Median queen (Μήδεια γυνὴ βασιλεῖς) is said to have fled hither."—Here, the verb only implies the translation of empire from the Medes to the Persians; while the preposition implies succession, not conquest. The passage only proves, that some of the Median nobility, (of whom was this queen, or rather concubine) were discontented at the change, as was natural.

Costard has been more fortunate in computing the time of the capture of Larissa, from a great solar eclipse, Oct. 22, B.C. 547, in which the center of the moon's shadow crossed the Tigris, not far from the probable site of Larissa. See Costard's Astronomy, p. 237, 238.

† Herodotus possessed a very free and independent spirit; he left his native city, Halicarnassus, and removed to Samos, to avoid the tyranny of Lygdamis; and afterwards

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historian, elsewhere so candid and impartial, to prefer a worse account before the better, of which he was not by any means ignorant, and which was afterwards furnished by Xenophon, tacitly vindicating the character of his hero from the aspersions of Herodotus.

Cyrus afterwards prosecuted the war against the eastern confederates, and reduced all Syria and Arabia; Cyropæd. B. vii. p. 399; and, at last, invested Babylon, which was the only city that now held out against him. Nabonadius, or, as Herodotus terms him, Labynetus, marched out to fight him, but was defeated, and driven into Borsippa, the citadel of Babylon, where Cyrus besieged him and the town for two years, B.C. 538, and took it at last, by stratagem, B.C. 536, as related before, Vol. i. p. 168. See the foregoing prophecies respecting Babylon.

With the conquest of Egypt, B. vii. p. 498, Xenophon closes the military exploits of Cyrus. The seven last years of his full sovereignty, he spent in peace and tranquillity at home, revered and beloved by all descriptions of his subjects. When dying, he was surrounded by his family, friends, and children; and gave them the noblest exhortations to the practice of piety, virtue, and concord. Cyropæd. B. viii. p. 501—509.

This testimony of Xenophon is confirmed, in the main, by the Persian historians. They relate, that after a long and bloody war, Khosru subdued the empire of Turan, and made the city of Balk, in Chorasan, a royal residence, to keep in order his new subjects. That he repaid every family in Persia the amount of their war taxes, out of the immense spoils he had acquired by his conquests; that he endeavoured to promote peace and harmony between the Turanians and Iranians; regulated the pay of his soldiery, reformed civil and religious abuses throughout the provinces; and at length, after a long and glorious reign, resigned the crown to his son Lohorasp, and retired to solitude, saying that "he had lived long enough for his own glory, and it was now time for him to devote the remainder of his days to God."

Saadi, in his Gulistan, records the sage inscription which Cyrus caused to be engraved on his Tiara.

"What avails a long life spent in the enjoyment of worldly joined the friends of freedom, in expelling him. He was again compelled to leave his country by the prevailing faction, and retired to Thurium in Italy, where he spent the remainder of his days in voluntary exile.
grandeur, since others, mortal like ourselves, will one day trample under foot our pride! This crown, handed down to me from my predecessors, must soon pass in succession upon the heads of many others!” Herbelot. Art. Cai Khosru.

Xenophon thus records his great humility and pious gratitude, in his admirable thanksgiving to the Gods.

"I am abundantly thankful for being truly sensible of your care, and for never being elated by prosperity above my condition. I beseech you to prosper my children, wife *, friends, and country. And for myself, I ask, that such as the life ye have vouchsafed to me, such may be my end." Cyropæd. B. vIII. p. 500.—He lived, indeed, the life, and died the death of the righteous.

Here, Xenophon, a polytheist himself, represents Cyrus praying to the Gods in the plural number; but that he really prayed to one only, the Patriarchal God, worshipped by his venerable ancestors, the Pischdadians, may appear from the Watchword, or Signal, which he gave to his soldiers before the great battle, in which Evil Merodach was slain. Cyropæd. p. 367.

ZEYS ΣΩΤΗΡ ΚΑΙ 'ΗΓΕΜΩΝ.

"Jove, our Saviour and Leader."

Who this God was, we learn from the preamble of his famous proclamation, permitting the Jews to return from the Babylonian captivity: "The Lord, the God of Heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and He hath charged me to build Him a house at Jerusalem," &c. Ezra i. 1, 2.

But where did the Lord, (Yahweh †, or Jove) so charge him?—In that signal prophecy of Isaiah, predicting his name and his actions, about B.C. 712, above a century before his birth. A prophecy which was undoubtedly communicated to him by the venerable prophet Daniel, the Archimagus, who saw the beginning of the Babylonish captivity, and also its end, here foretold to be effected by the instrumentality of Cyrus.

* Here is no mention of "wives," or "concubines." Cyrus was remarkable for his continence; witness his treatment of Panthea, &c.
† From the Hebrew יְהֹוָה, Iaw, was derived the Phoenician pronunciation Iewo, and from thence, the Greek Zevc. See my Dissertations, &c.
PROPHECY CONCERNING CYRUS.

Isa. xliv. Thus saith the Lord, thy Redeemer, (O Jacob,)
24. And He that formed Thee from the womb, (O Israel,)
   I am the Lord who make all things,
   Who stretch out the heavens alone,
   And spread out the earth by myself;
25. I am He, who frustrate the tokens of the impostors,
   And make the diviners mad;
   Who reverse the devices of the wise,
   And infatuate their skill;
26. Who confirmeth the words of his servants [the Prophets]
   And performeth the counsel of his messengers:
   Who saith to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be inhabited,
   And to the cities of Jerusalem, Ye shall be built,
   And, I will raise up their ruins;
27. Who saith to the abyss, [Babylon *]
   Be desolate, and I will dry up thy rivers:
28. Who saith to Cyrus, He is my shepherd,
   And shall perform all my pleasure:
   Who saith to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built,
   And to the Temple, Thou shalt be founded.

xlv. 1. Thus saith the Lord to his anointed,
   To Cyrus, whom I hold by the right hand,
   To subdue before him nations,
   And ungird the loins of kings,
   To open before him, [palace] folding doors;
   Even [river] gates shall not be shut:
2. I will go before thee, and level mountains,
   I will burst asunder the folding doors of brass,
   And split in twain the bars of iron;
3. Even I will give thee the dark treasures,
   And the hidden wealth of secret places:
   That thou mayest know, that I the Lord,
   Who call thee by thy name, am the God of Israel.
4. For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel my chosen,
   Even I, have called thee by thy name,
   I have surnamed thee, [my shepherd, my anointed,]
   Although thou hast not known me.
5. I am the Lord, and none else,
   Beside me, there is no God.
   I will gird thee [with strength]
   Although thou hast not known me.
6. That all the world may know,
   From the rising to the setting of the sun,
   That there is none beside me;
   I am the Lord, and there is none else.

* This is the judicious interpretation of the Chaldee Paraphrase.
1. This magnificent prophecy opens with the omens and prognostics of the Babylonian Soothsayers and Magi or Diviners, predicting the stability of that empire, contrary to the awful prophecies of God's servants and messengers; announcing the restoration of Israel, and rebuilding of the city and temple of Jerusalem, according to the divine decree; and the desolation of Babylon, and drying up of the waters of her river Euphrates, by the stratagem of Cyrus, in turning its course.

2. It names Cyrus expressly, and surnames him "God's shepherd," and "God's anointed king," as chosen by him to execute his high behests, and, under the divine guidance and protection, to subdue and reign over many nations, Cilicians, Syrians, Paphlagonians, Cappadocians, Phrygians, Lydians, Carians, Phænicians, Arabians, Egyptians; the Babylonians, Assyrians, Bactrians, Sacæ, and Maryandines, throughout his extensive dominion; the grant of all which he piously ascribed to "The God of Heaven," in his proclamation, exactly as the Lord represented in the beginning and end of this sublime prophecy.

3. It describes the leading circumstances of the capture of Babylon, the gates leading from the quays to the river, providentially left open, during the disorder of the general festivity of the Sakea; otherwise, says Herodotus, the Persians, who entered by night through the channel of the river, would have been inclosed, and caught as in a net, and destroyed. B. i. § 191. And the folding doors of the palace or fortress, imprudently opened by the king's order to receive the expresses and posts, coming, in quick succession, "to tell the king that his city was taken at each end." See the foregoing prophecies of Jeremiah respecting the capture of Babylon.

4. It describes, in highly poetical imagery, the Almighty going before him, as a pioneer, to remove all obstructions in his way, "levelling mountains, &c. The same is applied to the Baptist, the harbinger of Christ. See Vol. III. p. 64.

5. Babylon was celebrated for its brazen gates and doors; there were a hundred in the city walls, beside those leading to the river, and belonging to the temple of Belus. Herodot. B. i. § 179—181.

6. Sardis and Babylon, taken by Cyrus, were the wealthiest cities in the world. Cræsus gave an exact inventory of his immense treasures to Cyrus, which were sent off in wagons.
Cyropaed. Lib. VII. p. 503, 515, 540. Pliny gives the following account of the wealth taken by Cyrus in Asia. "He found 34,000 lbs. weight of gold, besides vessels of gold, and gold wrought into the leaves of a platanus, and of a vine; 500,000 talents of silver, and the cup of Semiramis, weighing 15 talents. (The Egyptian talent, according to Varro, weighed 80 pounds.)"

Nat. Hist. XXXIII. 15. Brerewood estimates the value of the gold and silver in this account at 126,224,000l. sterling.

Pliny notices the tomb of Cyrus at Passagardae in Persia. Arrian and Strabo describe it; and they agree with Curtius, that Alexander the Great offered funeral honours to his shade there; that he opened the tomb, and found, not the treasures he expected, but a rotten shield, two Scythian bows, and a Persian scymetar. And Plutarch records the following inscription thereon, in his life of Alexander.

"O man, whoever thou art, and whenever thou comest, (for come, I know thou wilt,) I am Cyrus, the founder of the Persian empire. Envy me not the little earth that covers my body."

* This is a most signal and extraordinary epitaph. It seems to have been designed as a useful memento mori, for Alexander the Great, in the full pride of conquest, "whoso coming," it predicts with a prophetic spirit, "for come I know thou wilt."—But how could Cyrus know of his coming?—Very easily. Daniel the Archimagus, his venerable friend, who warned the haughty Nebuchadnezzar, that "head of gold," or founder of the Babylonian empire, that it should be subverted by "the breast and arms of silver," Dan. ii. 37—39, or "the Mede and the Persian," Darius and Cyrus, as he more plainly told the impious Belshazzar, Dan. v. 28, we may rest assured, communicated to Cyrus also, the founder of the Persian empire, the symbolical vision of the goat, with the notable horn in his forehead, Alexander of Macedon coming swiftly from the west, to overturn the Persian empire, Dan. viii. 5—8, under the last king Codomannus, the fourth from Darius Nothus, as afterwards more distinctly explained, Dan. xi. 1—4. Cyrus, therefore, decidedly addresses the short-lived conqueror, O man, whoever thou art, &c.

Juvenal, in that noble satire, the tenth, ver. 168, has a fine reflection on the vanity of Alexander's wild ambition to conquer worlds, soon destined himself to be confined in a narrow coffin; by a pointed allusion to the epitaph on Cyrus' tomb.

Unus Pelleaeo Juveni non sufficit orbis;
Æstuat, infelix, angusto limite Mundi;
Ut Gyara clausus scopulis, parvâque Seripho:
Cum tamen a figulis munim in vae urbem,
Sarcophago contentus erit. —Mors sola fatetur
Quantula sinit hominum corpuscula!

"A single globe suffices not the Pellean youth; Discontented, he scorns the scanty limits of the world;— As if within a prison's narrow bounds confined:
Alexander was much affected at this inscription, which set before him, in so striking a light, the uncertainty and vicissitude of [worldly] things. And he placed the crown of gold which he wore, upon the tomb in which the body lay, wondering that a prince so renowned, and possessed of such immense treasures, had not been buried more sumptuously than if he had been a private person. Curtius, B. x. cap. 1, p. 792.

Cyrus, indeed, in his last instructions to his children, desired that "his body, when he died, might not be deposited in gold or silver, nor in any other sumptuous monument, but committed, as soon as possible, to the ground." Cyropæd. B. viii. p. 508.

These various and authentic documents of sacred and profane history, all aptly cohering together, and confirming each other, are abundantly sufficient to refute the calumnies adopted by Herodotus and his followers, Justin, &c. respecting the latter end and violent death of the righteous Cyrus, which also carry with them internal marks of absurdity, inconsistency, and falsehood.

Herodotus supposes that Cyrus, puffed up with his birth, and continual successes, fancied himself more than man; that he was anxious to annex the poor and barren country of Scythia to his rich and vast dominions; with this view, at seventy years of age, he sent an insidious proposal of marriage to Tomyris, queen of the Massagetae, then an elderly widow; but she shrewdly suspecting that he sought not herself, but her kingdom, rejected his proposals. He thereupon, unjustly invaded her territories, to accomplish by violence what he could not obtain by fraud. The queen then, it seems, made him a romantic offer, either to let him march three days into her dominions, unmolested, or to let her do the same into his. By the advice of Croesus, we are told, he chose the former; and he overreached the hungry Scythians by the simplest stratagem of leaving his

But when he shall enter the brick walled city [Babylon],
A coffin will content him.—The epitaph alone owns,
How small are the diminutive bodies of men!"

The emotion of Alexander, on visiting the tomb, and reading the inscription, is not less remarkable. He evidently applied to himself, as the destroyer, the awful rebuke of the founder of the Persian empire, for violating the sanctity of his tomb, from motives of profane curiosity, and perhaps of avarice. And we may justly consider the significant act of laying down his golden crown upon the tomb itself, as an amende honorable, a homage due to the offended shade of the pious and lowly-minded Cyrus the Great.
camp filled with choice provisions and wines, and then falling upon them when they were gorged and drunk, defeated them, and took the queen's son prisoner, who killed himself, when sober, through vexation. The queen immediately raised another powerful army to revenge his death, defeated Cyrus, who was slain in a bloody engagement; and when his body was searched for and found, she had his head cut off, and flung into a tub filled with human blood, adding this bitter taunt, I will glut thee, as I threatened, with blood! or, as heightened by Justin, "Glut thyself with blood; of which thou hast always been insatiably thirsty!" And Herodotus thus concludes the tale: "This account of the end of Cyrus seems to me most credible of the many that are told." B. I. § 204–214. It shews at once the extent of his information, and strength of his prejudices against Cyrus, by which he was blinded to chuse the most unfavourable. He was, however, sufficiently refuted himself, by the noble traits of genuine worth and wisdom which he incidentally ascribes to this illustrious prince in various parts of his history, extorted by the force of truth, which he could neither disguise nor suppress.

"The Persians say that Darius Hystaspes was a publican, or tax-gatherer, Cambyses a tyrant, but Cyrus a father:—who was mild, and studied their good in all things." B. III. § 89. And Darius Hystaspes himself, having conquered Babylon a second time, by the treachery of Zopyrus, extolling his generosity and patriotism, declared, that "no Persian, either of later or former times, could surpass Zopyrus in merit, Cyrus alone excepted, with whom no Persian ever deemed himself worthy to be compared," B. III. § 160. And Herodotus concludes his last book with an admirable epilogue of the political sagacity of Cyrus, shewing how much he studied the future prosperity and grandeur of his native country.

"When Cyrus had succeeded to the Median crown, he was thus addressed by a deputation of the Persians.

"Since God has given dominion to the Persians, and the sovereignty of brave men to you, permit us to remove from our..."
scanty and rugged country of Persia, and to occupy a better. There are many such in our vicinity, and many further off. If we occupy one of these we shall be more highly respected by the world; and it is but reasonable that rulers should act in this manner; and when, indeed, will a fairer opportunity offer than now, that we rule many nations, and all Asia?"

"Cyrus, having heard their speech, though he approved not of it, desired them to do so; but he warned them, at the same time, to prepare themselves no longer to rule, but to be ruled: for that fertile countries naturally produced effeminate men; that it was not usual for the same soil to bear both admirable fruit and warlike men."

"The Persians, therefore, acquiescing, quitted their own, and went over to Cyrus's opinion, and chose rather to rule, though inhabiting a rough country, than cultivating a champagne to serve others." Herod. B. IX. § 122.

The admirable shrewdness and the philosophical truth of this advice are equally to be admired.

This ample vindication of the character of Cyrus throughout, and also of his best historian Xenophon, is due to the excellence of both. It is necessary, also, to counteract the imposing authority of Herodotus, which has had too much weight to depreciate the fair fame of one of the wisest, best, and greatest princes and heroes that ever swayed a sceptre, or brandished a sword; who was adored by his willing subjects of every description*, and was honoured with the friendship of the prophet Daniel, and blessed with the favour and protection of Heaven; pre-ordained long before his birth "to perform all God's pleasure."

Under the reign of Cyrus we shall introduce the Lydian Chronology, as essentially connected therewith, on account of the capture of Croesus, the last king, by Cyrus; the date of which capture we assumed to be B.C. 548, but it now requires to be proved. The history of Croesus, indeed, is one of the most curious and valuable in Herodotus; it is detailed at considerable length, and is derived from accurate information. He placed it in the foreground of his work, as leading to the reduction of the free cities of Ionia, and of Caria (his native country,)

* No man was better qualified to conciliate universal love than Cyrus, who, according to Xenophon, "spent most of his time in procuring some pleasure and good to all, and ill to none." Cyropaed. B. I. p. 34.
at first under the Lydian yoke by Croesus, and afterwards under the Persian, by Cyrus.

**LYDIAN CHRONOLOGY.**

1. **DYNASTY OF THE HERACLIDÆ. 505 years.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Reign</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Agron, and 20 kings after</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>1223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22d</td>
<td>Candaules</td>
<td>718</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2. **DYNASTY OF THE MERMNADÆ. 170 years.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Reign</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gyges</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ardyes</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sadyattes</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Alyattes</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Croesus</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>562</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Eclipse of Thales

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His conversation with Solon

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Conquered by Cyrus

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The chronology of this period is adjusted from the lowest date, that of the capture of Croesus; for, ascending upwards from thence, we get the date of the reign of Agron, the first of the Heraclidae, who was made king of Sardis by the declaration of an oracle; his predecessors, Ninus, the son of Belus, the son of Alcæus, the son of Hercules, governing only as deputies under the kings of Lydia, Lydus and his descendants, till the time of Omphale, daughter of Jardanus. Herod. I. § 7. See Larcher’s note.

Various have been the dates assigned by the learned for the capture of Croesus; B.C. 542, by the Parian Chronicle and Corsini; B.C. 544, by Petavius, Newton, and Bouhier; B.C. 545, by Sosicrates, Simpson, and Larcher; B.C. 548, by Solinus, Eusebius, Usher, Marsham, and Vignoles; B.C. 549, by Scaliger; and B.C. 550, by Playfair. Of these dates the best supported by ancient and modern authorities, and also by the history, is B.C. 548, which gives the accession of Croesus, 14 + B.C. 548 = B.C. 562, the year before the accession of Evil Merodach to the throne of Babylon, B.C. 561; at which time, we learn from Xenophon, that Croesus was actually king of Lydia, and joined the king of Babylon in the general confederacy against the Medes and Persians. Cyropæd. p. 45, 78, 169. Hence the
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

later dates, B.C. 545, 544, 542, are necessarily excluded, because they would give the accession of Cræsus later than of Evil Merodach; and the earlier dates, B.C. 549, 550, because they have no ancient vouchers.

According to this adjustment of the chronology, the famous eclipse of Thales happened in the sixteenth year of the reign of Alyattes, the father of Cræsus. Beloe incorrectly refers it to the seventh year of Astyages. Herodot. Clio, § 74, note (106.)

CRÆSUS.

This prince was thirty-five years old when he began to reign. He was born, therefore, B.C. 597, two years after the birth of Cyrus. He must have been by a second wife, for Alyattes had two children at least by a former, namely, Aryenis, married to Astyages in B.C. 603, six years before the birth of Cræsus, and a son, Pantaleon. The first wife was an Ionian, the second a Carian. Herod. I. § 92.

When Cræsus ascended the throne of Lydia, he shared it at first with his elder brother, till a Lydian told the following apologue: The sun procures mankind all the fruits of the earth, and without his heat it would produce nothing; but if there were two suns, there would be reason to fear, that everything would be burnt and destroyed.” Stobæus’ sayings of Serenus. He deposed his brother, and put to death his principal adherent *. B. I. § 92.

Cræsus seems to have employed the first nine years of his reign in reducing under his dominion all the petty states of Asia Minor, westwards of the river Halys, except the Cilicians and the Lycians. B. I. § 28.

About the tenth year of his reign, and in the height of his grandeur and prosperity, Cræsus was visited by several sages. Among the rest, by Solon, the celebrated Athenian legislator, who, unused to flatter the great, rather, by his freedom of speech, offended Cræsus, in not counting him the happiest of men; by giving the preference, in the first place, to Tellus the Athenian,

* Cræsus dedicated a golden statue of the woman who baked his bread, to Apollo, in token of gratitude, for saving his life, by discovering to him a plot to poison him in his bread, by another wife of Alyattes, to procure the crown for her own son. Herod. B. I. § 51. This was probably the mother of Pantaleon.
who was blest with virtuous and good children, lived in prosperity, and died in the field of glory, fighting for his country; and in the next place, to Cleobis and Biton, sons of the priestess of Juno at Argos, who piously yoked themselves to their mother's chariot, when the sacred oxen had perished by a pestilence, and drew her to the temple, for the space of forty-five furlongs, with the general admiration of the multitude; and when their delighted mother implored the goddess to reward them with the choicest blessing man could enjoy, both were found dead, next morning, in the temple.—"Suspend your opinion," said he to Cræsus, "call no man happy before his death, but only fortunate."—"Whoever, during his life, has most enjoyments, and then ends his days satisfactorily, he only, in my opinion, O king, is entitled to bear the name of happy." See the whole of this admirable conversation, Herod. B. I. § 29–33.

Plutarch also vouches it*. He adds, that ΑEsop, the celebrated fabulist, and the friend of Solon, who then happened to be at the court of Sardis also, blamed him for this unseasonable freedom of speech, and advised him to approach kings, ὡς ἡκιστὰ, ἡ ὡς ἡδιστὰ, "as little, or as pleasantly as possible." Solon replied adroitly, ὡς ἡκιστὰ, ἡ ὡς αἰστὰ, "as little, or as profitably as possible."

"After Solon's departure, Cræsus," (about the eleventh year of his reign,) says Herodotus, "was visited with a judgment...

* "As for Solon's interview with Cræsus," says Plutarch, in his life, "some pretend to prove from Chronology, that it is fictitious. But since the story is so famous, and so well attested, (by Herodotus, Sophocles, Euripides, &c.) nay, what is more, so agreeable to Solon's character, so worthy of his wisdom, and greatness of mind, I cannot prevail on myself to reject it for the sake of certain Chronological Tables, which thousands are correcting to this day, without being able to bring to perfection."

By Playfair's tables, Solon was born B.C. 638, and died B.C. 558, six years before this conference. But Plutarch says, that Heraclides Ponticus represented Solon as living a considerable time after Pisistratus usurped the government at Athens, B.C. 561. And this is confirmed by Herodotus, who plainly represents the ten years' travels of Solon, as taking place during the usurpation; in which, Pisistratus made no alteration in the laws of Solon, § 29, 59; but observed them himself, and caused his adherents to do so too; according to Plutarch. He died, therefore, not earlier than B.C. 550. Solon was probably born indeed, B.C. 638; for he was older than Thales, who was born B.C. 633, according to Diogenes Laertius. After Solon's return to Athens, he boldly opposed Pisistratus; and when asked, what made him venture to do so? he replied, "old age," according to Plutarch; who says, that he lived to extreme age. Such would be 88 years.

This adjustment of Lydian Chronology with Grecian, is supported therefore by the respectable authority of Heraclides Ponticus, Herodotus, Plutarch, and Diogenes Laertius. Playfair dates the birth of Thales too early, B.C. 640.
from God, (in the untimely death of his second and favourite son,) as we may conjecture, because he thought himself of all men the most happy." § 34. The remainder of his reign was disastrous, ending in his captivity by Cyrus; as we have seen.

ORACLES.

Cræsus was remarkable for his superstitious regard to oracles and dreams. Before his accession to the crown, he sent to consult the Oracle, whether he should have any children. The Oracle, at first, returned no answer; but, at length, after many offerings of gold, and many of silver, and very many sacrifices, became communicative, and told him that he should have children. And truly indeed, but not for his advantage; for his elder son was dumb, and his younger, of great merit, perished in the flower of his age. Cyropæd. B. vii. p. 385, 386.

Cræsus tried every method of curing his elder son of his dumbness, but in vain. He then sent to consult the Oracle again, whether his son should ever come to the use of his tongue? when he got this remarkable response:

O too imprudent Lydian, wish no more
The charming sound of a son's voice to hear:
Better for thee, could things rest as they are;
For in an evil day, he first shall speak.

Littlebury's translation.

And it was remarkably accomplished. For when Sardis was afterwards surprized, a Persian soldier, not knowing the king, was going to kill him, now, through despair, regardless of life;

* This is a masterly rendering of the spirit of the original:

And it was remarkably accomplished. For when Sardis was afterwards surprized, a Persian soldier, not knowing the king, was going to kill him, now, through despair, regardless of life;

Which may be thus literally rendered:

"Cræsus, of Lydian race, though a great king, yet a mere infant,
Wish not to hear the much-prayed-for sound
Of thy son's voice, speaking in the chambers of thy palace.
For thee, it were much better to be otherwise:
For, in an unlucky day, he first shall speak."

In the heathen temples there were ἰδιοφηγαι, under-priests, whose business is was to turn the responses, as they came from the Oracle, into verse; in which they sometimes succeeded but poorly. This was well expressed.
when his son, in an agony of terror, exclaimed, O man, do not kill Cræsus! And thenceforward, he spoke plainly. Herod. i. § 34, 85.

Cræsus had dreamed that his younger son, Atys, was slain with an iron spear. This dream so alarmed him, that he took every method to avert the omen. He provided a wife for his son, prohibited him from leading the Lydian army in war, as before, and removed all spears and military weapons out of his way. But notwithstanding, he was accidentally slain, at the hunting of a wild boar, by Adrastus, under whose care, his anxious father had placed him. Herod. B. i. § 34—80.

After two years of mourning for his son, Cræsus sent to consult the Oracle again, how he might spend the rest of his life most happily? which answered,

ΣΑΤΩΝ ΓΙΝΩΣΚΩΝ, ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝ, ΚΡΟΙΣΕ, ΠΗΡΑΣΕΙΣ,
"Know thyself, Cræsus, and thou shalt happily pass through [life]."

This sage response gave rise to an admirable conversation between Cræsus, after he was taken prisoner, and Cyrus; recorded by Xenophon, equally to the honour of both parties.

—“For my ignorance then,” [of myself and of you,] proceeded Cræsus, “am I now justly punished. Now indeed, at length,” said he, “Cyrus, I know myself.—But do you think Apollo told truth? that I shall be happy in knowing myself.—I ask you this question, because you seem to me best qualified to form a judgment on this subject, in the present posture of affairs; for you are able to effect it.” But Cyrus said, “Give me, rather, your advice on the subject, Cræsus; for when I consider your former happiness, I really pity you; and I now restore to you your wife and your daughters, (for I hear you have some,) and your friends, and your attendants, and your table to be kept as usually; but I prohibit you from wars and battles.” “In truth,” said Cræsus, “you need not desire to give any further answer about promoting my happiness; for if you only do what you say, I tell you, that I shall continue to enjoy, in future, what others counted the happiest life, and in which I concur with them.” “Who, then,” said Cyrus, “hold this the happy life?” “My wife,” said he, “Cyrus; for she shared alike with me, all my goods, luxuries, and delights, while she was freed from the cares of procuring them, and from war and battle. Thus, you are now disposed to treat me, as I
treated her, whom I loved best in the world. So that I consider myself as owing Apollo some further offerings, expressive of my gratitude.” When Cyrus heard this, he was surprized at his equanimity; and for the future, took him along with himself wherever he went; either thinking that Croesus might be of some use to him, or judging this the safer procedure. Cyropæd. B. vii. p. 385—389.

When Croesus meditated the invasion of Media, roused by the successes of Cyrus, and the growing greatness of his empire, he determined to make trial of the most celebrated oracles of antiquity, at Delphi, Phocis, Dodona, and those of Amphiaraus, Trophonius, and the Milesian Branchidae, in Greece; and of Ammon, in Libya, in order to form a judgment of the best, before he consulted them as to the fitness or unfitness of an expedition against the Persians.

This was the nature of the trial: he sent different messengers from Sardis, to these several Oracles, to enquire what Croesus, the son of Alyattes, was doing on the day that they were actually consulted; which he appointed to be the hundredth day after their departure. And on this day, he cut in pieces a tortoise and a lamb, and boiled them together himself, in a brazen pan, with a brazen cover; an employment equally unaccountable, and difficult to divine.

The responses of the other Oracles are not recorded; but Apollo’s, of Delphi, was remarkably apposite. No sooner had the Lydians entered the temple, and proposed the question enjoined, than the Pythian priestess uttered the following, in heroic verse:

"I know the number of the Lybian sands,  
The ocean’s measure: I can penetrate
The secret of the silent, or the dumb.  
I smell the ascending odour of a lamb,  
And tortoise, in a brazen caldron boiled;
Brass lies beneath, and brass above the flesh."  

Littlebury’s translation.

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* This also is a masterly translation of the spirit of the original:

Οδα δ’ εγὼ ψαμμον τ’ αριθμον και μετρα θαλασσης,  
Και κωφον συνηημι, και ου φωνευντος ακουω,  
Οδη μ’ ες φρενας ηλθε εραταρινου χελυνης  
’Εψυφμενης εν χαλκω ἀμ’ αρνειοις κρεεσιν,  
’Ηι χαλκος μεν ψεστρωται, χαλκον δ’ επιεσται.
The Oracle of the hero Amphiaraus, gave nearly the same answer. Cræsus therefore, approving of these two, as the most sagacious, sent them abundance of the richest and most magnificent offerings; which are recited by Herodotus. And then consulted them, whether Cræsus should invade the Persians? and whether he should procure an army of auxiliaries? Both the Oracles agreed in the purport of their answer: that if he invaded the Persians, he should destroy a great empire; and they advised him, to make friends of the most powerful of the Greeks. Herod. i. § 46–53. The Delphic Oracle was delivered in this heroic verse:

Κροοσος. Ἀλων διασας, μεγαλην αρχην καταλυει:
 "By crossing the Halys, Cræsus will destroy a great empire."

After a munificent donation to the inhabitants of Delphi, of two staters of gold to each, the over-curious Cræsus sent, a third time, to consult the Oracle, whether his monarchy should last long: to which the Pythian gave this response:

"When o'er the Medes, a mule shall reign as king,
Learn thou the name of coward to despise;
Then, on thy soft feet, Lydian, must thou fly,
The pebbly Hermus, and no longer stay."

Which may be thus literally rendered:

"I know the number of the sand, and measures of the sea;
I understand even the dumb, and hear even the mute.
The scent of a strong-shelled tortoise, with lamb's flesh,
Boiled in brass, reaches my senses:
The vessel is of brass, and the cover also of brass."

The Oracle first claims the attribute of the Deity, Omnipresence, as in the sublime description of Job, xi. 7—9; xxvii. 23. He next tacitly rebukes the secrecy of Cræsus, who vainly endeavoured to hide his experiment; then he states it. Littlebury's translation of these Oracles, is superior to Beloe's. His translation indeed, in general, is closer to the original, though frequently inaccurate. Beloe's is too paraphrastic. Beloe's notes, however, (selected principally from Larcher's) are valuable, and give his work the preference to Littlebury's, which is a bare translation.

* The following is the original response:

Αλλ' ὅταν ἡμιονος βασιλευς Μηδοισι γενηται,
Καὶ τοτε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρε, πολυψυφιδα παρ’ Ἐρμον
Φευγειν’ μηδε μενειν, μη’ αιδεσαθαι κακος ειναι.

The two first lines of the translation are from Littlebury. Beloe has noticed an incorrectness in his last line, where παρ’ Ἐρμον, is rendered "to Hermus," which he changes to "over Hermus," or "across" it. But the preposition, παρα, is scarcely
With these oracular verses, Croesus was pleased exceedingly; persuaded that a real mule could never reign over the Medes; and consequently, that neither himself, nor his posterity, should be deprived of dominion. § 54–56. Thus, by these two last ambiguous and fallacious oracles, was Croesus deluded to his ruin. And he found out too late, that "the empire to be destroyed," was "his own;" and that, by the figurative "mule," was meant Cyrus; a Persian, by his father's side, and a Mede, by his mother's. The last Oracle also, probably, led him to assemble his forces, in the plain of Thymbra, finely watered by the river "Hermus," which rises in the mountain Tmolus, and discharges itself into the sea near the city Phocaea; from which he actually "fled" to Sardis, after his defeat, fulfilling the Oracle in this circumstance also. § 86, 90.

The first favour Croesus, in his captivity, asked of the humane Cyrus, was to send his fetters as a present, and a reproach, to Apollo, at Delphi; trusting in whose inspiration, chiefly, he had been instigated to make war on the Persians; when the Pythian priestess made rather a lame apology for the god: 1. That Apollo was unable to counteract the decrees of Fate, by which Croesus was doomed to expiate the crimes of his fifth ancestor, Gyges*, (see § 13.) who murdered his master Can-

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* Cicero condemns this argument of the Pythian:—"Strange equity of the gods indeed! Will any state suffer a law to be enacted, which shall punish the son, or the grandson, for the crimes of his father, or his grandfather?" De Nat. Deor. iii. 38.

The Pythian doctrine inculcated an inevitable destiny, controuling even the Deity; and Herodotus seems to have imbibed this doctrine from the Stoic school; for he represents the Deity, in the course of his history, as rather viewing mankind with a jealous eye, and promoting their prosperity, only to make their fall more grievous. B. iii. § 65; iv. § 79, &c. This severe censure of Plutarch seems to be supported by the remarkable case of Polycrates, which Herodotus details at length. He represents that cruel and ambitious tyrant of Samos, as uniformly fortunate in all his undertakings. This excited he attention and anxiety of his friend and ally, Amasis, king of Egypt; who warned

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daules; at the instigation of his adulteress queen; and usurped
his throne and bed; but that the god had retarded his ruin for
three years, which was all he could do; 2. That if the second
response was ambiguous, he might blame himself, for not apply-
ing for an explanation, to know what empire was to be destroyed,
whether the Lydian, or the Persian; and 3. That Cræsus mis-
took the last, which was meant of a figurative, not a real mule.
Cræsus, however, acquiescing in these reasons, acknowledged
that the fault was his own, not the god's. § 90, 91. And Xeno-
phon further adds, that "Cræsus blamed himself, because that
in the first instance, neglecting to enquire whether he wanted
any thing, he tempted the god, whether he was able to tell
truth: but surely," says Xenophon, "not only the god, but
even good and worthy men, when they find they are disbelieved,
him of the invidiousness of the Deity, (το Θεόν ώς στι φθονερον) and to counteract his
excessive prosperity, advised him to deprive himself of the most valuable article among
his treasures. Polycrates, accordingly, flung into the sea an emerald seal ring, which
he prized most highly; but, by a remarkable prodigy, it was found about a week after,
in the belly of a fish, that was dressed for his table. Upon hearing this, Amasis, being
instructed, (εμαθε) that it was impossible for one man to deliver another from his destiny,
(εκ τον μελλοντος προγματος) and concluding that one so uniformly prosperous,
(who found even what he had thrown away), would not come to a good end, sent a
herald to Samos, to break off all connection with Polycrates; in order that he might not
involve himself in the distress, and dreadful calamity, to come upon his ally. B. iii.
§ 39–43. Diodorus Siculus, however, assigns a more rational motive for this conduct
of Amasis: "The Egyptian," says he, "was so disgusted with the tyrannical conduct
of Polycrates, not only to his subjects, but even to strangers, that he foresaw his fate to
be inevitable; and therefore was cautious not to be involved in his ruin." Polycrates was
afterwards perfidiously crucified by Oraetes, the Persian governor of Sardis; fulfilling his
daughter's dream, that "she saw her father suspended in the air, and anointed by the
sun." "This unfortunate death," says Herodotus, "having been foretold of him, by
Amasis, king of Egypt." B. iii. § 120—125.

How different was the doctrine of Xenophon, trained in the Socratic school! He in-
variably represents the Gods, or rather the SUPREME BEING, as ordering the affairs of
mortals, by his all-governing Providence; dispensing happiness or misery, according to
the merit or demerit of individuals. To this he ascribes the prosperity of Cyrus, and the
misfortunes of Cræsus; in perfect conformity with the primitive Persian religion, and
also with HOLY WRIT; which states the doctrine thus:

"The soul that sinneth, it shall die: the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father;
or shall the father bear the iniquity of the son: the righteousness of the righteous man
shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him." And to guard
against the gloomy and uncomfortable doctrine of an uncontrollable fate or necessity, it
adds, for the encouragement of the repentant sinner: "But if the wicked will turn from
all the sins that he hath committed, and keep all my statutes, and do that which is lawful
and right, he shall surely live, he shall not die." Ezek. xviii. 20, 21. In the Decalogue,
"The sins of the fathers were to be visited upon the children, unto the third and fourth
generation," only in a national sense. See Vol. II. p. 232, of this work.
are not disposed to love the incredulous." Cyropæd. B. vii. p. 385.

The various oracles noticed by Herodotus, in the course of his history, and their numerous responses, form, perhaps, the most curious and valuable part of it, in a religious light. That he firmly believed himself in their inspiration and veracity, does not admit of a doubt. He was credulous even to excess*; and not only he, but Socrates, Xenophon, Cicero, &c. the wisest and greatest men of antiquity, both among the Greeks and Barbarians, trusted in them, and consulted them.

Several of the oracular responses indeed, were ambiguous and delusive, we readily grant†; these might have proceeded from the frauds and impostures of the priests. But on the other hand, several of them were so determinate and explicit, and so wonderfully fulfilled, that if the facts be well ascertained, they cannot be ascribed merely to priestcraft. Such as the response concerning the dumb son of Croesus, that in an evil day he first should speak; so exactly verified by the event; and the experimental test of the boiled lamb and tortoise in a brazen vessel; the failure of other Oracles to answer which, seems to confirm the account of the two, that succeeded ‡; and surely these two, of Apollo, at Delphi, in the territory of Phocis; and of Amphiaraurus, in that of Boeotia, could not possibly have had any intercourse or collusion together, on the same day and hour. Lucian, the sophist, indeed, ridicules "the tricks played to make trial of

* "I shall neither presume," says Herodotus, "to question the authority of Oracles myself, nor shall I patiently suffer others to do so." B. viii. § 77.

† Such was that which induced Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to invade Italy, Aio te, Αἰκίδε, Ρωμαίον νικήσεις; either, "that you may conquer the Romans," or "the Romans may conquer you;" the latter was the fact.

‡ This argument is strongly insisted on by Cicero, to support the veracity of the Delphic Oracle, in former times; as contrasted with its failure, in later times.

Nunquam illud oraculum Delphic tam celebrem tam clarumuisse, nisi tantis donis refertum omnium populorum atque regum, nisi omnis atas oraculorum illorum veritatem esset experita. Jamdum, idem non factit. Ut igitur nunc, minore gloriá est, quia minus oraculorum veritate excélit; sic tum, nisi summá veritate, in tantá gloriá nonuisse.

And he endeavours to account for its failure from natural causes, supposing that the vaporous exhalation was exhausted by age, on which the inspiration of the Pythian priestess depended.

Potest autem, vis illa terra, quæ mentem Pythiae divino affluat concitabat, evanuisset vetustitate; ut quosdam exaruisse omnes, aut in aliquum cursum contortos, et deslexos, videamus. Sed ut vis, acciderit; magna enim questio est; modo maneat id, (quod negari non potest, nisi omnem historiam perverterimus) multís saeculis veraxuisse id oraculum. De Divinat. Lib. i. § 19.
Apollo's sagacity, when people boil together the flesh of a lamb and of a tortoise; so that Apollo must have had a good nose, or sharp scent, truly, otherwise the Lydian (Craesus) would have exposed him to derision." Bis accusat. Vol. II. p. 793. But ridicule is not argument, and the munificent oblations of Craesus, at the temples of Apollo and Amphiaraus, which Herodotus actually saw, § 51, 52; seem to leave no room for doubting either the fact, or the secrecy of Craesus; who, in so important a case, would not be likely to entrust his scheme of trial to any one whatsoever, before the very day on which it was to be put in practice.

We are therefore driven to the necessity of admitting some supernatural interposition, in such cases*. Rollin accordingly, ascribes the response to demoniacal agency: “God,” says he, “permitting the demons sometimes to tell truth, in order to punish the blindness of their votaries.” Ancient Hist. Vol. I. p. 387. Indeed, from their supposed knowledge of futurity, the demons chiefly derived their name, Δαιμονες, from Δαιων, Scio †.

2. In the case of the Lydian experiment, we may not unreasonably suppose, that Satan, “the prince of the aerial jurisdiction,” as he is styled in Scripture, Ephes. ii. 2, and his angels, or demoniacal spirits, may have an astonishing facility of transporting themselves through the air, from place to place, “like lightning,” to use our Lord’s illustration, Luke x. 9, and in “a moment of time ‡,” as at his temptation, Luke iv. 5. Some of

* See, among others, the remarkable Oracle of Latona, given to Psammithicus, that he should recover the throne of Egypt, from which he had been expelled, with the assistance of brazen men coming out of the sea; who proved to be Greek pirates, in brazen armour. Herod. B. ii. § 152. Pyrrhus was warned to beware of Argos, and Epaminondas of Pelagos, where both found their deaths.

† Daemones autem Grammatici dictos aiunt, quasi, δαιμονες, id est, peritos, ac rerum scios. Lactant. Lib. 2. c. 14.

‡ Deos esse: sciant illi quidem futura multa, sed non omnia; quippe quibus penitus consilium Dei scire non licet: Et ideo solent responsa in ambiguos exitus temperare. Augustin. Lib. 3. De Civitate, c. 17, sub finem.

These extracts are taken from a learned and solid answer to Van Dale’s, and Fontanelle’s History of Oracles, by a Frenchman, (probably father Balteus, a Jesuit, pro-
these "ministering spirits," therefore, might have conveyed the intelligence of Crœsus' proceedings from Sardis to Delphi, or Thebes, to the presiding spirits in those Oracles.

The Pythian Apollo seems to have been the old serpent himself, Acts xvi. 16; "deceiving the whole heathen world," by his lying oracles especially, before the coming of CHRIST. Rev. xii. 9; ix. 11. Who was called Baalzebub, at Ekron in Palestine, where he delivered Oracles, and whom the idolatrous Ahaziah, king of Israel, sent to consult, whether he should recover from his sickness; 2 Kings i. 1—4: whom the Jews, in our Lord's time, called "Beelzebub, the prince of demons," Matt. ix. 24. It is remarkable, that our Lord did not undeceive the Jews, nor correct their error, if it were such; but rather, assuming the fact, refuted their malignity upon their own principles.

3. The established credit of Oracles, throughout the heathen world, could only have been founded on experimental knowledge of their veracity, in several remarkable cases. This argument is urged by Cicero, in favour of the Pythian Oracle. See the foregoing note. The Libyan Oracle of Ammon derived its name from ΠΗΝΗ, Αὐου, "Truth." And surely the sages and philosophers, as well as kings, and great men of antiquity, were not less sceptical than Crœsus, nor less competent to detect a palpable falsehood, or a disguised fraud.

4. Their total cessation—Delphic oracula cessant, Juv. Sat. vi. 554.—about the birth of Christ and soon after, a fact confessed by their greatest advocates, Cicero, Plutarch, &c. intimates, that all the preceding responses could not have been the result of mere priestcraft, or human imposture; since these causes would not have ceased, but rather have operated more powerfully after the establishment of Christianity.

5. The manner of their delivery by the diviners and priestesses, the Pythian, the Sibyls, &c. with convulsions, foamings, heavings*, sometimes so violent as to terminate in death; and their

fessor of divinity, in the University of Strasburgh) and ably translated by a Priest of the Church of England, 1709. 8vo. London. p. 52, 145—147. He fully proves, that their hypothesis of priestcraft, or imposture, will not solve the question in all cases, nor agree with the general consent of antiquity.

* These symptoms of inspiration, or divination, were of remote antiquity. They are noticed in Job's days, xxxii. 18, 19.

"I am full of matter; the spirit within constraineth me;
reluctance to mount the sacred tripod, intimate a præternatural phrenzy. And this was Cicero's argument: "What is the reason, why Cassandra, in her phrenzy, foresees future events, (the destruction of Troy) while Priam, in his senses, cannot do the same?" The same was the case of the Demoniacs in the Gospel, who confessed the divinity of Christ, to which the Scribes and Pharisees were so blind, though "wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight." See Vol. III. p. 104—111.

6. Why these lying Oracles, which generally sheltered themselves under ambiguities and obscurities of expression, should sometimes tell remarkable truths; as in the foregoing case of the Scripture Demoniacs, of the Damsel at Philippi, of the responses to Cræsus, &c. may be ascribed to the control of Almighty God, on particular occasions of consequence, compelling them to speak truth. The prophecies of Balaam, that heathen diviner, are no less wonderful and astonishing, than those of Moses himself.

CAMBYSES, OR LOHORASP.

Cyrus the Great left to his elder son, Cambyses, the throne of Persia, and the bulk of his vast dominions:—"Given," said he,

Lo, my belly is like wine without vent;
It is ready to burst, like the monthly diviners."

Balaam speaks of himself, as "seeing the vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his [mental] eyes open." Numb. xxiv. 16.

And the Cumaean Sibyl, "priestess of the sun and moon," or of Apollo and Diana, who came from the country of Babylon, or Chaldea, about the time of the Trojan war; like Balaam, was affected with extraordinary agitations, while under the overpowering influence of the oracular afflatus.

At Phæbi nondum patiens, immanis in antro,
Bacchatur Vates, magnum si pectore possit
Excussisse Deum; tanto magis ille fatigat
Os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premendo."

Æneid. vi. 77.

Plutarch speaks of a Pythian priestess, who being placed upon the tripod, or sacred stool, to receive the divine afflatus, began to swell and foam at the mouth, and was thrown into such an extreme rage and transport, that she terrified not only the consultants, but the priests themselves, who ran away and left her: and so violent was the paroxysm, that she died shortly after. Some say, that a dragon used to wind himself about the tripod. Others, that the Pythia once was killed by him. Potter's Antiq. Vol. I. p. 278.

* See this new translation, given Vol. II. p. 326.
in his pious and lowly language, "by the Gods, and by me, as far as in me lieth." And to his younger, Tanaoares, or Smerdis, "the satrapy or government of Media, Armenia, and a third part of Cadusia," composing the original province of Aderbigian, in Oriental Geography; thus soothing its high-minded inhabitants, perhaps, with the semblance of independence and royalty. Cyropaed. B. viii. p. 503.

In the fourth year of his reign, Cambyses invaded Egypt, on account of some offence he had conceived against Amasis, the reigning king; of which various and improbable accounts are given by Herodotus*. B. iii. § 1–4. The truer seems to be, that on the death of Cyrus, Amasis endeavoured to shake off the Persian yoke, and refused homage and tribute to his successor.

And this account is confirmed by the Persian historians; stating that Lohorasp, while he was regulating the eastern provinces of Iran, sent his general, Gudarz, or Raham, with a powerful army, to recover the western provinces of Shamah †, or Syria, &c., who accordingly conquered Syria, as far as Damas-

* Herodotus gives three accounts; first, from the Persians, that Cambyses, at the suggestion of an Egyptian physician, hearing the fame of the beauty of the daughter of Amasis, sent to demand her for a concubine; but that Amasis imposed upon him Nitetis, the daughter of the former king, Apries, instead of his own. This imposition, when discovered, provoked Cambyses, to commence hostilities against Egypt. But Apries was put to death by Amasis and his rebellious subjects, B.C. 569, forty years before the accession of Cambyses, when Nitetis must have been an old woman.

He states next, from the Egyptians, that Nitetis was rather the concubine of Cyrus; who had by her, Cambyses. This, Herodotus himself refutes, from the Persian usage; because no bastard could succeed to the throne of Persia, while a legitimate heir was alive; but that Cambyses was unquestionably legitimate.

He relates a third account, that the queen, mother of Cambyses, was jealous of Nitetis, and complained in his presence, how Cyrus neglected her and her children, and bestowed all his kindness on this Egyptian concubine; whereupon, Cambyses, then but ten years old, suddenly exclaimed, "Mother, as soon as I come to manhood, I will overturn Egypt."

This, Herodotus himself disapproves: and surely it is built upon a gross misrepresentation of Cyrus, and of fact: he did not conquer Egypt so early; and he was remarkable for his continence; and seems to have had "a wife" only, and no concubines. See a former note.

It is rather extraordinary, that Beloe, in his note, should adopt this last, as "much the most likely to be true." Vol. ii. p. 137.

† In Oriental Geography, Syria was called Shamah, "the left hand," or western; and Arabia, Yemen, "the right hand," or eastern, to a spectator, fronting the north. So Homer:

\[
\text{Εὖρ' ἐπ' δεῖξ' ὄσι}, πρὸς ἦν τ' ἥλιον τ'\ 
\text{Εὐρ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά τοὺγε, ποτὲ ζῷον ἡροῦντα.}
\]

ILIAD. xiii. 239.
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cus and Palestine, including the famous city of Jerusalem, called by the Persians, "the Holy City," (Kadutha, or with a Greek termination, Kaducis, Kadytis, as it is called by Herodotus. B. II. § 159, III. § 5.) Herbelot. Art. Lohorasp.

The Persian writers confound this Persian invasion with the earlier Babylonian of Nebuchadnezzar, whom Khodemir held to be Gudarz. Others reckoned Gudarz to be Kiresh, or Cyrus, as the Tarik Montekheb and Lebtarikh.

To secure a safe passage through the great desert, between Palestine and Egypt, Cambyses, by the advice of Phanes, a Greek refugee from Amasis, made a treaty with the king of Arabia, to furnish his army with water, on the way; which he did, in camel skins. On arriving at the Pelusiac, or eastern branch of the Nile, Cambyses found Psammenitus, the son and successor of Amasis (who had died before the Persians arrived) encamped with his army. An engagement ensued, in which, after considerable loss on both sides, the Egyptians fled, and were pursued by the Persians to Memphis, the capital of lower Egypt; which was soon reduced by the Persians, and Psammenitus taken, after a reign of six months, B.C. 525, and soon after put to death, for fomenting rebellion, by Cambyses *. B. III. § 4–15.

After the rapid conquest of Egypt, Cambyses designed to invade the Carthaginians by sea; the Ammonians of Libya, and Macrobian Ethiopians of Abyssinia by land. But he was disappointed and baffled in all these schemes of conquest, or of plunder. The Phoenicians, in his service, refused to fight against the Carthaginians, their descendants. A detachment of 50,000 men, sent against the Ammonians, whose temple was prodigiously rich, perished in the sands; and the main body of his army, led by himself against the Ethiopians, whose gold he coveted, were almost famished in the deserts, having been compelled to draw lots, and kill and eat every tenth man, to satisfy the hunger of the rest. Whereupon Cambyses retreated to Memphis, with the shattered remainder of his troops. This disastrous expedition may be dated B.C. 524.

* The indignities said to be offered by Cambyses to the embalmed body of Amasis, are most improbable, originating, as it seems, from the foregoing tale of his daughter, and from the hatred of the Egyptians to the memory of Cambyses. They were no less revolting to the Persians, as being impious, unmanly, and impolitic. This outrage is clearly distinguishable from those he committed afterwards, when he was deranged.
The remainder of Cambyses' reign was a tissue of the most extravagant cruelties, and excesses of every kind, committed against the Egyptians, the Persians, and his own family. He slew the magistrates of Memphis at his return, for suffering public rejoicings on finding their new divinity Apis; and wounded their calf god in the thigh, with his dagger, and commanded the priests to be scourged. He grew jealous of his brother Smerdis, because he was the only Persian able to bend the Ethiopian bow, sent him home to Persia, and soon after, on account of a dream portending the advancement of Smerdis to the throne, had him put to death by Prexaspes; he married two of his own sisters, and killed the younger by a kick on the belly when pregnant, for lamenting the death of her brother Smerdis. He shot the son of Prexaspes, his cup-bearer, through the heart, with an arrow, to prove that he was neither drunk nor mad. He at another time commanded twelve Persians of distinction to be buried alive, without the smallest provocation. And when Cræsus ventured, as his father's friend, to remonstrate on the probable consequences to himself, like Saul, he snatched his bow to shoot Cræsus with an arrow, who escaped by a precipitate flight. He then instantly ordered Cræsus to be put to death; but the officers having delayed the execution, he expressed great joy at finding that Cræsus was alive, and then put the officers to death for disobedience of orders. He violated the tombs of the Egyptians to examine the mummies. He consulted the pigmy statue of their chief god Vulcan, and burnt those of the Cabiri. "All these things," says Herodotus, "convince me that Cambyses was outrageously mad, otherwise he would never have attempted to insult national religions and customs." B. III. § 27—38.

A revolt in Persia, by Smerdis Magus, who personated his brother, roused him from these extravagancies, and he instantly prepared to lead his army back to Susa, in order to crush the rebellion; but as he hastily mounted his horse to set out, his sword was disengaged from the scabbard, and wounded him mortally in the thigh. He then anxiously enquired the name of the place, and found it was Ecbatana, an obscure town in Syria, where the Egyptian oracle of Butos had warned him he should die; but which he mistook for Ecbatana, the capital of Media, and the depot of his treasures. He then bitterly lamented his error in destroying his brother Smerdis, "for," said
he, "it was Smerdis Magus whom the Deity, (ὁ Δαμων,) foretold, in vision, should rise up against me," by whom he seemed to understand with Plato, μεγιστος Δαμων, "THE SUPREME GOD." For Cambyses clearly was neither a Polytheist nor Idolater. B. III. § 65.

SMERDIS MAGUS.

This impostor reigned unmolested about seven months, when he was slain, with his brother, in a conspiracy formed by seven Persian nobles of the first rank and consequence in the state. His broken reign added to seven years and five months of Cambyses', completed the eight years assigned to the latter in Ptolomy's Canon. Herod. B. III. § 66.

DARIUS HYSTASPES, OR GUSIITASP.

This prince was one of the seven conspirators who slew the Magian, Smerdis, and his brother, and according to Herodotus, gained the crown from his competitors, by the stratagem of his groom procuring the first neighing of his horse; as recorded by a public monument: "Darius, son of Hystaspes, gained the kingdom of the Persians, by the merit of his horse, (whom he named) and of his groom Æbares." Herod. B. III. § 38.

This tale is highly improbable. For what man of sense (in which Darius certainly was not deficient) would wish to attribute his success to a fraud?—which could only provoke his competitors, and lessen his character in the eyes of the nation. Æschylus, the predecessor of Herodotus, gave, as we have seen, a different, and much more likely account. He stated that the conspirators governed in rotation; first Maraphis, who is not found in the list of Herodotus; and next Artaphernes, whom Herodotus calls Intaphernes; then Darius, the third, who was possessed of superior abilities, and spirit of enterprize, (in which even Herodotus represents him as exceeding the rest, and compelling them to a prompt execution of their plan by the threat of informing against them, if they delayed); he was also of the Achaemenian*, or royal line; and his father, Hystaspes, was go-

* Darius, the son of Hystaspes, reckoned among his ancestors Arsamis, Arinnis, Teispes, Cyrus, Cambyses, Teispes, Achemenes. Herod. B. VII. § 11.
vernor of Persia, the first province of the empire; and he had served in the Egyptian wars, under Cambyses. Upon all these accounts, therefore, when the government came to his turn, he naturally and easily contrived to retain the possession of it for himself, and to transmit it to his family.

That he was indeed the most likely candidate for the crown appears also from Herodotus. His merit excited the jealousy of Cyrus himself, who, shortly before his death, expressed his suspicions to Hydaspes, the father, that Darius, then a youth about twenty, was engaged in some treasonable designs. B. I. § 209, 210. And while Darius served in Egypt he was evidently considered as a rising nobleman by Syloson the exile, brother of Polycrates the tyrant of Samos, who made a present of a scarlet cloak to Darius when he wanted to buy it; and afterwards was liberally rewarded for his generosity when Darius came to the throne, and gratified his patriotic request, "to save his country" from the usurpers that succeeded Polycrates, B. III. § 139, 140, for he sent an army, under the command of Otanes, one of the seven, to put Syloson in possession of Samos; which was effected, but not without the destruction of most of the inhabitants. § 149.

During this Samian expedition the Babylonians revolted, having taken advantage of the confusion of the times during the Magian usurpation, to provide, without being noticed, or opposed, against a siege. And in order to prevent famine they took the strange and unnatural resolution of strangling all their women and children, except their mothers and one female of each man's family, whom he liked best, to bake their bread, which was anciently the women's employment. B. III. § 150. See B. VII. § 187.

How signally did they fulfil the prophecy of Isaiah against Babylon! "These two things shall suddenly come upon thee in one day, childlessness and widowhood*; they shall fully come upon thee, notwithstanding the multitude of thy services, and the strength of thy enchantments." Isa. xlvii. 9.

Darius besieged Babylon about the fifth year of his reign, and was derided by the insolence, and baffled by the vigilance of the enemy, for a year and seven months. At length, in the

* The men were widowers. "There were no widows left to make lamentation." Ps. lxviii. 64.
twentieth month of the siege, he took it by a refined stratagem of Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, one of the seven, who voluntarily mutilated himself, and then deserted to the Babylonians, gained their confidence by a piteous tale of the cruelty of Darius, and after a few concerted successes over some devoted detachments of the Persian army, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the Babylonian troops, and entrusted with the care of the city, which, on a favourable opportunity, he betrayed to the Persians.

Darius, having thus taken the city, impaled about three thousand of the principal inhabitants, threw down the walls*, and took away the gates. He then obliged the neighbouring provinces to furnish fifty thousand women, to supply wives for the remaining citizens, from whom the race of Babylonians in the time of Herodotus were descended. B. III. § 159.

Two years before the siege began, the Jews were warned by the prophet Zechariah "to fly from the land of the North, from the daughter of Babylon." Zech. ii. 6, 7.

It is truly remarkable, that the Persian kings who punished the Babylonians, patronized the Jews. The first capture of Babylon was followed by the decree of Cyrus for liberating the Jews from captivity; when "the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus" to make it. Ezr. i. 2. And the second capture, by Darius, was followed by the finishing of the second temple, in the sixth year of his reign, B.C. 516. When "the Lord turned the heart of the king of Assyria unto them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God, the God of Israel." Ezr. vi. 1—22. The king of Persia is here called "king of Assyria," from the recent reduction of the Babylonians, who are frequently called "Assyrians," by Herodotus, the contemporary of Ezra. See B. I. § 178; III. § 155, &c.

Darius, next, made great preparations for the invasion of Scythia, to retaliate, as he said, their invasion, in the time of the Medes, near 120 years before. Accordingly, about the ninth year of his reign, he marched a great army into the countries between the Ister and the Tanais †, or the modern Danube, and

* Not totally, for they were standing in the time of Herodotus; but only partially, so as to dismantle the town.

† The Tanais or Don, divides Europe from Asia.

Ευρωπην ἦν Ἀσις Ταναίς διὰ μεσον ὁρίζει.

"Tanais Europam et Asiaem medius interfuit." Q. Curtius.

Dionysius.
Don. But after pursuing the Scythians in vain, for three months, when, by a pretended flight, they had artfully drawn him into deserts and wilds, where he lost great part of his army, he was forced to retreat precipitately, to save the remainder. Major Rennel, in his Geography of Herodotus, has ably traced this Scythian expedition. Sect. vi. p. 101, &c.

Herodotus, on this occasion, relates an instance of wanton cruelty committed by Darius, which well deserved such a disastrous issue. "Oebazus, a Persian, who had three sons serving in the army, petitioned the king that one of them might be left with him at home. The king replied, that since he was a friend, and had made a modest request, he would leave him all his sons. Oebazus was overjoyed, hoping that his sons would be discharged from the service; but Darius ordered his attendants to kill all the sons of Oebazus; and so they were slain, and left there for him." B. IV. § 84. Yet shortly after, this same prince set up an inscription: "Darius, son of Hystaspes, the best, and fairest of all men, king of the Persians, and of all the Continent, in his expedition against the Scythians, came hither, to the springs of the river Tearus, which afford the best and fairest water of all rivers." § 91. But these Persian monarchs, alas! were spoiled by the base and extravagant adulation of their subjects. See the judicious remark of Plutarch, Vol. III. p. 551, note, of this work.

Darius attended more to maritime affairs than any of the Persian kings. He finished a canal of communication between the Nile and the head of the Red Sea, which had been begun by Pharaoh Necho, but failed, after 120,000 Egyptians had perished in the work. Herod. B. II. § 158. Herodotus represents this canal as wide enough to admit two triremes abreast, and of four days' voyage in length.

This canal, with others, made by Ptolemy Philadelphus, Adrian, and the Caliph Omar afterwards, were more for shew or ostentation, than use; they soon became unnavigable, either from the failure of the Pelusiac, or eastern branch of the Nile, which supplied them with water; or from the stoppage of their outlet at the head of the Red Sea, by the drifting sands of the desert, and by the operation of the tides. See Rennel's Geography of Herodotus, p. 464.

He also employed Scylax, and other able navigators, on a voyage of discovery down the river Indus to its mouth. From
thence they coasted westwards, along the Persian Gulf, and after a voyage of two years and half, they reached the port on the Red Sea from which the Phœnicians employed in the circumnavigation of Africa, by Pharaoh Necho, had set out, about a hundred years before. After this voyage, Darius subdued the Indians, and became master of that ocean. B. IV. § 44.

This voyage of Scylax was evidently suggested by the former of the Phœnicians, and intended to continue their geographical discoveries eastwards, by returning to the same port of the Red Sea, probably Suez, whence they had commenced. It suggested, in turn, the subsequent voyage of Nearchus, by order of Alexander the Great, down the Indus, which traced the route of Scylax as far as the Euphrates. The successful circumnavigation of Africa gave rise also, we presume, to Hanno's Periplus, or Carthaginian voyage of commerce and discovery along the western coasts of Africa, where they established settlements; probably not long after the Egyptian expedition. And both these voyages might have given rise to the ensuing, in the reign of Xerxes, under the conduct of Sataspes, a Persian nobleman, who, for offering violence to a virgin, the daughter of the famous Zopyrus, was condemned to be crucified; but had his punishment commuted into the circumnavigation of Africa, setting out from Egypt westwards, and returning by the Red Sea, eastwards; contrary to the course of the Phœnician mariners. But after proceeding a great way southwards, along the western coast of Africa, he failed, and was forced to return, on account of the greater strength of the counter currents, in this direction, and the violence of the easterly monsoons, according to Major Rennel's ingenious conjecture, which utterly disabled him from proceeding. Xerxes, giving no credit to his excuses, inflicted on him the former sentence of crucifixion. See Rennel's Geography of Herodotus, p. 715, 716.

The reality of this unsuccessful voyage of Sataspes is vouched by an anecdote noticed by Herodotus, from his own knowledge. "A eunuch of Sataspes, hearing of his master's death, fled with a great sum of money to Samos, where he was robbed of it by a native of the place, whose name, says Herodotus, I know, but forbear to mention." B. IV. § 43.

Proofs of the Phœnician circumnavigation of Africa shall be adduced in the ensuing analysis of Egyptian Chronology.

Darius established also, an excellent system of taxation
throughout his extensive empire. He divided it into twenty satrapies, or provinces, and regulated the proportion of tribute to be paid by each, in a curious original document furnished by Herodotus; affording internal evidence of his extensive knowledge of the geography of Asia, and of the correctness of his financial statement, by the congruity of the whole, when properly explained. Major Rennel has well developed the geographical part, in his sagacious commentary thereon, p. 229—316, and in his valuable Map of the Twenty Satrapies, the most authentic and complete that ever was framed of the ancient Persian empire.

We shall follow Rennel's masterly geographical arrangement of the western, middle, and eastern provinces of the empire, in preference to the irregular order of Herodotus; marking, however, his original numbers, for the ease of comparison.

I. WESTERN PROVINCES.

1. The Ionians and Magnesians of Asia, the Æolians, Carians, Lycians, Melyeans, and Pamphylians .................. 400

These occupied an extent of 450 G. miles of sea coast in Asia Minor, from the Gulph of Adramyttium, and the Troade, on the north, round by Cnidus, to Cilicia, on the east.

2. The Mysians, Lydians, Alysonians, Cabalians, and Hygenians .................. 500

The greatness of the tribute paid by this, the smallest of the 20 satrapies, was owing to the gold and silver mines of Lydia, and the gold sands of the river Pactolus. The riches of Cræsus were proverbial.

3. On the east side of the Hellespont, the Phrygians and Thracians of Asia, the Paphlagonians, Maryandinians, and Syrians, [or Cappadocians] .................. 360

4. The Cilicians .................. 500

These four provinces composed the whole of Asia Minor.

5. Phœnicia, the Syrian Palestine, and the Isle of Cyprus, from the city of Posideum, on the frontiers of Cilicia and Syria, as far as Mount Casius and the Sirbonic lake, bordering on Egypt .................. 350

6. Egypt, and the Africans, bordering on Egypt, as far as Cyrene and Barca .................. 700

This tribute was exclusive of the produce of the fishery of the lake Mœris, amounting to 240 talents per annum. Herod. B. II. § 149, (which was a perquisite to the
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Queen of Persia, for dress and perfumes, according to Diodorus) and also of 700 talents, for the value of Egyptian corn, to supply 120,000 Persian and auxiliary troops, in garrison at Memphis, &c.

7. (9) Babylon, including Assyria Proper and Mesopotamia...

This was one of the most extensive, as it was the richest of the provinces of the empire. Before the time of Cyrus, it was reckoned, in point of revenue, equal to the third part of Asia. Herod. B. I. § 192.

8. Susa, and Susiana or Chusistan.................

Next to the Lydian satrapy, this was the smallest of the whole; but it contained Susa, at that time the capital of the empire, where the king's treasures were deposited.

II. CENTRAL PROVINCES.

9. (10) Ecbatana, the rest of Media, the Parycanii and the Orthocorybantes .................

Media proper occupies the midland and elevated tract between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulph. It was then the central part of the great Persian empire, and from climate, verdure, and richness of soil, the most beautiful of its provinces. It is now the most western province of modern Persia, Mount Zagros forming the common boundary between Persia and Turkey. Ispahan, the present capital, is situate in the north-east corner of ancient Media.

10. (11) The Caspians, Pausica, Pantimathi and Darite, [including Hyrcania] ..........

11. (18) The Matieni, Suspirians, and Alarodians........

The Suspirians occupied the eastern part of Armenia.

12. (13) Pactyica, the Armenians, &c............

The Armenia of Herodotus extended westward to the Euphrates, and southward to Mount Masius in Mesopotamia, including the sources of the Euphrates northwards, and Mount Ararat eastwards. This province, though mountainous, abounded in mines of gold and silver, copper and iron, at Argana* and Kebban, which will account for its high tribute.

13. (19) The Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mosynæci, and Mardians .........................

This satrapy is a narrow stripe of land between the Armenian mountains of Caucasus and the Euxine Sea. It abounded in iron mines.

* It is remarkable, that the iron mines of the county of Leitrim, in the heart of Ireland, are called by the natives Arigna; which seems nearly allied to Argana, signifying probably "a mine."
III. EASTERN PROVINCES.

14. The Sangartians, Sarangaens [of Sigistan], the Thama-neans, Utians, and Mencians [of Carmania] with the islands of the Red Sea (or Persian Gulph) to which the king banished state-offenders.

The intermediate country of Persia proper, (whose principal tribes were the Arteate, Perse, Pasagarde, Maraphii, and Maspians) were not compelled to pay any specific taxes, but only presented a regular gratuity.

15. The Parthians; Chorasmians, Sogdians and Arians.

These occupied the mountainous tract between Hyrcania, Margiana, Asia, and the desert of Chorasmia.

16. The Sattagydiens, the Gandarii, Dadice, and Assaryae of Margiana.

17. The Bactrians as far as Aglos.

Or from Balk to Kilan, or Ghilan.

18. The Saca, and Caspii [or rather Casians of Kashgur].


These were the Orita of Alexander and Nearchus; and inhabited Haur, Makran, and other provinces in the south east angle of Persia, towards India.

The sum total

20. The Indians.

These inhabited the extensive provinces of Kabul, Kandahar, and Scindia, west of the Indus; and the Panjab, that rich stripe of coast east of the Indus. They paid (600) 350 talents in gold ingots. Differing in this respect from the other satrapies, whose payments were in silver talents.

* The geographical knowledge of Herodotus appears to have extended no farther eastward in Asia than the river Indus; but he reports several particulars of the nations beyond it, partly true and partly false. He speaks of the Padei, as one of the most eastern nations of India, who led a pastoral life, fed on raw flesh, and killed their diseased friends; and regularly killed and ate the more aged persons among them. B. iii. § 99.

To these cannibals, Tibullus refers.

Impia nec saevis celebrans convivia mensis,
Ultima, vicinus Phoebi, tenet arva Padeus.

"Nor does the Padean, at savage boards partaking
Impious feasts, occupy, though near the sun,
The regions most remote."

Though Herodotus probably knew nothing of the Ganges, it is remarkable that in the Padei, he has noticed the nations inhabiting its banks: for as Major Rennel acutely...
The Ayen Acbaree represents the rivers descending from the mountains in the north west of India, as yielding much gold. "It therefore confirms the testimony of Herodotus in one, out of a great many instances," says Major Rennel, "in which he is right, where, to a common observer, he might appear the least so." P. 305.

The Major, however, has not been equally fortunate in his financial, as in his geographical illustrations, not satisfactorily reconciling the amount of the whole revenue with the detail. P. 314, 315. It may be done more correctly, thus:

Herodotus remarks, that if the standard of the Babylonian talent, in which the tribute from the first nineteen provinces was paid, be reduced to the standard of the Euboic talent, the amount will be 9880 silver talents*. And if the tribute from the Indians, of 360 † gold talents, be estimated at thirteen times the value of the silver, it will amount to 4680 Euboic talents more. So that the sum total of the tribute paid to Darius was 14560 Euboic talents. Whatever was less than these [talents], he did not reckon. B. III. § 95.

The Babylonish talent was worth 70 Euboic minæ, according to Herodotus, B. III. § 89. But the Euboic or Attic talent, according to Arbuthnot, was only worth 60 minæ. They were then, to each other, in the ratio of 70 to 60, or 7 to 6.

Therefore the sum total of the tribute of the first nineteen provinces, 7740 Babylonish talents, reduced to the Attic standard, furnished 9030 Euboic talents; add to these, the 700 talents worth of corn supplied to the Persian garrisons in Egypt, and also 150 talents, the net produce of the fishery of the lake Mœris, amounting to 9880 talents; which added to the Indian revenue‡, 4680 talents, gave 14560 in all.

observes, "the proper and Sanscrit name of that river is Padda, Ganga being only an appellative: so that the Padæi correspond to the Gangaridae of later Greek writers." Rennel's Herod. p. 310.

* Instead of the present reading, τεσσαρακοντα και πεντακοσια και εινακισχιλια, 9540, the Sanscroft MSS. read, υγδωκοντα και οκτακοσια και ενιακισχιλια, 9880, and in the margin, the numeral letters, ΘΩΠ, giving the same amount. See Larcher's Herodot. Tom. III. p. 334, edit. 1.

‡ Major Rennel, in his calculation, overlooked these two Egyptian articles, and therefore brought out results different from Herodotus; either 13710 or 16830 Euboic talents. "Which," says he, "may be owing to our having adopted a wrong proportion." P. 315.—His proportion was right, but not his detail.
This reduction of the fishery of lake Mæris, from 240 talents to 150, for the net produce to the royal treasury, is warranted by the foregoing case of the fourth satrapy of Cilicia. There, the gross amount of the tribute was five hundred talents of silver; but of these, 140 were deducted for the payment of the cavalry, who composed the guard of the country; the remaining 360 therefore, only, were received by Darius. B. III. § 90.

Among the smaller taxes omitted by Herodotus, in the general statement, we may reckon the presents from Africa of two chœnixes of unrefined gold dust, once every three years, or about the value of eighty guineas; reckoning with Arbuthnot, the chœnix to contain somewhat less than a pint and half, English measure. B. III. § 97. Rennel, p. 252.

Herodotus observes, that in process of time, the islands of the Egean sea were also taxed; as was that part of Europe which extends to Thessaly, § 96.

The mode in which this tribute was stored in the royal treasury, was by melting down the gold and silver into ingots or bars, and when any was wanted, a piece was cut off, of such weight as the occasion required, § 96. Some eastern sovereigns at the present day manage exactly in the same way with the bullion in their treasury. Rennel, p. 316.

The coinage of money was either not known, or not practised in Persia till his reign. For “Darius,” says Herodotus, “wishing to leave some monument behind him, which should exceed all the efforts of his predecessors, struck off a coin of the purest gold, the Daric,” Herod. B. IV. § 166, which still retained its name, after it was recoined by the succeeding kings, down to the Macedonian dynasty.*

The impression on this famous coin, was Darius the king crowned, in the attitude of an archer, with a bent bow, kneeling on the right knee, to take aim at his enemy. See Hyde's Religio Vet. Persarum, plate, p. 115. And Strabo records a part of the inscription on his tomb, ἰππεὺς καὶ θησαυρὸς ἀριστος, “An excellent horseman and archer.” The witticism of Agesilaus, king

* These Darics are extremely scarce in cabinets of medals. They weigh about two grains more than our guineas, and are reckoned by Doctor Bernard to have been worth about five and twenty shillings of our money. Their disappearance was probably owing to their having been melted down by the princes of the Macedonian dynasty, who recoined them with their own image and superscription.
of Sparta, recorded by Plutarch, was founded thereon: when this prince invaded Persia with a powerful army, having been suddenly recalled home, in the midst of conquest, by a bribe of thirty thousand gold darics, distributed by Timocrates, among the Grecian and Spartan demagogues, he complained, "I have been driven out of Asia by thirty thousand archers*!"

Aryandes, the Persian prefect of Egypt, in imitation of his master, imprudently issued a similar silver coinage, called Aryandic, much admired for its purity. But Darius was so jealous of this invasion of his prerogative, though the impress was the same, that he put him to death. B. IV. § 166.

The amount of the revenue imposed on the Persian empire was remarkably moderate, for an empire scarcely inferior in extent to all Europe. For reckoning, with Arbuthnot, the Euboic or Attic talent at 193l. 1s. 6d., the whole amount of the 14560 talents was only 2,821,000l., short of three millions sterling. The richest province of Babylon, including Assyria and Mesopotamia, paid only 1000 talents, or 193,750l. sterling; and the fertile commercial province of Egypt was only taxed in money, 700 talents, or 135,625l. sterling.

The great moderation of this financial system will further appear from ancient and modern comparison.

In Solomon's days, independently of the great inland trade which he carried on in spices, Egyptian linen, yarn, horses, and chariots, with all the kings of the Hittites and Syrians, the influx of gold and silver, from his commercial voyages to Ophir, or Sofala, on the coast of Mozambique, on the eastern side of Africa, and from Tarshish, or Tartessus, on the coast of Spain, was prodigious; the weight of gold in a single year was 666 talents, which at the rate of 342l. 3s. 9d. for a Jewish silver talent, according to Arbuthnot, and a gold talent, 4108l. 17s. 9d. supposing, with Herodotus, gold to be only thirteen times the value, would amount to 2,736,494l., and if we add the silver, "which was as plenty as stones," the revenue of Solomon, from his comparatively small kingdom, equalled (at least occasionally) the fixed revenue of the vast Persian empire. See Vol. II. p. 362 of this work.

* Hence the opinion of Prideaux, that these Darics were coined by Darius the Mule, after he took possession of the kingdom of Babylon, during the two years of his reign, seems to be unfounded. 1. It contradicts the express testimony of Herodotus, and 2. the shortness of the reign, and indolence of Darius the Mule.
In modern times the revenue of India, under Aurengzebe, greatly exceeded it, amounting to about thirty-two millions sterling, according to Rennel, p. 316.*

The flourishing state of the Persian empire at large, under this remarkably moderate system of taxation, may be collected from the prodigious wealth of individuals. In the next reign of Xerxes, Pythius, a noble Lydian, hospitably entertained the whole Persian army on their march toward Greece, and freely offered Xerxes all his treasures for the support of the war, amounting to two thousand talents of silver, and four millions, wanting seven thousand, of gold Daric staters. These two thousand Babylonish talents, at 226l. each, would give 452,000l.; and the 3,393,000 staters, at 1l. 5s. a piece, amounted to 3,841,250l., and both to above four millions sterling. Xerxes generously refused the present, and gave him in return for his hospitality and friendship, the 7,000 Darics wanting to complete the four millions. Herod. B. VII. 27—30.

In the following reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, Haman the Amalekite offered the king a gratuity of ten thousand talents of silver to defray the probable deficiency in the royal revenue, by the proscription of all the Jews throughout the empire, which the king declined accepting from his favourite, Esth. iii. 9—11. This, computed at the Babylonish talent, as before, would amount to upwards of two millions sterling. And yet

* Major Rennel has endeavoured to account for the low taxation of the Persian empire, upon the supposition that "the value of money was incredibly greater at that time than at present." P. 316.

This is not conformable to the statement of Herodotus, in the preceding calculation. He reckoned gold only thirteen times greater in value than silver, at that time, which is lower than the modern standard; for Major Rennel himself admits, that in 1799, gold was to silver as 15½ to 1. P. 314, note. And Arbuthnot, in his book on weights, measures, and coins, reckoned silver at 5s. an ounce, and gold at 4l. that is as 5s. to 80s., or as 1 to 16. Now it is considerably higher, 20 per cent. above the paper currency. 1812. See the New Quarterly Review, No. 1.

Not only the foregoing examples in the text, but the whole tenor of ancient history prove that the precious metals were in much greater plenty formerly than at present. The immense produce of the mines of Asia and Africa, and Europe also, for a length of time, only could supply the prodigious treasures plundered by Alexander and his successors, and afterwards by the Romans in their wars; whence, in the time of Pompey and Julius Caesar, the standard of gold to silver was so low as 9 to 1. Much of it disappeared, was buried, or lost, in the devastations of the Huns, Goths, and Vandals in the west, and of the Saracens, Turks, and Tartars in the east. Nor has the waste been yet supplied by the new mines of Mexico, Peru, and Brazil, in lieu of the diminution or failure of the old.
this was considerably short of the full amount of the Jewish tribute, Esth. vii. 4.

These instances of the prodigious wealth of provincial subjects, and even of captives, (for such were the Amalekites originally) are highly creditable to the liberality of the Persian government; which, upon the whole, appears to have been the least oppressive of the great ancient empires. The Jews, especially, were treated with much greater lenity and indulgence under the Persian sway than they had been before under the Babylonian, and afterwards under the Macedo-Grecian and the Roman.

After these important civil regulations, we learn from the oriental writers that Darius undertook to reform the corruptions that had gradually crept into the national religion, from the progress of the Zabian superstition, and adoration of fire, and of the other elements of nature; and from the prevalence of the notion of two independent principles, the good and the evil; which were all plainly referred to in the foregoing prophecies of Isaiah, respecting Cyrus. Cyrus himself had evidently been converted thereby, as we learn from his famous decree, acknowledging the supremacy of the Lord, the God of Israel, as the God of Heaven, Ezra i. 1—3; and Darius, in the second year of his reign, renewed this decree, in a similar strain, "that the Jews might offer sacrifices of sweet savour to the God of Heaven, and pray for the life of the king, and his sons," Ezra vi. 10—12.

Mohammed Mustapha dates this reform of the national religion in the thirtieth year of Darius, who was assisted in this salutary work by his father Hystaspes, then Archimagus, or master of the Magi, in succession to the prophet Daniel, who held that high office from his appointment by Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 569, Dan. ii. 48, till his death, after the third of Cyrus, B.C. 534, Dan. vi. 28, x. 1, for the long space of five and thirty years; and from his rank and residence at Susa, the capital, (from the time of Belshazzar, Dan. viii. 2.) must have been well known to Hystaspes, and probably to Darius himself; and his wisdom was proverbial all over the empire.*

* "Lo, thou art wiser than Daniel," Ezek. xxviii. 3. The fame of Lokman, the celebrated fabulist, (perhaps Æsop,) was so great in the east, that to express the highest idea of any man's wisdom, they used to say, "There is no need to teach Lokman."
Their chief associate was the younger Zerdusht, or second Zoroaster, who is represented by the Arabian and Persian historians as a native of the province of Aderbigian, and a disciple of one of the Jewish prophets, either Elijah, or Jeremiah, or Ozieir, (Ezra.) They were only mistaken in the name, as proved by the chronology; the two first being too early, and the last too late, for the period of this reform. He could not, therefore, have been the disciple of any other other than Daniel, the venerable Archimagus.

And this is confirmed by the nature and circumstances of his reform, which was designed to bring back the religion of Persia to its primitive purity, in the days of Abraham, and of the Pischdadian kings; to revive the supremacy of the God of Heaven over Ahriman, the evil principle; and to teach a future judgment, in which the apparent mixture of good and evil in this life, designed in this state of probation to promote God's glory, should be redressed in the next, by the reward of the good in heaven, and the punishment of the wicked in hell.

Khondemir states, that by his great skill in astrology he foretold that another great prophet was to arise, not inferior to Moses, whose voice all the world was to obey. And Abulfaragi relates, that he foretold to his followers the precise time of the birth of a divine child, in Palestine, to be born of a pure virgin, and noticed by the appearance of a star: and he recommended that they should follow the direction of the star, and adore him, and offer him gifts, as the Oracle who created the heavens. See the entire passage, Vol. III. p. 55 of this work.

It is strange how Prideaux and others could represent Zerdusht as an impostor, similar to Mahomet! The Universal History renders more justice to his character, and gives a fuller account of his reform. Vol. II. p. 204—219. Surely Zerdusht might have collected the foregoing articles from Moses and the prophets, and from the personal instructions of Daniel himself, whose chronological prophecies critically foretold the time of the appearance of Christ.

Instead of the former mode of keeping the sacred fire in caves, and on mountains in the open air, where it was frequently liable to be extinguished, Darius built fire temples throughout his dominions, for its better preservation, as at Jerusalem. And his principal fire temple, called Azur Gushtasp, of great grandeur and magnificence, was erected at Balch. After the death
of Zerdusht*, in the fifth year of his reformation, (slain by Argasp, king of Turan, and a zealous Zabian, who made an irrup-

* THE SADDER AND ZEND AVESTA.

The celebrity of Zerdusht, or Zoroaster II., the great reformer of the Magian religion, has ascribed to him the foregoing Persian works. Both, however, appear to be spurious.

The Sadder, so called from the "hundred gates," or chapters, into which it is divided, was published about three centuries ago, by a destur, or priest of the Parsis, as exhibiting a faithful collection of his doctrines and precepts, of which the learned Hyde has given an abridged translation, p. 429–488.

We shall select, as a specimen, part of the 91st gate, or chapter.

"In our [Magian] religion it is held for certain that God spaketh thus to Zeratusht: In the creation of the whole world there is none better than thou in my sight: for thy sake I made the world; among all the climates thou art my elect: all the peoples in every kingdom shall long for thy age, to learn good religion from thee, to reconcile Gherutaman, and to bring back his heart [to God.] I created thee in the middle time of the world's course; namely, from the age of Keiomaras to thine age are 3000 years, and from thine age to the resurrection are 3000 years more. Know then, that I have created thee in the middle, because every thing is placed in the middle, except that better Being, which is both in the beginning and the end. This is an evident argument in support of what I have said, that of all things which I have produced the best is in the middle, as is clear to every intelligent person. For since the heart is in the middle, I count it therefore the best; and since the fourth climate is in the middle, it is therefore the best. I have endowed thee with honour and dignity, and excellence, and prophecy, and royalty: when, in the government of the world, I sincerely attached to thee Gushasp, of the race of Keyan, than whom there is none wiser in thy age of the world. In thy time I have made men addict themselves sincerely to knowledge."

It is no wonder, indeed, that Hyde got no encouragement to complete the translation of such a paltry work, abounding, as himself confesses, "in meanness and inelegancies of style, and in tautologies, or prolix repetitions of matter," and in the most puerile and wretched conceits, collected from Jewish and Oriental traditions; as in the instance adduced, and many others, still more offensive.

Afterwards M. Anquetil du Perron, oriental interpreter to the king of France, published another work, entitled Zend Avesta, signifying "a fire kindler;" as enigmatically designed to kindle the fire of the love of God, and of his true religion, in the hearts of the readers.

Of this too we shall give a specimen from the Vendidad Sade. Zend Avesta, Vol. I. Part 2, p. 341.

Ormuzd, or Omnipotence, is introduced holding a dialogue with Zoroaster, on the subject of a demon called Daroudj Nesoisch, who, in the shape of a dog fly, or hornet of the desert, had taken possession of the crown of a man's head; and the reformer wished to learn how to expel him. Ormuzd directs to wash first the part affected, which would drive the fiend between the eye-brows; from thence he is to be forced by another ablution to the back of the head; from that to the ear, then to the nose, the mouth, the chin, and so on, disputing every inch of ground, the fiend is successively driven over every part of the body, till he perches himself, at length, on the left foot; whence he retreating to the right foot; and by successive ablations from the toes of the right foot to the toes of the left; and when these are washed, the Daroudj Nesoisch is completely vanquished, and flies away toward the north.
tion into Bactria, for attempting to convert him) Darius assumed the office of Archimagus himself, but died the following year. Hence the succeeding kings of Persia were always initiated into the sacerdotal order of the Magi before their inauguration.

The latter part of Darius' reign, according to the Greek historians, was turbulent and embarrassed, both abroad and at home. In his 20th year, B.C. 501, the Ionians revolted, and besieged Sardis, which was taken, and by accident burnt; principally through the Athenians, who assisted the Ionians. This provoked Darius against the Athenians especially, and laid the foundation of the Grecian war. For Darius first reduced Ionia, and then sent his son-in-law, Mardonius, with a great fleet and army, to invade Greece, B.C. 494. But his fleet was dispersed by a tempest, and his camp was surprised and stormed by the Thracians; so that he was forced to return with disgrace. Herod. B. VI. § 99; B. V. § 18—45.

Three years after, Darius sent a more powerful armament to renew the war, under the conduct of Datis, a Median, and Artaphernes, his own nephew, but they were defeated next year, B.C. 490, at Marathon, chiefly by the skill and valour of Miltiades, who, that day, commanded the Grecian little army, consisting of no more than nine thousand Athenians, and one thousand Plateans. This victory laid the foundation of the liberty and independence of Greece. The poet, Æschylus, fought against the Persians on this occasion, and in his tragedy of the Persians, (written after the defeat of Xerxes,) introduces

Such frivolous conceits are altogether unworthy of the Persian Reformer, and the work is filled with the superstitious and endless ceremonies of the Parsis, Guebres, or modern fire-worshippers, without the least traces of antiquity in the style: on the contrary, it exhibits a harsh texture, incompatible with the genius of Persian pronunciation, and differing totally from the modern dialect of Persia; and abounding in Arabic terms. These furnish a strong presumption of modern composition, since no Arabic was introduced into the Persian idiom, earlier than the seventh century of the Christian era, after the conquest of Persia, by the Saracens, in the decisive victory of Kadesia, A.D. 636; when their government, religion, laws, calendar, were overturned, and their language itself almost overwhelmed by an inundation of Arabic words, incorporated therewith from that period, by the ruling Mahometan religion, authority, and fashion. See Richardson's Dissertations, p. 12—23; and notes, p. 232—234.

The rejection, however, of such spurious productions, by no means invalidates the actual existence of such a Reformer of the Magian Religion, as Zerdusht; who has been frequently confounded with his predecessor, the venerable Zoroaster, the Bactrian, from some similar traits in their respective characters. And this has led some Sceptics rashly to deny the existence of both.
the ghost of Darius (as we have seen) enumerating the whole series of Median and Persian kings, from Cyaxares I. to Xerxes; and artfully extenuating his own disasters, by contrasting them with the ruin and desolation which his son Xerxes brought on the Persian empire. B. V. § 94—117.

Incensed still more at this defeat, Darius made great preparations for renewing the war, which put all Asia in a ferment for three years. In the fourth, the Egyptians revolted; which only induced Darius to quicken and increase his preparations against both nations. In the midst of these, Darius died, in the fifth year, B.C. 485. And before his death, appointed Xerxes, his eldest son, by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, to succeed him, in preference to Artobazanes, his eldest son, by his first wife, the daughter of Gobryas; because the former was born when his father was king, but the latter, when he was only in a private station. Beside this specious plea, the influence of Atossa over Darius was unbounded. Herod. B. VII. § 1—3.

Next to Cyrus, "with whom no Persian ever deemed himself worthy to be compared," Darius was the greatest prince of this dynasty. If Cyrus founded, Darius Hystaspes unquestionably established the empire. His political wisdom and moderation, his system of laws and finance, and his reform of the national religion, were all admirable; and his attention to maritime discoveries and commerce, distinguished him from all the other kings of Persia, before and after, and evidently furnished the model for the similar plans and achievements of Alexander the Great, in his Indian conquests, and wise commercial regulations.

SECTION VII.

XERXES *.

Following up his predecessor’s plan of conquest †, Xerxes, in

* Xerxes, in the Persian language, signified "a warrior;" and the compound, Artaxerxes, "a great warrior." Herod. B. VI. § 98.

† This is the motive assigned by Æschylus, for Xerxes' invasion of Greece, in his fine
B.C. 484, the second year of his reign, (and, it is remarkable, the year in which his famous historian, Herodotus, was born,) reduced Egypt, preparatory to his grand expedition against Greece. His ultimate object was, not merely to punish and subdue the Athenians and Peloponnesians, the most warlike states of Greece, but to conquer all Europe afterwards. Darius Hystaspes had styled himself "king of the continent" of Asia; and his ambitious son designed "to march throughout all Europe, and reduce the whole earth under one empire," as he avowed in his council, composed of the principal Persians. Herod. B. VII. 5—8.

The greatness of his preparations was suitable to the grandeur of his schemes. He spent thereon four entire years *, (or three, from the reduction of Egypt,) and in the beginning of the fifth, he began his march from Susa, the metropolis, with a mighty army. B. VII. § 20. The time of his departure is critically determined by an eclipse of the sun, visible at Susa †,

tragedy of the Persians; in which he introduces Atossa, the mother of Xerxes, thus addressing the ghost of her husband, Darius:

"This, from too frequent converse with bad men,
The impetuous Xerxes learned: these caught his ear
With thy great deeds, as winning for thy sons
Vast riches, with thy conquering spear; whilst he,
Timorous and slothful, never, save in sport,
Lifted his lance, nor added to the wealth
Won by his noble fathers. This reproach,
Oft by bad men repeated, urged his soul
To attempt this war, and lead his troops to Greece."

Potter's translation.

* Herodotus counts these four full years of preparation, from the reduction of Egypt. B. VII. § 20. But this must be a mistake; we must count only three from that time, with Herodotus himself, § 21, and Diodorus Siculus, B. xi.

† Herodotus is mistaken in dating this solar eclipse when Xerxes left Sardis, in spring, B.C. 480; at which time there was no solar eclipse; as we learn from the tables of ancient eclipses. Even the eclipse of B.C. 481, was so small, as to have been scarcely noticed at Sardis; for it did not exceed 1½ digit in quantity, about six in the morning, according to Doctor Brinkley's calculation. Pythius, therefore, could scarcely have been alarmed thereat. But it was sufficiently conspicuous at Susa, to excite dismay. And this dismay might not have been communicated to Pythius by report, until Xerxes was quitting Sardis, after he had wintered there. Or, surely, Pythius might naturally enough have been induced to ask Xerxes so small a favour, without any reference to the eclipse at all.

On the other hand, the astronomer Costard, rejecting the eclipse of 481, contends that the eclipse meant by Herodotus, was two years later than the departure from Sardis, namely, Feb. 13, B.C. 478, which he computed 11½ digits, or nearly total. Astron.
about 8 in the morning, April 19, B.C. 481. Herodotus represents it as total; “for the sun disappeared in a cloudless and clear sky, and *day became night.*” Pingrè, the French Astronomer, represented it as “very considerable.” See Larcher’s note on B. VII. § 37, (64.) But Dr. Brinkley, Andrews’ Professor of Astronomy in the University of Dublin, who kindly undertook the trouble of computing it, at my desire, found its quantity about 5 digits only, or less than a half eclipse. Still it was considerable enough to excite observation, and create alarm at Susa, especially at the moment of their departure; and might easily have been magnified into total, by vague tradition, at a time when eclipses were considered universally as portentous, and the doctrine of eclipses known but to few of the learned. *Xerxes* was alarmed, and consulted the *Magi* thereon; who “affirmed, that *God* prognosticated to the *Greeks* the failure of their cities [or states]: saying, that the *sun* was the prognosticator of the *Greeks*, but the *moon* of the *Persians*.” With this futile exposition, *Xerxes* was overjoyed, and continued his march. B. VII. § 37.

After he crossed the river Halys, and arrived at Celaenae, *Pythius*, a noble Lydian, who lived there, entertained *Xerxes* and all his army with great magnificence: next to *Xerxes* himself, he was reckoned the richest of mankind. His splendid offer of all his wealth to the king, as a supply for the war, and the generosity of *Xerxes*, were noticed before. § 26—32.

At Sardis he wintered with his army; and his departure from thence, next spring, B.C. 480, § 37, was marked by an act of cruelty and ingratitude much more portentous than the eclipse.

p. 236, 237. But to this, there are insuperable objections. 1. It was too early in the season for *Xerxes* to march, in winter, not in spring. 2. It did not take place till the year after the war; which ended with the battles of *Plataea* and *Mycale*, on the same day, the 4th of *Boedromion*, B.C. 479.

*Beloe* incorrectly adopts this last eclipse, in his note, from Costard; and also, correctly, the solar eclipse of B.C. 603, as the eclipse of *Thales*, which was unquestionably the only one that corresponds throughout with the circumstances of the history, as we have shewn. But he is wrong in assigning it to the reign of *Astyages*. See p. 107 of this volume.

* Οἱ δὲ ἐφραζόν ὦς Ἑλλησί προδείκνυε καὶ θεος εκλειψεν των πολιων λεγοντες ἦλιον ειναι Ἑλληνων προδείκτωρ, σεληνην δὲ, σφεων. *Beloe* has rendered this passage loosely and incorrectly. “That the protection of heaven was withdrawn from the Greeks: the sun, they observed, was the tutelar divinity of Greece, as the moon was of Persia.”—The *Magi* really considered the *sun* and *moon* as the ministers of the *most high God*, not as *gods* themselves.
Pythius, his princely host, dismayed at that celestial phenomenon, which he might not have heard of sooner, when Xerxes was setting out for the Hellespont, presuming upon his hospitality, and the gifts he had received, ventured to ask a trifling favour of the king, namely, to dismiss the eldest of his five sons, who were then serving in the army, in order to take care of himself in his age, and to manage his affairs. But Xerxes, imitating the barbarous policy of his father, in a similar case, to put a stop, we may presume, to such applications as he conceived might dishearten his troops, sternly refused his petition:—"For your insolence," said he, "you shall be punished, but less severely than you deserve. Your former hospitality delivers yourself, and four of your sons; but your favourite shall forfeit his life." He then ordered the eldest son to be cut asunder, and marched his army between the two parts of the carcasse, placed as a piacular sacrifice, on each side of the road. B. VII. § 38, 39. See Gen. xv. 10. Such was the reward of a most deserving citizen, from a proud despot, (as he justly addressed him, δεσποτα) whose will was law, and even his tender mercies, cruel. Immediate death would have been kinder to an aged father, thus bereft of all his children (for the rest probably perished in the expedition) than to bring down his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave, by a lingering dissolution.

This deplorable case marks the extreme rigour of the conscription, when even the family of such a respectable citizen as Pythius, was not exempted; and it confirms the historian's account of the immense numbers that must have been dragged to the slaughter-house, from all parts of the mighty Persian empire. Buonaparte, that modern despot, has imitated and improved the Persian mode of conscription.

THE PERSIAN ARMAMENT.

The veracity of Herodotus has been unjustly impeached for his representations on this head. He has furnished a most curious list and detail of the several parts of which the whole was formed, and the different arms and habits of the different nations composing the army and the fleet, so very minute and consistent with his account of the twenty satrapies, that none but a professed sceptic can entertain a reasonable doubt, that the whole was the greatest military force ever raised, upon any
ANALYSIS OF

occasion, in any country. Herod. B. VII. § 20. It corresponded to the greatness of its object, as we have seen, the subjugation of all Europe; which even Richardson must have allowed, was not the plan of a petty satrap, or "vicerey of the western districts;" but worthy of the "paramount sovereign of Persia" himself. The calamity which it brought upon the empire, was a sufficient reason for its being passed over in silence by the modern Persian historians*, whose silence is infinitely outweighed by the positive testimony of Herodotus, a contemporary historian; and who drew his information from original Persian documents, as well as from Greeks and Asiatics, who had actually served in the war. This he has detailed in his three last books; the most interesting, and, in the main, the most authentic part of his whole history. And he publicly recited it at the Olympic Games, with universal applause. Many of that assembly collected from all parts of Greece, had fought both at Salamine and Plataea: we may therefore consider them as no mean vouchers to the general veracity of his narration.

His muster is remarkably exact and circumstantial, and extremely cautious and guarded in the expression.

1. "I have not grounds," says he, "to specify the precise contingents of each nation †, for it is no where recorded; but the entire amount of the infantry was a hundred and seventy myriads, or 1,700,000."

This was deduced from a simple shepherd mode of computation. At first a myriad of men, drawn up as compactly as possible, was collected into one spot. Then a circle was drawn around them, and a wall, breast high, built thereon. Into this

* The silence of the modern Persian historians is no proof that their ancestors denied this war. On the contrary, Dion Chrysostom records the following curious Persian traditions in his time, "I have been told by a Mede, that the Persians do not agree to what is reported by the Greeks. They pretend, that Xerxes conquered the Lacedaemonians at Thermopylae, and slew their king; that he made himself master of Athens, totally destroying it, and reducing all those Athenians to slavery, who did not escape by flight; and that, finally, he returned to Asia, after having imposed a tribute on the Greeks."

Here the outline of the history is preserved; nothing but the conclusion is false. And Xerxes might have circulated the false conclusion, among the Asiatic nations, to hide the disgrace of his real defeat and flight. Indeed, the silence of the modern Persian historians, is a tacit confession of the truth. They suppressed the whole reign of Xerxes as dishonourable to their nation.

† "Herodotus counts no less than twenty-nine nations from Scythia north to Ethiopia south, and from India east to Thrace and Libya west." Mitford.
inclosure, or pen, they introduced the myriads, in succession, until they got the whole number. B. VII. § 60.

The cavalry amounted to 80,000; the Arabians with their camels, and the Africans with their chariots, to 20,000 more. So that the Asiatic and African troops amounted to 1,800,000, exclusive of their train of attendants.

The western levies, raised in the maritime parts of Thrace, and the islands adjacent, amounted to 300,030: which gave the amount of the land forces 2,100,000 men. B. VII. § 184, 185.

2. The number of ships of war that left Asia, was 1207.* Their crews, allowing to each ship, on an average, 200 sailors of the auxiliaries, and 30 marines† of the Persians, Medes, and Sacaé, (the best of the native troops,) amounting to 241,400 sailors and 36,210 marines.

Besides these triremes, there were 3000 transports, composed of vessels of 30 and 50 oars, of Cercuri, (a particular class, in-

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* This exact number of 1207, is vouched by Æschylus, in his Persae. The detail is thus given by Herodotus, and confirmed by the independent statement of Diodorus, nearly agreeing in the amount, though varying in particular articles. Herod. B. VII. § 89–95.

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<td>7. Dorians</td>
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<td>8. Carians</td>
<td>70</td>
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<td>9. Ionians</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>10. Islanders</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>11. Æolians</td>
<td>60</td>
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<td>12. Hellespontians</td>
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Of these, the best seamen were the Phœnicians, and among the Phœnicians, the Sidonians; and next to the Sidonians, the five ships of Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, who distinguished herself by her intrepidity and skill above all the rest, at the sea fights of Artemium and Salamis.

† These additional 30 men, ἀνδρεῖς, are distinguished from the sailors, by the expression, ὁτὸς ἀλὼς ὅμως, "this other crew," § 284, namely, the soldiers who fought on board, now called marines; as judiciously rendered by Dr. Gillies and Major Rennel. The latter observes, that the proportion of these to the sailors at that time, differed not much from the present. Such of our British ships as have crews of 240 men, have 37 marines; and according to the same proportion, the Persian ships should have 35 to 230. P. 254, note.
vented by the Cyprians according to Pliny,) and of long transports for the cavalry. B. VII. § 97. Allowing 80 sailors to each, their crews amounted to 240,000. The ships furnished by the Thracians amounted to 120, and their crews to 24,000 men. Hence, the whole number of vessels employed in this expedition was 4327; their crews, 541,610 men; which added to the amount of the land forces, 2,100,000, gave the sum total 2,641,610 fighting men. B. VII. § 184, 185.

Herodotus reckoned the followers and retainers of the army as many more at least, so that his whole aggregate of souls employed in the expedition was 5,283,220. § 186.

This estimate is supported by Isocrates in his Παναθηναϊκός, stating the aggregate five millions in round numbers, and Plutarch concurs, for the most part. But Diodorus, Pliny, Ælian, and other later writers, Richardson, Larcher, &c. curtailed about four-fifths of the whole number, to reduce the army within their conceptions of credibility, assuming an unwarrantable license, with an ancient and contemporary author, in one of the most essential and important parts, and so cautiously and circumstantially stated, as we have seen.

Both these varying accounts, however, are consistent, and easily reconcilable, from the nature and conformation of Asiatic armies in general. The greater part of the Asiatic hordes in the Persian army were irregular, undisciplined, "a promiscuous multitude," as Herodotus himself calls them, B. vii. § 41, B. ix. § 70, fitter for plunder than for fighting. And four fifths of the whole number might have been merely retainers and followers of the camp, employed in carrying and preparing provisions, stores, &c. for the troops. Major Rennel observes, that the regulars in the army of Xerxes might be compared to the Europeans in an army in India, which are inconsiderable, compared with the Sepoys and native troops. Thus, when Lord Cornwallis marched to besiege Seringapatam, in his first campaign, his army consisted only of 20,000 soldiers, but the followers were more than 100,000.

Of the whole Persian army, the flower was the cavalry, which was superior to the Thessalian, the best in Greece. B. vii. 196. And of the cavalry, the best was the Cappadocian and Paphlagonian, as noticed by Xenophon, Anabasis, B. V. Of the infantry, the best disciplined and bravest were the Persians and Medes, the Cissians or Susians, and the Sacæ, or
Eastern Scythians, bordering on Bactria. These were appointed, we see, to act as marines; they were selected to attack the Lacedæmonians, at the Streights of Thermopylae, B. VII. § 210, 211. And after the sea fight of Salamis, we find that Mardonius formed his select army of 300,000 troops, out of the Persians, Medes, Saca, Bactrians, and Indians; beside the best of the auxiliaries, and the cavalry. B. VIII. § 113. But the immortal band of 10,000 Persians, who were the flower of the infantry, could not withstand the Grecian band at Thermopylae, nor the army of Mardonius at Platae. The superiority of the European infantry in the field, over the Asiatic, was as conspicuous as the superiority of the Asiatic cavalry at all times. And to this, Montesquieu sagaciously attributes the prodigious levies of Asiatic infantry employed to invade Europe by the Persians, and the comparative smallness of the European infantry employed to invade Asia, by the Greeks and Romans.

The subsistence of such an immense armament, both by sea and land, is the grand difficulty urged against our historian, by Richardson and Larcher. Herodotus himself has considered this, and given a curious calculation of the quantity of corn necessary to subsist 5,296,320* men for a day; for, allowing each man a chænix, and 48 chænixes to a medimnus, it would amount to 110,340 medimni. B. VII. § 187. If we reckon the chænix held near a pint and a half English, and a medimnus 70 pints, somewhat more than a bushel, and 8 bushels to a quarter, the amount would be 13,792 quarters of corn for the men, exclusive of the cattle.

And if we give the same allowance of a chænix of water also, to each person, or 12 chænixes to a gallon, the amount would be, for 5,296,320 men, 441,360 gallons, or near 7006 hogsheads of water, exclusive of the cattle. No wonder then, that some rivers, that were not considerable, as the Scamander, at Troy †, were exhausted on their march. B. VII. § 42—187.

Xerxes himself was aware of this difficulty. And his four

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* This number, upon which his calculation is founded, exceeds by 13,100, the foregoing stated number, 5,283,220; which is little enough for the women bakers, concubines, eunuchs, &c. not taken into account.

† The numerous references to Troy and the Trojan war, throughout Herodotus, from the beginning of his history, throughout, afford the fullest refutation of the sceptical and fanciful arguments of Bryant, disputing the existence of the town itself, and of the war.
ANALYSIS OF

entire years of preparation were spent chiefly in forming magazines of corn, stores, &c., in the most convenient stations of his projected route. On passing the Hellespont, over a bridge of ships, curiously constructed for the purpose, Artabanus, his uncle, warned him of the dangers of tempests by sea, and of famine by land. Xerxes thus replied; “We are marching in the best season of the year; and, after subduing all Europe, we shall return back without finding famine anywhere, or suffering any other disaster; for in the first place, we carry with us great store of provisions, and in the next, whatever country we invade, we shall have their corn; for we are marching against agriculturists, and not shepherds.” B. VII. § 50. The distinguished characters of Europe and Asia are strongly marked in this passage, from the earliest times. “The pastoral tents of Shem” were foretold by Noah. Gen. ix. 27.

The next difficulty urged against the armament is the prodigious amount of the pay both of the army and fleet, which, at the lowest rate of a Grecian foot soldier, two pence a day, as a standard for the army of Xerxes, 5,283,220 men, Richardson reckons “would exceed sixteen millions per annum, and the extra contingencies for the fleet, mercenaries, &c. as much more, or thirty-two millions the whole annual charge.” Dissert. p. 313.

This seems to be both overrated and underrated; the daily pay too little, and the number paid too much.

The pay of a Persian soldier was a daric per month, as we learn from Xenophon, Anab. B. VII. or ten pence a day. This was paid to the native troops and the army of the line. But these, probably, did not exceed half a million, whose pay then, for a month, would be 625,000l. or for a year, 7,500,000l. The provincial troops and the irregulars, from the nature of feudal tenure, might have been paid, in part at least, by their own provinces. And upon this very stipulation, perhaps, their fixed tribute, in time of peace, was rated so low. The servants and retainers of the camp, who formed the great mass, probably got little or no pay, but merely subsistence; or were paid by their masters, for their own convenience. See B. VII. § 83.

The ability of Xerxes to pay his troops is greatly underrated also by Richardson. “Though he could not have hoarded much himself, and must have been at considerable expences in transporting an army to Egypt,” yet the treasures collected by Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius Hystaspes were immense, as
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

Alexander of Macedon found; and probably the Egyptians were amerced, at least, to repay the full expences of the expedition against them.

BRIDGE ACROSS THE HELLESPONT.

This was more a work of ostentation than of use. Alexander, and afterwards the Ottomans, passed these straits of the Hellespont with less parade, but with infinitely greater effect. It was probably meant to rival his father's bridge across the Thracian Bosphorus, (or canal of Constantinople,) where the water was smoother, and the passage narrower. Its practicability has been disputed by Richardson, overrating the breadth at two miles. But it was only seven stadia, or less than one mile at the Hellespont; and Major Rennel has ingeniously explained the construction of the two bridges, one for the men, the other for the cattle, (which were seven days and nights in passing!) and shewn the angle which they formed with each other; the one to resist the strength of the current from the Propontis, the other to withstand the strong winds in the Ægean sea; each protecting the other. See his Map, Geograph. of Herod. p. 116—128, and Herod. B. VII. § 33—56.

CANAL AT MOUNT ATHOS.

Three years were employed before the expedition in cutting a canal across this isthmus, which was twelve stadia, or a mile and a half wide, capable of admitting two triremes to sail abreast through it. This was a work of real utility, and not merely of ostentation, like the former, as Herodotus considers it. To cross, or coast along the Ægean sea, even now, with all the modern improvements of navigation, is very dangerous; and to double the cape of Athos is still more formidable. This prodigious work was designed to prevent a repetition of the foregoing shipwreck of Mardonius' fleet, and to facilitate the intercourse between Asia and Europe, already in his imagination subdued. Here also he formed a grand depot of provisions, and magazines were prepared all along the coast of Thrace, in the Greek colonial towns subdued by Darius his father.

Juvenal has ridiculed this canal as fabulous; and Pococke, and some modern French travellers, could discover no traces of
its existence. The following testimony of Thucydides is decisive of the fact.

"After Brasidas had taken Amphipolis, (B.C. 424,) he marched with the army of the auxiliaries to Acte, ("the coast," ) so called, which stretches inwards from the King's canal *, and is terminated by Mount Athos, at the Ægean sea. It contains some towns, Sanna, an Andrian colony, lying at the very mouth of the canal †, on the sea toward Eubea (or southward;) and others, Thyssus, Cleone, Acertha, Oolphyxus, and Dios." Pelop. War. B. IV. § 109.

This most accurate and faithful historian had also the best means of information, for he had an estate himself in the neighbourhood, and was superintendent of the Athenian gold mines at Philippi, in Thrace, and relates this about fifty years after the canal was made. Isocrates, Diodorus, and Strabo all speak of this canal also, as an undoubted and astonishing work. There seems nothing wanting therefore to confirm the veracity of Herodotus in this point.

MARCH OF XERXES.

Xerxes passed the Hellespont with his immense host of many men but few soldiers, B. VII. § 210, in all the pride and pomp of power, after scourging the sea, and flinging fetters into it, if we may credit the reports of Æschylus, Herodotus, &c. which are perhaps exaggerated. He spent a month at Doriscus, in Thrace, near the mouth of the Hebrus, in reviewing and numbering his army and fleet. And thence marched southwards with his army, in three divisions, attended by his fleet, through Thrace and Macedonia. Several cities entertained him sumptuously on his route, and were greatly impoverished thereby. The Thracians expended four hundred talents of silver on a single banquet; and a witty citizen told the Abderites "they should bless heaven that Xerxes did not require two repasts in the day, or they would be completely ruined." B. VII. §. 120.

The first information of this formidable invasion of Greece was conveyed to the Lacedæmonians by Demaratus ‡, the exiled

* Ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως διορυγματος.
† Παρ'] αυτὴν τὴν διωρυγά.
‡ Herodotus gives a full account of the fortunes and expulsion of Demaratus. B. VI. § 51, 61, 63–70. He was a favourite of Xerxes, for suggesting his plea to the crown, in preference of his elder brother, because his father, Darius Hystaspes, was king of Persia at his birth. B. VII. § 3.
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

king of Sparta, whose patriotism rose superior to his private wrongs. By an ingenious stratagem he carved an account of the king’s determination on two tablets of wood, and then covered the writing with wax, so that they appeared like blank tablets. When they were delivered from Susa, at Sparta, they puzzled the people exceedingly, till Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas, sagaciously removed the wax, and read the writing underneath; and then the Lacedaemonians circulated the alarming intelligence through Greece. B. VII. § 239.

Xerxes proceeded without opposition through Achaia and Thessaly, till he reached the famous and important straits of Thermopylae, the key of Greece, while the Carnian and Olympic games were celebrating. This ascertains both the season of the year and the apathy and remissness of the Greeks; for the Olympic games began at the full moon next after the summer solstice. But surely the Greeks, after information of the approach of Xerxes, ought to have been otherwise employed, in preparing for the common defence. B. VII. 184, 201, 206.

At this time a furious Hellespontine wind, blowing from E. N. E. for three days together, raised such a hurricane, as wrecked on the coast, destroyed and sunk four hundred ships of war, besides an immense number of transports and provision vessels, at the promontory of Sepias. B. VII. § 188—191. From this exposed station they removed to Apheta, further southward. And the Grecian fleet of three hundred ships assembled in their neighbourhood, at Artemisium, the northern promontory of the island of Eubœa, to oppose their passage southward. § 194.

BATTLE OF THERMOPYLÆ.

Through the general apathy and torpor of the Greeks, who continued to celebrate the customary games and festivals of the season, only a small band of 6,200 men *, was sent to guard the straits of Thermopylae against the Persian host, under the command of Leonidas, king of Sparta. His gallant defence for three days, against the flower of the Persian army, is well known, and need not be repeated here. On the fourth morning they

* Herodotus adds, that Leonidas detained four hundred Thebans against their will, who deserted him in the engagement. This is improbable. Diodorus and Pausanias both omit the Thebans.
were surrounded by a party sent across the mountains by a bye path, who came upon their rear; and after dismissing the rest of the little army, Leonidas, with 300 Spartans and 700 Thesspians *, fell gloriously on the bodies of 20,000 Persians, in obedience to the Oracle, which foretold that "either Sparta or her king must fall." Determined to die for his country, Leonidas thus encouraged his men; "Breakfast heartily," said he, "for we shall sup in Hades!" Herod. B. VII. § 210—221. Diodor. Sic. B. XI. cap. 2.

An appropriate epitaph was inscribed on their barrow †, or tomb.

The contingencies furnished by the several Grecian confederate states are thus enumerated by Herodotus. B. VII. § 202.

| Spartan | 300 |
| Tegeata | 500 |
| Mantineans | 500 |
| Orchomenians | 120 |
| Arcadians | 1000 |
| Corinthians | 400 |
| Phlyonians | 200 |
| Mycenians | 80 |
| Thesspians | 700 |
| Thebans | 400 |
| Phocaeans | 1000 |
| Opuntian Locrians | [1000] |

6200

With Herodotus agrees Pausanias in all the articles but the last, of the Locrians; of which Herodotus has not mentioned the amount. Pausanias reckons it 6,000, (probably by mistake for the whole amount, in round numbers,) Diodorus only 1,000; which is here adopted.

* Herodotus says that when Leonidas dismissed the rest of the confederate troops at Thermopyle, (because in reality they would not stay themselves upon a forlorn hope,) he kept the Thesspians and the Thebans, the last "against their will," who afterwards deserted to the Persians, in the midst of the engagement. It would surely be highly impolitic to detain the Thebans in such circumstances. And Diodorus and Pausanias, who omit the Thebans in the last action, are more to be credited.

† These tombs were artificial mounts of earth, heaped up, to record the memory of the illustrious dead; such are the sepulchral barrowes, found in all regions of the east and west. That, erected by Xerxes in memory of Artachaees, a prime favourite, and superintendent of the canal at Athos, is thus described, "The whole army heaped his tomb." B. VII. § 117.

The barrow raised by Agamemnon and the Gracian army in honour of their countrymen who fell at Troy, is thus described by Homer.

Λμφ' αυτοισι θετα, μεγαν και αμνονα τυμβον
Χεναμεν Αργειων ιερος στρατος αιχμητων,
After his dear bought victory at Thermopylae, verifying Demaratus' previous information to Xerxes of the determined spirit of the Lacedaemonians, the king thought proper to consult him about the best mode of conducting the war against the Confederates. Demaratus recommended to send a powerful squadron of 300 ships to occupy the isle of Cythera, near the Laconian coast; that from this annoying station, he would hold Sparta in check, so as to prevent her from succouring the rest of Greece; which might, in that case, be easily reduced by the Persians; and then, Sparta would fall of course. But this sage counsel †

The Spartan laws forbad them to fly from an enemy, under whatsoever disadvantage. They were called ῥηματα, and the code itself Ρηθρα, as supposed to be "dictated" by the Oracle of Apollo. Plutarch. Lycurgus.

† This counsel of Demaratus against his own country, at first sight, seems rather inconsistent with that patriotism which led him to send covert information of the intended invasion of Greece, to Lacedaemon, before. But they are by no means inconsistent: he might now despair of the Graecian cause, from the strange neglect, and apathy, with which they treated his information; from the secession of many of the states, the Thessalians, Thebans, &c. to the enemy; and from the disunion of the rest. And he might even wish for the paramount controlling authority of the Persian government, to repress those horrid violations of intestine faction, and civil discord, by which every Graecian city was almost unceasingly torn within, and armed against each other without; and that jealous rivalry of the leading states, which afforded no prospect of future repose, after they should be freed from the fear of the common enemy. Add to this, that from the most authentic accounts both of Graecian and Oriental History, the Persians excelled almost all the nations of antiquity, in polished manners, liberal sentiments, and kind treatment of the conquered provinces; as shewn in the foregoing pages.

These considerations may, perhaps, furnish a sufficient apology for the conduct of Demaratus on this occasion, who found a secure and honourable asylum himself in the Persian court, from the restless machinations and persecutions of his domestic foes; as did that illustrious exile, Themistocles, also, soon after, from the ingratitude of Athens, and the malignity of Sparta; who never could forgive his overreaching them in fortifying Athens, which they illiberally opposed.
was overruled by Aχαμenes, the king's brother, chief commander of the fleet, as tending to weaken the fleet by division, and prevent its more effectual co-operation with the land forces. B. VII. § 234—237.

SEA FIGHTS AT ARTEMISIUM.

The Persian fleet now wished to penetrate southwards, and the Græcian, assembled at Artemisium *, to oppose them. This brought on a succession of engagements, for three days, in which the Persians fought to great disadvantage, crowded in a narrow sea; and they also lost several of their vessels, on the rocks and shoals of that dangerous coast, by midsummer gales. "All this

* The fleet of the Græcian confederates is thus detailed by Herodotus, B. VIII. § 1, 2.

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<td>Athenians</td>
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<td>Megareans</td>
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<td>Chalcidians</td>
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Frigates of 50 oars ... 9

The commander in chief was Eurybiades; the Confederates refusing to serve under the Athenians, and threatening to disperse, unless they had a Spartan leader. Such were the jealousies, even at that crisis, which obstructed the public good! The Spartans, from their inattention to maritime affairs, were surely not so well qualified to command as the Athenians, who had above twelve times their number of ships. But the Athenians wisely gave up their just precedence, for the welfare of Greece. Herod. B. VIII. 1—3. And their commander, Themistocles, still more wisely, bribed the Spartan admiral, and Adimantus the Corinthian, to keep the fleet at Artemisium, for the protection of Euboea, out of a sum of money, (thirty talents) which, by his advice, the Euboeans raised and gave him for that purpose. B. IX. § 4, 5.

The great naval superiority of the Athenians was created solely by that commanding genius, Themistocles. He had the courage to propose a decree, that the produce of the silver mines at Laurium in Attica, belonging to the state, should not be divided among the citizens, as usual, but appropriated to the building a fleet of 200 galleys, to cope with the Æginates, their neighbours and rivals, with whom they were then at war. "This war," says Herodotus, "saved Greece, by compelling the Athenians to become seamen." B. VII. § 144.
was done by God," says the pious historian, "that the Persian fleet might be rendered equal, or not greatly superior, to the Grecian fleet." B. VIII. § 1—13.

Though the Persians suffered more severely indeed, yet the Grecians suffered also, and half of the Athenian ships were disabled. They deliberated therefore on retreating to the Peninsula, and their resolutions were quickened by the disastrous intelligence of the destruction of Leonidas and his gallant band. They agreed, therefore, to depart without delay, in the order they were stationed, the Corinthians foremost, and the Athenians hindmost. B. VIII. § 16—21.

At the request of the Athenians, the confederates sailed to Salamis, (an island in the Saronic bay, nearly mid-way between Athens and Corinth) and the Athenian squadron, on the way, took on board their families and effects, deserting the city, and trusting to their wooden walls, in obedience to the Oracle.* B. VII. § 140—143.

* GRECIAN ORACLES.

The Oracles on the Persian invasion, given to the Athenians, from Delphi, were truly remarkable.

1. The first was highly menacing. B. VII. § 140.

Ω μελεως, τι καθησθε; λυπων, φενυ' εσχατα γαιης
Δωματα, και πολιος προχειδες ακρα καρηνα.
Ουτε γαρ η κεφαλη μενει εμπεδον, ουτε το σωμα,
Ουτε ποδεις νεαιοι, ουν' ων χερες, ουτε τι μεσης
Δειπνης, αλλ' αξηλα πελει. κατα γαρ μιν ερειπη
Πετ τε και εξεις Αρης, Συριηγενες αρμα διωκων.
Πολλα δε καλλ' απολει πυργωματα, κον το σον οιον
Πολλους δ' αθανατων υνους μαλερω πυρι δωσει,
Οι πον γυν ιδρωτι ρεουμενοι ιστηκας,
Δειματι παλλομενοι. κατα δ' ακροτατοις οροφοις
Αιμα μελαν κευταε, προιον κακοηθος αναγκας,
Αλλ' ιον εξ αδυναυ, κακοις δ' επεκιδνατε θυμον.

"Unfortunaet suppliants! Why sit ye at my shrine?—
Quit your abodes, and round † city's lofty cliffs,
Fly to the ends of the earth. Your country all,
Head, foot, and middle, quakes in every part,
Exposed to devastation: fire, and fierce Mars,
Driving his Syrian chariot, shall soon destroy
Your towers and sheep-folds; the consuming flames
Shall burn the temples of the immortal gods,

† Athens was built in a circular form, round the Acropolis, or Citadel. Herodotus compared it, in size and shape, to Ecbatane, the metropolis of Media. B. I. § 158. See this volume, p. 79.
Their superstitious practice of *serpent divination* co-operated with the Oracle, to make them abandon *Athens*. A great ser-

Which now, streaming with sweat, shivering with fear,
All stand; while from their highest roofs, the gore
Now trickles, sad presage of inevitable woe:
Go from my shrine, for ills prepare your mind."

2. Appalled at this terrible response, they besought a milder, or that they would stay, and die there. It was thus given. B. VII. § 141.

"*Pallas*, in vain, the fixed decree of *Jove*,
With much entreaty, and with anxious care,
Deprecates: of adamant almost, is my reply.
When all the rest is lost, within the bounds
Of *Cecrops*’ hilly land, and of *Cithaeron*’s *mount*;
To *Pallas* still, all-seeing *Jove* reserves
A wooden wall, alone impregnable:
Thee, and thy children too, this shall protect.
Stay not, nor wait the approach of horse and foot,
A mighty army from the continent [of Asia.]
Retire, and turn thy back; the time will come,
When thou shalt face them yet: *O Salamis divine,*
The sons of women shalt thou destroy [by sea],
Whether *Ceres* shall scatter, or collect, [by land].

This ambiguous oracle was interpreted by the sagacious *Themistocles*, to denote their fleet, by the wooden walls; while victory was promised to the *Athenians*, at *Salamis*; because of the epithet "divine;" which, otherwise, would rather have been styled, "*Unfortunate Salamis*," § 142, 143. *Plutarch* indeed suspects, that the *Pythian* was indoctrinated by *Themistocles*, on this occasion, wishing to revive the drooping spirits of his countrymen; and we may add, to suggest the most advantageous stand for their scanty fleet, in the narrow seas, against the *Persian* Armada.

3. The Oracle of *Bacis*, an *Athenian* diviner, was more explicit. It predicted the

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* *Cithaeron*, a mountain in *Bœotia*, famous for the orgies of *Bacchus*; it bounded *Attica.*

--- Qualis, commotis excitat sacrés,
Thyas, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho
Orgia, nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron. *Virg. Æn. v. 301.*
pent was kept in the temple of the Acropolis, or citadel, as the animal emblem of the goddess of wisdom, Athene, (or Neith reversed) who was established as their tutelar divinity, by Erechtheus, about B.C. 1399. See Vol. III. p. 524, 525, of this work. To this serpent, monthly oblations were regularly made, of a cake sweetened with honey. But at this time, the serpent, who usually eat the cake, left it untouched. When this omen was signified by the priestess to the people, they were eager to quit the devoted city, judging that even the goddess had forsaken it; and therefore, embarking without delay, they sailed to join the combined fleet at Salamis. B. VIII. § 41.

Herodotus pays a just tribute of applause to the Athenians, as “the saviours of Greece.” For if they, dreading the impend-

exact posture of the Persian fleet, when hemming in the Grecian, at Salamis; and that auspicious day, which gave liberty to Greece. B. VIII. § 77.

Ἀλλ’ ὅταν Ἀρτεμίδος χρυσαρον ἱερόν ἀκτὴν Ἡμείς γεφυρωσώμεθα, καὶ εἰναλίην Κυνοσοφραν, Ἐλπίδι μαίνομεν ὑπ' ἔρασι περισσότερος Αἴγας, Διὰ Δική σφίκτει κρατερὸν κορον ὄμορος ὕμιον, Δείων μαίνομαν, δοκεύοντ' ανα παντα πυθησθαι. Ὑπὸ τοι' ἐλευθερον Ἐλλάδος ἡμαρ Ἐνυφόπα Κρονίδης επαγεί, καὶ πτοιμα Νική.

“Where'er the invaders stretch a bridge of ships, From Pallas' sacred shore, to Cynosura's coast, (Athens now sacked) inspired with frantic hope; Vengeance divine shall blast the furious youth, That son of violence, with ambitious rage, Thinking that all the world must him obey, For arms shall clash with arms; and Mars The sea shall die with blood. All-seeing Jove, And venerable Victory, shall then to Greece A day of freedom bring.”

Ἀρτέμις is properly Diana; but here the epithet, χρυσαρον, “with the golden sword,” is more applicable to the other virgin goddess, Pallas, the protectress of Attica. The Persian fleet before the battle, actually stretched across the Saronic bay, like a bridge, from Phalerum, the oldest and outmost port of Athens, on the Attic shore, to Cynosura, a promontory on the Peloponnesian coast, (now called Sideo,) noticed by Ptolemy. Ὑπὸ τοι' here rendered “arms,” more properly denotes the brazen beaks of the ships encountering each other, by which several were sunk on each side. The impious insolence, and unjust ambition of Xerxes, are strongly marked; and the epithet ἐνυφόπα, “wide seeing,” or “all seeing,” is finely applied to God's universal providence.

On this signal prophecy principally, Herodotus seems to have built his faith in Oracles, as noticed before. Still, without scruple, he admits, that the Oracle might sometimes be bribed. B. VI. § 66.
ing danger, had either abandoned their country, and sought a settlement elsewhere; or remained, and given themselves up to Xerxes, he would have met no opposition by sea, and consequently no opposition by land. For of what advantage would have been the walls and fortifications of the Peloponnesians at the Isthmus, if the king had been master of the sea? The Lacedæmonians would have been deserted by their allies, not willingly, but of necessity, when their cities were successively taken by the enemies' fleet; so that being left alone, they must either have died bravely, after performing great exploits; or, like the rest of the Medizing Greeks, have come to an accommodation with Xerxes; and so in both cases, Greece would have been brought under the Persian yoke. But the Athenians turned the balance: preferring the liberty of Greece, to their private interests*, they roused, by their example, all the Grecian remnant that did not Medize; and next to the gods, repulsed the king. Not even the terrific oracles that came from Delphi, and cast them into consternation, could persuade them to abandon Greece; but remaining, they undertook to receive the invader of their country, with a firm resistance. Whereas, among the rest of the Greeks, there was great want of unanimity: they who had submitted to give earth and water to the Persian, (the Thebans, &c.) reckoned themselves out of danger; but they who refused, (the Lacedæmonians, &c.) were in great dismay; not thinking they had a fleet able to cope with the enemy; and many, (the Argives, &c.) not wishing to hazard a war, were disposed to Medize, (ὁδὸς ζωντων ἐπὶ πρὸδιπωμος) B. VII. § 138, 139.

If we consider the period in which Herodotus wrote these reflections, when the Lacedæmonians had obtained the ascendency in Greece, by the assistance of the paramount power of Persia, we cannot but admire the honesty and boldness of the faithful historian, not scrupling to give offence to the majority, as well as to the ruling powers, in Greece and Asia.

From Thermopylae, Xerxes marched his army into Attica, which he entered four months after he had crossed the Helles-

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* Milford, rather disparagingly, ascribes "the determined and animated opposition of the Athenians to the Persian power," to their previous aggressions: 1. The burning of Sardis; 2. Their ill treatment of the Persian heralds; and 3. Their victory at Marathon, which made them so peculiarly obnoxious, that in submitting, they could little hope for favourable terms." Chap. ix. § 2. But this is not warranted by the history; which represents both Xerxes and Mardonius as courting the Athenians.
Then, in his anger, he laid waste the country, burnt the towns, and levelled the temples* to the ground. B. VIII. § 50. The Persians stormed the citadel, and took possession of the empty city of Athens; for the citizens had deserted it, leaving still behind a considerable part of their property, their furniture, statues, and pictures, which they could not remove.

Demosthenes has preserved a curious trait of the Athenian spirit on this occasion. One Cyrsilus, a citizen, advised the people to remain in the city, and receive Xerxes. But the men, indignantly, stoned him to death; and the women, his wife; as traitors to their country. Pro corona.

From Attica, Xerxes detached a part of his army into Phocis, where they ravaged the country, and plundered and destroyed towns and temples. The temple of Apollo, at Delphi, the principal, and the richest of them all, escaped most wonderfully. Xerxes, who was as well informed of its immense treasures, and especially the offerings of Croesus, as of his own, sent a party of his troops to plunder it. The Delphians, apprized of their march, were in the greatest consternation, and consulted the Oracle, whether they should bury, or remove, the sacred treasures? But they were told, that the god himself was able to protect his own. Accordingly, the Delphians hearing this, took care of themselves; they sent away their women and children, across the Corinthian gulph, into Achaia; and went themselves mostly to the summits of Parnassus, or took shelter in the Corycian cave, near the city, while the rest retired to Amphissa, in Locris. When the Barbarians drew near, and were in sight of the temple; the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, reported, that he saw the sacred armour, which it was unlawful for any man to touch, spontaneously brought forth from the inner sanctuary, where it lay, and placed outside the temple. When the Barbarians had arrived at the temple of Pallas the Provident, (in front of the principal temple) there befel them prodigies still greater than the former. Thunderbolts from heaven fell upon them, and two huge fragments from the tops of Parnassus, rolled down with a great crash, among them, and destroyed multitudes; while a shouting and clamour issued

* Among the rest, the temple of Ceres and Proserpine, at Eleusis, the largest in Greece, capable of containing 30,000 persons, if we may believe the exaggerations of travellers. It is described by Strabo, Lib. IX. p. 305; and Vitruvius, Lib. VII.
from the temple of the goddess. These combined prodigies struck terror into the Barbarians, and put them to flight. Perceiving this, the Delphians rushed down upon the fugitives, and slew a multitude of them. The rocky fragments from Parnassus, after rolling through the enemies' ranks, stopped within the sacred pale of the goddess; where they were to be seen in Herodotus' time. B. VIII. § 32—39. According to Diodorus, the Delphians erected a great trophy to Jove, near the temple of Pallas, with an appropriate inscription, to transmit the memory of the fact to posterity. B. IX. ch. i.

SEA FIGHT OF SALAMIS.

The fleet of the confederates at Salamis, was much larger than at Artemisium. It consisted of 378 ships, exclusive of

* Mitford is disposed to reject all the preternatural machinery in this transaction, and to resolve it wholly into the art and address of the priests, planning a bold and uncommon stratagem, which they executed with equal prudence and courage. That the thunderstorm in summer was likely to be an accidental assistant to the Delphians, when rolling down the rocky fragments from Parnassus upon the unsuspecting enemy, or else producing artificial explosions, to terrify and confound them. The remainder of the Persians that escaped, affirming also, that they saw two persons of more than mortal appearance, joining the Delphians in the pursuit and slaughter, to cover the disgrace of their own surprise and defeat.—Hist. of Greece, Vol. I. chap, ix. § 4.

It may be so.—Still it is by no means impossible, nor incredible, that some of the preternatural machinery might be true, though not all. The expedition on the Persian side was clearly sacrilegious, and deserved to be punished. And might not the true God, (whom the Greeks still ignorantly worshipped as "Jove their Saviour,")) interpose, by his ministers, the elements as he hurled "hail stones and coals of fire," against the impious Egyptians, and Canaanites, and Philistines, in the days of Moses, Joshua, and Samuel.

† The list of the confederate Grecian fleet may thus be collected from Herodotus, B. VIII. § 45—48.
fifty oared vessels, or frigates. The *Athenians* alone furnished 180 ships, nearly half the fleet. B. VIII. § 43—48.

The *Persian* army was stationed along the coast of *Attica*, and the fleet, off *Phalerum*. The number of both had been recruited, after their losses, by sea and land, at *Sepias, Artemisium*, and *Thermopylae*, by reinforcements of the Medizing Greeks, now declaring for the king, the *Melians, Dorians, Locrians*, &c. and the islanders, the *Carystians, Andrians, Tenians*, &c.; for the farther the Persian advanced into *Greece*, the more nations followed him, according to the honest testimony of *Herodotus*. The *Parians*, who in the former invasion, had sided with the Persians, and were become proverbial for treachery, now staid behind at *Cythmus*, awaiting the event of the war. B. VIII. § 66, 67.

The Grecian confederates at *Salamis*, were greatly disheartened at the approach of the Persians, and the devastation of *Attica*. And the leaders of the *Peloponnesians* especially, from a paltry concern for their own private interests, were disposed to retreat round the Peninsula, and risk an engagement near the Isthmus of *Corinth*. But *Themistocles*, the Athenian, fearing,

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Just before the battle, they were joined by two *triremes* more of the Tenians, and of Lemnos, making the whole amount 380 ships*. B. VIII. § 82.

* *Æschylus*, in his *Persæ*, reckons the *Grecian* fleet at 300; in round numbers. 337, 338 *Herodotus* is more exact.
that if they left Salamis, they would separate, each to their own homes, or that they would fight to great disadvantage in the open seas, urged the Spartan admiral, Eurybiades, to stay; for that otherwise they would lose the islands of Salamis and Aegina, and the town of Megara, on the main, where their families and effects were deposited; and would also forego the peculiar advantage of fighting the mighty Persian Armada, with their small force, in the narrow seas. He reminded them also, that Salamis was the scene of naval victory, promised by the Oracle.

Adimantus, the leader of the Corinthian squadron, here interrupted Themistocles, as disqualified to speak in that council, not having either city or country, at present. But Themistocles severely inveighed against him and the Corinthians, declaring, that while the Athenians had a fleet of 200 vessels fully equipped, and more than a match for all the rest of the confederates, they did not want a city and country greater than theirs*. And he then threatened Eurybiades, the Spartan commander-in-chief, that unless he complied, the Athenians would take on board their families, and carry them to Siris in Italy, which belonged to them of old, and was also signified by the Pythian Oracle, as the site of their new settlement. “And then,” concluded he, “when the Peloponnesians are deprived of such auxiliaries,

* The poet Alcaeus, of Lesbos, who flourished about B.C. 607, has furnished a fine reflexion on the best ingredients of a city, manly fortitude and public spirit.

Ου λιθοί, ουδε ξύλα, ουδε
Τειχα τεκτονων αι πολεις εισιν
Αλλ ου σου ποτ' αν ωσι ανδρες,
Αντους σωζειν ειδοτες,
Ενταυθα, τειχη και πολεις.

“Not stones, nor timber, nor the mason’s walls,
Constitute cities; but there, where men are found,
Who, [able and willing,] know how to save themselves;
There, are walls and cities.”—Fragm. Apud Aristid.

It was the boast of the Lacedemonians, that Sparta was defended by a wall of men. But there is nothing in their history almost, comparable to the magnanimity of the Athenians, on this most trying occasion, when the liberties, not merely of their own country, but of all Greece, were at stake. The Lacedemonians, however brave, furnished few displays of national spirit, or enlarged patriotism, after Leonidas. Herodotus has concisely, but strongly, marked that duplicity which was the distinguishing trait of their character. “The Athenians (at the battle of Platea) kept their station quietly, when sent for; knowing the genius of the Lacedemonians, that they meant one thing, and said another.” B. IX. § 54.
they shall rue my words." This peremptory threat produced its effect; Eurybiades consented to stay at Salamis. B. VIII. § 56—64.

Xerxes, on his part also, held a council of his principal naval commanders; placing them according to their rank, the king of Sidon * first, the king of Tyre next, and the rest in order. The general vote was in favour of an engagement; but Queen Artemisia advised, not to hazard a battle, but either to remain in their present station, which would force the Grecian fleet, confined at Salamis, to separate soon for want of provisions, and retire to their respective homes; or else, to sail towards Peloponnesus; in which case, it was not to be imagined that the confederates would remain behind, or risk a battle for the sake of the Athenians, when their own country was threatened; whereas, from the superior seamanship of the Grecians, the Persian fleet would be in great danger of being defeated; as the army had been at land. Had this wise counsel been adopted, Greece would inevitably have been lost. But Xerxes was blinded to follow the majority, for the worse †. B. VIII. § 67—69.

The same night on which this resolution was taken, Xerxes made his army proceed toward the Isthmus of Corinth. Alarmed at this movement, the Peloponnesians, at Salamis, held a second council, in which they overruled the Athenians, Æginetes, and Megareans, and resolved to depart, and sail to the succour of the Peninsula. But Themistocles artfully defeated their purpose

* This precedence was due to the king of Sidon; because "Sidon was the eldest son of Ham," Gen. x. 15. Thus does profane history, in this place, remarkably accord with sacred.

† "Without well concerted plans, the people fall; But in a Master-Counsellor is safety." Prov. xi. 14.

"Without a privy council, measures fail; But in a Master of the Counsellors, they shall stand." Prov. xv. 22.

"With well concerted plans, thou shalt make war; For in a Master-Counsellor is safety." Prov. xxiv. 6.

These similar and salutary proverbs, when rightly understood, have been materially injured by mistranslation. The phrase רבי רב, Rab Joets, is improperly rendered in the English Bible, "a multitude of counsellors;" than which, in state affairs, nothing can be more ruinous; for, according to a trite English proverb, "too many cooks spoil the broth." Rab, in the Chaldean and Persic languages, signified a "master," or "chief;" as, Rab Mag, "Master of the Magi," or the "Archimagus." Jer. xxxix. 3. Rab Sheker, "chief butler." Isa. xxxvi. 2. Hence, the Jewish title, Rabbi, "my master."

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by a stratagem*. He sent by night a trusty friend to Xerxes, to apprise him of their design, and advise him not to let slip this favourable opportunity of attacking the Grecians when they were divided among themselves, and incapable of effectual resistance. Xerxes swallowed the bait, and immediately ordered the Persian fleet to range themselves in three divisions, and stretch across the bay, so as to cut off the retreat of the Greeks, and in that array, to advance toward Salamis. This movement, fulfilling the Oracle, compelled the Greeks, next morning, to fight†, when they found themselves hemmed in by the enemy.

* The character of this "master-counsellor," Themistocles, is profoundly drawn, by a contemporary historian, who had the best opportunities of knowing it thoroughly, his own countryman, and fellow-citizen, Thucydides.

"Themistocles gave the surest indications of strong natural abilities, and was worthy to be highly admired more than any other, in this respect. For, by innate sagacity, without previous or subsequent instruction, and with the slightest consideration, he was the ablest judge of sudden emergencies; and the best guesser of what would happen in future contingencies: and whatever schemes he had in hand, he was able to expound. In matters with which he was unacquainted, he was by no means incompetent to form a sufficient judgment; and in a case still dubious, he foresaw, most readily, the better or the worse. In short, by force of genius, and quickness of decision, he was most able to execute, promptly, whatever was necessary to be done." Peloponnes. War, B. I. § 138.

† Æschylus, who fought in this battle himself, has given a minute and animated description of it, in his fine Tragedy of the Persians. He thus describes the signal for engaging, given throughout the Grecian fleet:

"Advance, ye sons of Greece, from thraldom save
Your country, save your wives, your children save,
The temples of your gods, the sacred tombs
Where rest your honoured ancestors: this day,
The common cause of all demands your valour."

—How strikingly does this resemble the gallant Nelson's, at Trafalgar.—"England expects that every man will do his duty!"—It is the finest comment thereon.

He thus appositely compares the Persian fleet, thronged in confusion, and broken through by the Grecian squadrons:

"Onward rush
The Greeks, amidst the ruins of the fleet,
(As through a shoal of fish, caught in the net)
Spreading destruction!"

—And it was thus Nelson and Collingwood broke through the enemies' line.

Indeed, as well remarked by Mitford, "his poetical sketch of this great transaction, is the most authoritative, the clearest, and the most consistent of any, that passed to posterity." Hist. Greece, chap. ix. § 5. Æschylus has been fortunate in his translator, Potter; who is among the few entitled to the rare praise of elegant, spirited, yet faithful translation in verse. Too many versifiers adopt that mode, to cover their ignorance, by loose paraphrase; which otherwise would be sooner exposed, by attempting the more difficult task of close and critical translation in prose.
The engagement was desperate, for the Persians fought in the presence of the king, who beheld it; on an elevated throne, placed on the shore. Queen Artemisia had a narrow escape; her galley was pursued by an Athenian, commanded by the brother of the poet Eschylus, and would inevitably have been taken, had she not, with great presence of mind, turned suddenly upon one of her own side, a Calyndian vessel, which happened to lie in her way, (with the commander of which she was also on ill terms,) attacked, and sunk it, with all the crew. Deceived by this stratagem, the Grecian, either thinking that she was of his own side, or had now deserted the barbarians, quitted the pursuit; and Xerxes, who beheld it, exclaimed, "My men are become women, and the women, men!" B.VIII. § 71—86. The taunt, however, was not true of the Persians; they fought with great resolution, and were chiefly overcome by local disadvantages. The Grecians lost forty ships; the Persians, two hundred, beside several that were taken.

This memorable battle was fought on the 20th of the Attic month Boedromion, according to Plutarch, corresponding to the 15th of September, B.C. 480; and therefore, on the sixth day of the Eleusinian rites*, on which the procession of the Mystic

* THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES.

These rites were introduced into Attica, from Egypt, about B.C. 1399, by Erechtheus, the principal founder of the popular religion, along with the worship of Neith, "the Goddess of Wisdom," at Sais; whence ΑΘΗΝ, reversed, the tutelar goddess of Athens. See Vol. III. p. 524, of this work.

This was the most celebrated, and the most solemn, of all the Grecian festivals. Hence it is often called μυστήρια, "the mysteries," singly, by way of eminence. And so superstitiously careful were they to conceal its sacred rites, that if any of the initiated divulged them, or if a stranger happened to be present thereat, they were put to death, as impious and profane offenders. Hence the solemn warning, 'Εκας εστε βεβηλοι, Proculeste profani, "Away ye profane!"

They were ultimately borrowed from the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles, which was celebrated precisely at the same season; beginning on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, corresponding to Boedromion, and lasting a week. This was designed to commemorate, with gratitude and thanksgiving, God's bounties of the harvest and vintage, when collected, and brought home; and was preceded by the preparatory rites of purification, and confession of sins, on the great day of Atonement, which was held on the tenth day of the same month. See Vol. II. p. 245, 249.—John the Baptist revived this institution, as preparatory to the Christian. Matt. iii. 1—6.

The analogy between these Jewish and Grecian rites, is very remarkable, and has not been sufficiently attended to by antiquaries. I shall attempt, therefore, to trace it more fully, in its several branches.

1. The allegorizing genius of the Egyptians and Grecians, turned the elements of corn and wine, on account of their utility to mankind, as "the staff of life," and as "making
Iacchus was held; for these rites began on the 15th of the month Boedromion, and lasted an entire week, till the 23d.

the heart glad," into the Pagan divinities of Ceres, the Goddess of Agriculture, and Iacchus, the God of the Vintage; and Proserpine, the daughter of Ceres, who disappeared, and was stolen by Pluto, the king of Hades, was emblematical of the new grain that springs up again, after the old, when the seed sown is corrupted, or dies in the earth; figuratively denoting the resurrection of mankind after death, of the good, to Elysium, and of the bad, to Tartarus. This natural and expressive imagery, is adopted in the New Testament. John xii. 24; 1 Cor. xv. 36–38. And is styled "a mystery.

1 Cor. xv. 51.

2. The mystic Iacchus was actually the primitive or patriarchal god of the Hebrews, ֶלָּאָה, or ֶלָּאָח, strongly aspirated, and stript of its Greek termination, or. This we learn from the Clarian Oracle, (instituted before the Trojan war) in answer to the enquiry; "Of the gods, which is he to be held, who is called IAQ?" (The God of Israel, ֶלָּאָה, Iahoh.)

The initiated are bound to conceal orgies not to be enquired into; But in disguise, is small understanding and a feeble mind. Learn then, that IAO is GOD SUPREME OF ALL.

Pluto in winter; Dis when spring begins, The SUN in summer; in autumn bounteous IACCHUS," [IAO.]

Thus explained by Orpheus:

Εἰς ΖΕΥΣ, εἰς 'ΛΗΩΣ, εἰς 'ΗΛΙΟΣ, εἰς ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ.

"One Dis, one Pluto, one Sun, one Bacchus."

Here the last term, Διονυσός, (signifying, according to Macrobius, Διος νους, "the mind of Dis, or Jove," which is an acknowledged title of Bacchus, proves that the last word of the Oracle, corresponding thereto, could not be Ιαω, (as in the present text of Macrobius,) but Iacchus, the primitive name, of which Bacchus was a corruption. All these inferior gods, therefore, were expounded to signify only the energies or emanations of the ONE supreme God, under different names, in the various physical functions of his providence. The earlier Greeks represented Iacchus as the son of Jove and Ημέρης, "mother earth," or Ceres.

3. On the sixth day of the festival, the image of Iacchus, crowned with myrtle, was taken in solemn procession for ten miles, from the Ceramicus, in Athens, by the sacred way, through the Thriasian plain, to the mystical entrance of the Temple of Ceres, at Eleusis, the largest and noblest in all Greece. Before the god marched δανυνχος, "the torch-bearer," and ηρυξ, "the herald," carrying "the mystic fan of Iacchus," to winnow, as it were, the chaff from the corn, or the bad from the good; and to burn the chaff with his torch. These emblematical ceremonies were likewise used at the feast of Tabernacles, as we may collect from the Baptist herald's description of the true Iacchus, CHRIST, "whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his threshing floor,

Herodotus has recorded a most signal prodigy, which happened on that day, shortly before the battle began, which also is copied by Plutarch, in his life of Themistocles.

and gather the wheat into his granary, (heaven;) but burn the chaff with unquenchable fire,” (in hell,) Matt. iii. 12. See Vol. II. p. 335 of this work.

In the Αναμακα, or “festival of the wine-press,” corresponding to this, the torch-bearer cried out to the people, Καλέσε θεόν, “Call ye upon God;” and they answered Σμαλά, Ιακχέ, πλουηθότα. Here the term Σμαλά scarcely admits a grammatical or intelligible construction; but, connected with the Hebrew Ιακχέ, or Ιαχ, may it not easily denote שְׁמֵאָלָה Shema-li, “Hearken to me,” as in Levit. xxvi. 21, and in numberless places? This will give consistency to the people’s response, individually: “Hearken to me, O IAH, thou giver of wealth;” an epithet exactly corresponding to “the bounteous Iacchus” of the Clarian Oracle, so finely explained by the learned Apostle of the Gentiles as “doing good, sending us refreshing showers from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness,” [with corn and wine,] Acts xiv. 17; Psal. civ. 15.

Not knowing, or rather forgetting, the meaning of the Hebrew phrase Shema-li, “hearken to me,” the later Greeks easily metamorphosed it into a woman, Semelé, the fictitious mother of Bacchus, who was supposed to have expired at the sight of Jove arrayed in all the terrors of his glory, as at Sinai; thus contradicting their primitive tradition, that Iacchus was the son of Ceres, and the brother of Proserpine. The term was transported to Rome; for Livy relates, that in B.C. 186 “the Bacchanals held their nocturnal rites in a grove called Simila,” Lib. XXXIX. cap. 12, which Crevier, in his note, ignorantly turned into Stimula.

And this conjecture is supported by the number of Hebrew words and phrases used in the celebration of these mysteries, which were totally unknown to the commentators, such as Evōv Σαβω! a corruption of Ιωω Σαβαωθ, “Lord of Hosts;” or Iw, Δασποτα! “Sovereign, Lord;” Αλεν Ιου, a corruption of Ιαλελου-Ιαν, “Praise ye the Lord;” where Ιου is the Phoenician pronunciation of Ιαω; and Iω and Iou Grecian contractions of the same.

The mysterious words Κογξ, Ομ, Παξ, which closed these ceremonies, we learn from Captain Wilford, are pure Sanscrit, and are used at this day by Brahmens, at the conclusion of religious rites. In their sacred books they are written Canscha, Om, Pascha. He renders the first, Canscha, “the object of our most ardent desires;” Om is the sacred monosyllable signifying “Being,”* and universally applied to the Su-

* The poets, Homer and Virgil, have given popular illustrations of the Eleusinian Mysteries, in the descents of Ulysses and Αneas to Hades, or the Shades, where they saw the good in Elysium, the wicked in Tartarus.

† Both the Greek Σμαλά, and the Latin Simila, preserve the Iota subscriptum, corresponding to the last Hebrew letter, Iod, and prove the identity of all three, Shema-li, Σμαλά, and Simila.

‡ From the Hebrew יָאָמ Anm, or An, or Chaldee يَاُم, Hôn, both signifying “being, substance,” were evidently derived the most ancient and universal titles of the supreme Being, from the rising to the setting sun; the Egyptian and Phoenician Anm, An, or Om, Gen. xli. 45—50; Josh. vii. 2; Ezek. xxx. 17; the Greek ου, and in the neuter ον; the Chinese ήν, or un; the Hindu and Eleusinian Anm or Om; and the Irish Omh; which was well explained by Orpheus, οὐροφονής, “self-begotten,” though misapplied to the sun in the progress of idolatry.
"Dicaeus, an Athenian exile in repute among the Persians, who happened to be in company with Demaratus, the exiled

PREME BEING; and Pacsha, he thinks, the obsolete Latin word Pax, signifying "change or fortune." *Asiat. Research.* Vol. V. p. 300. But the last is more naturally the identical Latin Pax, or "Peace," which was used in solemn salutations, "Peace be with you." And the whole may correspond to that sublime doxology, "Glory to God in the highest; and on earth Peace, good will toward men." Luke ii. 14.

3. After they entered the mystic temple at Eleusis, they first washed their hands in holy water, in token of purification, and then the sacred mysteries were read to them by 'O eart Bouq, "the priest of the altar," out of a book called περπωμα, (from πέρα, a stone,) which was composed of two stone tablets, fitly joined together, to be their future rule of conduct. "The initiated were required," says Porphyry, "to offer up fruits to the gods, and not to hurt animals." After this thunderings and lightnings, frightful noises and apparitions, appalled the spectators. Who does not see in all this a pantomime exhibition* of the awful promulgation of the Decalogue on Mount

The God of the Hebrews, יָה, Iah, was also the Patriarchal God, signifying "the same," or "unchangeable;" and יָהָי, the God of Israel, signifying "one."

"Iah is my strength, and my song,
And hath become my salvation.
He is my God, and I will build him a tabernacle;
The God of my Father, and I will exalt Him.
IAH is a man of war, IAH is his name."—EXOD. XV. 2.

See my Dissertations, No. VI. and Vol. II. p. 183, of this work.

* Horace seems to have been initiated in these mysteries. He reprobates a divulger of the mysteries of Ceres as unsafe to live under the same roof, or to sail in company with, for fear of incurring shipwreck from divine vengeance.

Est et fidei tuta silentio
Merces: vetabo qui Cereris sacrum
Vulgaris arcana, sub iisdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemve mecum
Solvat Phaselum.—Od. Ill. 2, 25.

And in his Bacchanalian Odes he evidently describes those pantomime exhibitions, Od. II. 19; Ill. 25.

**BACCHUM in remotis carmina rupibus**
Vidi docentem,—credite Posteri!——
Euwel (evoi) recenti mens trepidat metu,
Plenique Bacchi pectore, turbidum
Luetat. Ewuel parce, Liber,
Parce, gravi metuende thyrao.—
Tu flectis amnes, tu, mare barbarum!——
Te vidit, insons Cerberus, aureo
Cornu decorum.—
Quo me, BACCH, rapis tui
Plenum! quæ necora, aut quos agor in specus,

Velox,
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

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king of Sparta, in the Thriasian plain, (west of Athens,) related that they saw a great cloud of dust, such as might be raised by

Sinai, in all its terrors; written afterwards with the finger of God on two stone tablets, the substance of which was thus inculcated, in a most impressive form, to the initiated?

4. During the festival week it was unlawful to arrest any person for debt, or to commence a law suit, under penalty of a thousand drachmas; and ladies were not permitted at that time to ride in chariots, under penalty of six thousand drachmas. These strongly resemble the remission of debts, and perfect freedom and equality of rich and poor, prescribed by the Levitical law during the sabbatical years and jubilees, which began the Jewish civic year at the seventh month.

The Eleusinian mysteries were of two sorts, the lesser, dedicated to Proserpine, and the greater, to Ceres. The initiated in the lower mysteries were called μυστικὰ, "Mystics," or Novices, from their imperfect views; in the higher, ευπορτικα, "inspectors," and τελειωσις, "perfect" as adepts, admitted to full and perfect knowledge. Paul, so conversant in the heathen religion and philosophy, finely alludes to both, 1 Cor. xiii. 9–12; Phil. iii. 12—15. And he seems to intimate some analogy between the lower and Baptism; and the higher and the Lord's Supper; 1 Cor. ii. 6, 7, xii. 13. The early Fathers carried the analogy too far.

These mysteries, at their original institution, and for several ages after, were well calculated to support the cause of religion and virtue in the heathen world. Plato, in his Phaedo, represents Socrates, though not initiated himself, (which was brought as a charge against him) as reproving them in the following terms.

"They who established the perfect mysteries, (τελειωτας) were no ordinary persons; for in reality, thereby was enigmatically signified (αμυντισθαν) of old, that whoever was not initiated in the lower, and not perfected in the higher mysteries, (αμυνηγος, και τελειωσις) should go to Hades, and there lie in mire; but whoever had been both purified and perfected, (κεκαθαρμενος τε και τελειωμενος) when he arrives there, shall dwell with gods." And Isocrates, the scholar of Socrates, commends them "as fortifying the initiated against the fear of death, and inspiring hope of a happy immortality." Panegyr. § 24.

The lesser mysteries were popular, and open to all; in them was inculcated the doctrine of a presiding Providence, and a future state of reward and punishment in Elysium and Tartarus. And the poets Homer and Virgil, in their descents of Ulysses and Æneas into Hades, have adopted the popular mythology taught therein, and interspersed instructive lessons to the world.

Discite
AN ALYSIS OF

an army of 30,000 men marching, which came from Eleusis, (lying at the end of the plain westwards, and then in ruins.) This cloud of dust was accompanied with a voice like that addressed to the Mystic Iacchus. Not being acquainted with the Eleusinian rites, Demaratus asked the meaning of this appearance and voice? Dicæus answered, that it portended some great disaster to the king’s forces: for since Attica is laid waste, it is evidently the Deity himself who is speaking *, as he is going from Eleusis to avenge the cause of the Athenians and their auxiliaries: if it go (westward) toward Peloponnesus, it threatens danger to the king and his army by land; but if it turn (southward) toward the ships at Salamis, the king will be in

Discite justitiam, moniti, et non temnere Divos.

"Warned by these dreadful examples, be wise;
Learn justice betimes; despise not the gods."

ÆNEID. VI. 620.

The greater mysteries were more select, and confined to fewer: containing ἀπορρητα, "secrets," not to be divulged. They probably were designed at first, to correct the grosser errors and corruptions of the popular superstition, which ascribed human passions and vices to the Gods and Goddesses, to the great detriment of public morals; libertines screening their own vices under such imposing examples. These they taught were no other than dead mortals, deified or canonized for their useful inventions. And they inculcated the unity of the supreme God, representing the secondary Gods as so many energies, or emanations of the Deity, as we see in the Clarian Oracle and Orphic Comment. But in process of time, this recondite mysticism degenerated into downright materialism, and even Atheism. While the obscene parts of generation, the Phallus, or Priapus, &c. carried in procession at these ceremonies, though denoting, at first, only, the mysterious new birth and spiritual regeneration of the initiated, when the symbolical meanings came to be forgotten, opened a door to the most horrid and impure practices, under cover of night, when they were performed; so that they became infamous, and were at length abolished by the civil powers. Livy has given a circumstantial and most interesting account of the disclosure that led to the suppression of the Bacchanals, at Rome, B.C. 186, while he candidly praises the original institution, and its founders.

"Many institutions contributing to the culture both of mind and body, were imported among us, from Greece, that most instructed (eruditissima) of all nations." Lib. xxxix. § 8—19. And Cicero praises it nearly in the same terms; "Though Athens produced many excellent and divine inventions, and applied them to soften and improve the rusticity of mankind, nothing is better than the mysteries, truly called initia, or rudiments of life, which not only teach to live happily here, but to hope for a better life hereafter. What I dislike in these nocturnal rites, the comic poets will shew you," (who lashed the intrigues and licentiousness practised therein.) De Legib. Lib. II. c. 14. The Eleusinian mysteries subsisted for 1800 years, till they were abolished by Theodosius the Great. Zosimus. Hist. B. iv.


* Θιον το φθαγγαμενον.
danger of losing his fleet. The voice which you hear is the usual invocation of Iacchus*, at the anniversary feast of Ceres and Proserpine. On this Demaratus said, Hush, and tell this to no one else, for if these words should be brought to the king, you would lose your head, and neither I nor any other person would be able to save you. Keep silence then, and leave the issue of this warfare to the Gods. Such was his advice. After the dust and voice appeared a cloud, which rising aloft was borne toward Salamis, to the Grecian fleet. Thence they learned that the fleet of Xerxes would be destroyed. Dicaeus, the son of Theocycles, related this, and appealed to Demaratus and other witnesses." B. VIII. § 65.

This prodigy, so credibly attested, (and Herodotus himself might have heard it from the original witnesses,) bears a most remarkable reference to the foregoing Oracles, and to the Eleusinian mysteries. Such signs and wonders surely, might reasonably have proceeded from the God of Truth himself, "the Patriarchal God," the "Lord of Hosts," and "their Sovereign Lord," whom their Oracles and their mysteries still confessed, and invoked, with more zeal than knowledge, amidst the corruptions of their popular religion; and who might graciously interfere himself, to support the spirits of the oppressed Greeks, that they might indeed "Praise the Lord," more devoutly for their marvellous deliverance; and also to chastize and punish the impiety and presumption, the sacrilege and aggression of that "son of violence," and those servile "sons of women," who aided and abetted his enormities. And the Greeks accordingly, piously ascribed this victory to heaven, as we learn from various documents; from the admirable speech of Themistocles, especially, dissuading the Athenians from pursuing the remnant of the Persian fleet, for the present; but rather to profit by the favourable respite now given them, and attend to their domestic concerns.

"I have observed myself, Athenians, in many instances, and I have heard, in many more, that men driven to desperation, after being conquered, have fought again, and retrieved their former cowardice. Let us then, after finding deliverance for our-

* Τὴν φωνὴν, τῆς ακοινῆς, εἰς ταύτην τὴ γοργή, ἀκεχαζοῦν. See the preceding note on the Eleusinian mysteries.
selves and for Greece, by repulsing such a *cloud* of men, not pursue a flying enemy. Nor have we wrought this deliverance *ourselves*; but rather the Gods and Heroes, jealous lest a single man should reign over both Asia and Europe. One, who is impious and injurious; who makes no distinction between things sacred and profane, burning and throwing down the *images of the Gods*; who even scourged, and flung fetters into the sea! Let us rather, improving the present favourable juncture, remain in Greece, and mind ourselves and our families; and let each of us rebuild his house, and industriously attend to husbandry, after he shall have completely expelled the barbarian. And then, at the commencement of spring, we may sail to invade the Hellespont and Ionia.” B. VIII. § 109.

FLIGHT OF XERXES.

After the decisive battle of Salamis, Xerxes sent the remnant of his fleet to the Hellespont, to secure that retreat, which he now meditated, and to protect his bridge. B. VIII. § 107. And with a view to procure supplies of provisions in a friendly country, he sent forward his forces towards Boeotia; where he appointed Mardonius to the command of a select army of 800,000 chosen men, to remain in Thessaly during the winter, and to attack Peloponnnesus the ensuing spring. When they reached Thessaly, the Lacedæmonians, by advice of the Delphic Oracle, sent a herald to the Persian camp, to demand satisfaction for the death of their king Leonidas, and to accept the answer, whatever it might be. Xerxes smiled, and, after some pause, said, pointing to Mardonius, “there is the man who shall

* This simple and natural imagery, “a *cloud* of men,” is also *scriptural*, and applied with great effect by the prophet Ezekiel to the disastrous invasion of the Holy Land in the latter days, by the numerous hosts of Gog.

“Thou shalt go up, and come like a *tempest*; thou shalt be a *cloud* to cover the land, thou and all thy bands, and thy peoples with thee:——Persia, Æthiopia, and with them Libya, all armed with shields and helmets.

——But I will turn thee back, and put hooks into thy jaws, [like an ensnared crocodile]; I will turn thee back, and leave but the sixth part of thee.——And I will smite thy bow out of thy left hand, and I will cause thine arrows to fall out of thy right hand.

——Thou shalt fall upon the mountains of Israel, thou and all thy bands, and the people that is with thee. I will give thee unto the ravenous birds of every sort, and to the beasts of the field, to be devoured.” Ezek. ch. xxxviii. xxxix.
give them due satisfaction." The answer was ominous. B. VIII. § 113, 114.

Xerxes, leaving Mardonius in Thessaly, marched in haste, with the rest of the host, toward the Hellespont, where he arrived in forty-five days, with scarcely a pittance of his army*, miserably wasted as it was, both by famine and pestilence, on the way †. His march was probably quickened by the intelligence he received from Themistocles, of the deliberations of the Grecian confederates to pursue him, and break down his bridge of ships ‡.

When Xerxes reached the Hellespont, he found the bridge already broken and destroyed by storms. His fleet, however, which was in waiting, conveyed him and the shattered remains of his millions from the Chersonese to Abydos, on the coast of Asia; whence he returned to Sardis, and remained there during the continuance of the war. Herodotus rejects the exaggerated account of his crossing the Hellespont in a storm, in which he was nearly lost in a Phoenician vessel. B. VIII. § 115—130.

The Persian fleet after attending the king at the Hellespont, wintered at Cyme, in that neighbourhood, and in the following spring, B.C. 479, assembled at the island of Samos, in order to secure the fidelity of the Ionians and their squadron, amounting to 300 vessels. On the other side, the Grecian fleet, consisting of 110 ships, assembled first at Ægina, and proceeded as far as the island of Delos. Both fleets remained in their respective harbours, during the winter and the ensuing spring; neither daring to advance, for fear of the other. B. VIII. § 130—132.

MARDONIUS.

Mardonius, on the approach of spring, made an attempt to gain over the Athenians, and draw them off from the confederacy. With this view, he sent Alexander, the son of

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* The original expression is remarkably strong, though simple. Ἀπαγων τῆς στρατιάς οὐδὲν μερος, ὡς εἰπα. Leading off not a particle of his army, as one may say.
† "The invasion only had been considered; the retreat was unprovided for." Mitford.
‡ Xerxes was probably terrified also to retreat with all expedition, by an eclipse of the sun, about 7 digits, Oct. 2, aftern. 1 h. 21 m. B.C. 480; which so dismayed Cleombrotus, the king of Sparta, while he was sacrificing for success against the Persians, at the Isthmus of Corinth, which he was then employed in fortifying, that he quitted the works and marched home with his army. B. IX. § 10.
Amnytas, king of Macedon, their friend, to treat with them, who thus addressed them, in the presence of the Lacedæmonian deputies, whom the Athenian leaders had judiciously sent for to attend the conference. "Athenians, thus saith Mardonius, A message is come to me from the king, saying, I forgive the Athenians all the offences, committed on their parts, against me. Now therefore, Mardonius do this: In the first place, restore them their own land; and in the next, add thereto any other that they themselves may choose; and let them be governed by their own laws; and if they be willing to compromise with me, rebuild all their temples that I burned."—"Be ye therefore persuaded, for it is highly honourable to you, that the great king, forgiving your offences alone of all the Greeks, is willing to become your friend." He added also, the ruin they would bring upon themselves and their country, which would be the theatre of war between both parties, if they refused to comply; and that his mediation was prompted solely by friendship to them.

Steady to the common cause, the Athenians answered.—"Tell Mardonius, thus say the Athenians:—Whilst the sun holds his course, we will never compromise with Xerxes; but relying on the aid of the Gods and Heroes, whose temples and statues he has contempently burnt, we resolve to resist him to the last extremity. And as for you, Alexander, appear no more among the Athenians with such messages; nor under colour of rendering us good offices, exhort us to do what is abominable. For we wish not that you should suffer any unpleasant treatment on the part of the Athenians, as being a guest, and also a friend."

Then turning to the Spartan deputies, who were fearful lest they should come to an accommodation with Xerxes, they said, "Not all the gold in the world, nor the greatest, richest and most beautiful country shall ever tempt us, by medizing (μεδίσαντες), to enslave Greece! Many and cogent reasons forbid us to do this, even if we were so disposed; the first and greatest is, the temples and statues of the Gods, burnt and reduced to ashes, which we are bound to avenge to the uttermost, rather than compromise with the perpetrator. In the next place, the

* Alexander afterwards visited them in kindness, and in secrecy, the night before the battle of Plataea, to apprise the Athenians of the intended attack.
Grecian commonwealth, all of the same blood and same language, having common altars and sacrifices of the Gods, and similar customs, which it would not well become Athenians to betray. Know therefore now, if ye knew it not before, that whilst one of the Athenians shall survive, we never will compromise with Xerxes. We admire your forethought with respect to us, now that our houses and harvests are destroyed, in offering to entertain our families, and we thank you abundantly; but we shall seek to procure subsistence without burthening you. In the present posture of affairs, only send forth an army with all possible speed; for the barbarian, we conclude, will not long delay to invade our territories, so soon as he shall hear the account of our utter refusal to comply with his proposals. Now is the season, therefore, for you to march into Boeotia, and assist us, by diverting his attention to that quarter before he arrives in Attica.” B. VIII. § 144.

They judged rightly, for as soon as Mardonius heard from Alexander, on his return, the fixed resolutions of the Athenians, setting out from Thessaly, he led his army directly towards Athens, collecting troops in whatever places he passed through. On his way through Boeotia, the traitorous Thebans advised him to halt, and encamp in their country, as the most convenient; and that, by so doing, he might reduce all Greece, without a battle, merely by bribing the leading men in the several states. This would split Greece into factions. And then, said they, you may easily reduce, at first, the disaffected, and then the factious.

Fortunately for Greece, this artful and mischievous counsel was overruled, by his vehement desire to take Athens a second time, and his vanity, wishing to shew the king at Sardis, by fire signals, stationed through the islands, that he was in possession of Athens. Accordingly, Mardonius entered the city, which he found deserted, in the tenth month after it had been taken by the king. B. IX. § 1—3.

So long as the Athenians expected that the Peloponnesian army would come to their succour, they remained in Attica; but when they found that the allies postponed their levies and delayed to march, and that the enemy was already in Boeotia, on his way, they removed all their effects to Salamis, and sent deputies to Sparta, to complain of their tardiness, their breach of promise, and desertion of the common cause, in not opposing
the enemy in Boeotia, but suffering him to advance into Attica; and next, to require that they would speedily send an army to their assistance, in order that they might oppose him in Attica; recommending the Thriasian plain as the fittest to give him battle. But the Peloponnesians, having now finished their fortified wall at the Isthmus, were careless about the matter; and while celebrating the Hyacinthian games*, after the summer solstice, they put off their answer to the Athenian deputies for ten days. When at length, fearing that the Athenians, exasperated, would realize their threat of quitting the confederacy, making peace with the king, and becoming his allies, they sent off, in haste, a trifling force of five thousand troops, toward the Isthmus, to their assistance. B. IX. § 6–11.

The conduct of the Peloponnesians, in general, and of the Lacedæmonians, at their head, appears, even by the reluctant account of Plutarch, (in Aristides) confirming Herodotus, to have been most ungenerous, ungrateful and faithless, if not downright dastardly: while that of the Athenians was magnanimous even to enthusiasm. Deprived of their country, and apparently betrayed by their confederates, the Persian general, Mardonius, thought this a favourable opportunity for renewing his attempt to conciliate the Athenians. He therefore sent Murichides, a Hellespontine Greek, to Salamis, to repeat the former offers made by Alexander. Lycidas, a member of the council of five hundred, either approving the proposals, or bribed by Mardonius, recommended that they should be referred to the people. But the Athenians, both in and out of the council, when they heard it, fired with indignation, gathered round him, and stoned him to death. While the women, hearing the tumult, and the fate of Lycidas, encouraging each other, rushed to his house, of their own accord, and stoned his wife and children!

By this second tragedy, following up the former, ten months before; thus evincing their decided and obstinate determination, one and all, to carry on an internecine war with the enslaver of their country, till either he should be expelled, or they buried in its ruins. Respecting the law of nations, however, they dismissed Murichides unhurt. B. IX. § 4, 5.

Mardonius finding the Athenians implacable, and hearing

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*The Hyacinthian games were celebrated during three days, in the Attic month Hecatombaion, as we learn from Hesychius. But this month began about the summer solstice, which ascertains the time of the year.
from the Argives, his partizans in the Peninsula, that the Lace-
demonian band had marched toward the Isthmus, and fearing to
be attacked by the confederates in Attica, which was disadvan-
tageous for his cavalry, and if defeated by them, to be intercepted
in the narrow passes, retired into Bœotia, after he had wreaked
his vengeance on Attica, which he had spared so long as the
negociation lasted. He burned the city, and razed to the ground
all the remaining houses, walls and temples, which Xerxes had
left. And when he reached the Theban territory, which was
friendly and convenient for his cavalry, in which his chief
strength lay, he fortified a large camp near the river Asopus, for
a place of refuge, in case of defeat. B. IX. § 13—15.

These defensive and precautionary measures were not calcu-
lated to raise the spirits of the Persians; and the following
remarkable anecdote, shewing the despondency of the more
intelligent among them, respecting the issue of the campaign, is
told by Herodotus.

While the Barbarians were employed in this work, Atta-
ginus, a Theban, prepared a magnificent entertainment, and
invited to it, Mardonius and fifty of the principal Persians, in
the city of Thebes. The result I heard myself from Thersander,
a man of the first consideration at Orchomenos. He said, that
he had been invited, with fifty Thebans, by Attaginus, to this
supper. At table, they chequered, a Persian and a Theban
reclining on every couch. After supper, while they were drink-
ing freely, the Persian, his associate, asked him in Greek, what
countryman he was? And when he answered, An Orchomenian,
the Persian proceeded thus: Since you and I share the same
table, and the same libations, I wish to leave you a memorial
of my sentiments; that being forewarned, you may have an
opportunity of consulting your own interest. Do you see these
Persians at supper, and the army which we left encamped on
the banks of the river? Of all these, in a very short space of
time, you will see very few surviving. Saying this, the Per-

* Aeschylus, with great judgment and the happiest effect, has put a similar prediction
in the mouth of the Ghost of Darius, when evoked, by Atossa, and the Chorus, in his
masterly historical play of the Persians.

Darius. "Those in the fields of Greece that now remain,
Shall not revisit, safe, the Persian shore!

Chorus. What! shall not all the host of Persia pass
Again from Europe o'er the Hellespont?
sian shed many tears. Astonished at this discourse, Thersander said to him, Ought you not, then, to communicate this to Mardonius, and the Persians of rank with him? But he replied, No, my friend, what God hath decreed, it is impossible for man to prevent: none of them are willing to hearken to faithful advisers. Though many of us, (Persians), know this, we follow, alas! bound by necessity. Of all the calamities incident to mankind, the most galling is, that the more prudent should have no authority.”

Darius. Of all their numbers, few:—if aught availeth
The faith of Heaven-sent Oracles, to him
That weighs the past; in their accomplishment,
Not partial.—Hence, he [Xerxes] left (in faithless hope
Confiding) his selected train of heroes [with Mardonius.]
These have their station where Asopus flows
Watering the plain, whose grateful currents roll
Diffusing plenty through Boeotia's fields.
There, Misery waits to crush them with the load
Of heaviest ills, in vengeance for their proud
And impious daring; for where'er they held
Through Greece their march, they feared not to profane
The statues of their Gods, their hallowed shrines
Emblazed, o'erturned their altars, and in ruins,
Rent from their firm foundations, to the ground
Levelling their temples. Such their frantic deeds,
Not less their sufferings: greater still await them;
For vengeance hath not wasted all her stores,
The heap yet swells: for in Plataea's plains,
Beneath the Doric spear the clotted mass
Of carnage shall arise: that the high mounds,
Piled o'er the dead, to late posterity
Shall give this silent record to men's eyes,
That proud aspiring thoughts but ill beseech
Weak mortals! For Oppression, where it springs,
Puts forth the blade of Vengeance, and its fruit
Yields a ripe harvest of repentant woe.
Behold this vengeance, and remember, Greece!
Remember, Athens! Henceforth, let not Pride,
Her present state disdaining, strive to grasp
Another's; and her treasured happiness
Shed on the ground! Such insolent attempts
Awake the vengeance of offended Jove.”  

Potter's translation.

The fine concluding admonition to Greece, and to Athens in particular, the most determined foe of Persia, contained the soundest political counsel to the Athenians, when this play was acted, eight years after the battle of Plataea, to listen to the Persian monarch's proposals of peace; which they might then have made on the most advantageous terms.
This, says Herodotus, I heard from Thersander the Orcho- 
menian, who also told me, that he had communicated it to 
others, forthwith, before the battle of Plataea.

A few days after this entertainment, furnished Mardonius 
with a striking specimen of Grecian spirit. Among his auxilia-
ries, he was joined by a body of a thousand Phoceans, rather 
from necessity than inclination. Either suspecting their fidel-
ity, which the Thessalians in his service had maligned, or else 
to prove their courage, Mardonius ordered them to be surrounded 
by his cavalry, who came on, menacing with their weapons, as 
if ready to destroy them. But the Phocean commander ex-
horted his men "to die like heroes, and shew those barbarians, that 
the men, whose death they meditated, were Grecians." Accord-
ingly, the Phoceans faced about every way, and closed 
their ranks in column. Upon which, the Persian cavalry 
wheelèd about, and retired, as Mardonius had directed. He 
then sent a herald to inform them, that he only meant to prove 
their courage, which had been misrepresented; and exhorted 
them to act with alacrity in the war, assuring them, that they 
should not outdo him and the king in services. B. IX. § 17, 18.

On the other side, the rest of the Peloponnesians, roused by 
the example of the Lacedæmonians, prepared themselves in 
earnest, to prosecute the war with vigour. They raised their 
quotas, and followed to the Isthmus. There they joined the 
Lacedæmonians, and the Athenians from Salamis, and marched 
directly into Boötia, to Mount Cithæron, in the neighbourhood 
of the Persian army. They were soon attacked by the Persian 
cavalry, whom they routed, and slew their leader, Masistius, 
who was next in consideration to Mardonius himself; and 
afterwards, they proceeded to Plataea, not far from Thebes. B. 
IX. § 19—25.
ANALYSIS OF

BATTLE OF PLATAEA.

Their army consisted of 110,000 men*, the flower of which, were the Lacedaemonians, Tegeatae, and Athenians. The Persians amounted to 300,000 men, beside 50,000 Grecians, who joined them, voluntarily, like the Thebans, or by compulsion, as the Phoceans, Thessalians, and indeed most of the rest. B. IX. § 28—32.

These two armies remained in their posts for ten days, encamped on each side of the river Asopus, neither caring to cross it, and begin the engagement. On the eleventh, it took place; and the Persians were completely defeated, chiefly by the deter-

* Herodotus gives the number of the confederates in their order of battle, at Plataea, beginning from the right wing to the left; and the corresponding order of the enemy. B. IX. § 28—32.

| Lacedaemonians | 10,000 | Persians, &c. |
| Tegeatae | 1500 |
| Corinthians | 5000 |
| Ptolemaeans | 300 |
| Arcadians | 600 |
| Sicyonians | 3000 |
| Epidaurians | 800 |
| Trozenians | 1000 |
| Lepreatae | 200 |
| Mycenians | 400 |
| Phliasians | 1000 |
| Hermionians | 300 |
| Eretrians | 600 |
| Chalcidians | 400 |
| Ampracitae | 500 |
| Leucadians | 800 |
| Cephalenians | 200 |
| Eginetæ | 500 |
| Megareans | 3000 |
| Plataeans | 600 |
| Athenians | 8000 |

Heavy armed troops 38700
Light armed Helots 35000
Light armed other Greeks 34500

108200

Thespians without arms 1800

Total 110,000
mined valour of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, the greater part of the confederates having basely deserted them the night before the engagement*. Mardonius himself was slain; and of the Persian host, not more than 3000 escaped, except a select body of 40,000 men under the command of Artabazus, who had in vain dissuaded the rash and impetuous Mardonius from hazarding a battle, but advised him to retire under the walls of Thebes, where he had great magazines of provisions and forage, and where he might at leisure corrupt the heads of the Grecian confederacy, by means of the great quantity of gold and silver, coined and uncoined, plate, rich furniture, &c. which he possessed. Artabazus, therefore, when he saw the Persians worsted, as he expected, marched with all expedition towards the Hellespont, but lost great numbers of his men on the way, either cut off by the Thracians, or worn out with fatigue and hunger; and he transported the remnant from Byzantium, or Constantinople, to Asia. The loss of the Grecians was inconsiderable; only 91 Lacedæmonians, 16 Tegeatae, and 52 Athenians; and the whole amounted only to 1360 men, according to Plutarch. B. IX. § 41—89.

The battle of Platea was fought in the second year of the 75th Olympiad, when Xanthippus was Archon of Athens, B.C. 479; according to Diodorus Siculus, B. XI. chap. 3; and on the third or fourth day of the month Boedromion, according to Plutarch, in his lives of Camillus and Aristides, corresponding to the 28th or 29th of August, near a twelvemonth after the battle of Salamis.

Lycurgus, in his oration against Leocrates, has preserved the copy of an oath taken by the Grecian confederates before the battle of Platea, which strongly marks the national character.

"I will not prefer life to liberty; I will not abandon my leaders alive or dead; I will grant burial to all the confederates slain in battle; after having gained the victory over the Barba-

* The greater part of the Greeks deserted the night before the battle, from the confederate army, in order to escape the enemy's cavalry, which had annoyed them greatly; and, retiring about 20 stadia towards Platea, they encamped near the temple of Juno, opposite to the city. Next day, however, hearing that the battle was fought, and Pausanias and the Lacedæmonians victorious, the Corinthians, Megarians, and Phthiasians, hurried towards the field of battle, in disorder; but were attacked by the Theban cavalry, who covered the retreat (or rather flight) of the enemy, and slew six hundred of these renegado Greeks, driving the rest toward mount Cithæron. Thus did they perish ingloriously by the traitorous hands of their own countrymen. B. IX. § 52, 69.
rians, I will not destroy any city which shall have fought for Greece, but I will decimate all those that have sided with the Barbarians. I will not rebuild any of the temples burnt or thrown down by the Barbarians, but will leave them subsisting in their present state, to serve as a memorial of their impiety to posterity." Larcher's note, B. IX. § 19, (22).

After the Grecians had buried their dead on the plain of Plataea *, and piously devoted a tenth of the spoils to sacred uses, they held a council, and agreed to march against Thebes, and demand that the Medizers should be given up, especially Timegenides, and Attaginus, the ringleaders; that otherwise they would not desist, until they had destroyed the city. On the eleventh day after the battle, therefore, they besieged the Thebans, demanding those persons; but the Thebans refusing to give them up, they ravaged their territory, and made incursions to the very walls. On the twentieth day of the siege, Timegenides generously offered to become a victim, to save the city, while Attaginus fled. The Thebans accordingly gave up Timegenides, and the rest of his abettors, and also the children of Attaginus, to Pausanias, king of Sparta, who having dismissed the confederates, took with him these Thebans, and executed them at Corinth; but he acquitted the children of Attaginus, saying, that "the children were not guilty of Medism." This was just and humane. B. IX. § 81—88.

**BATTLE OF MYCALE.**

The same day, the Grecians obtained another signal victory at Mycale, in Ionia, over the Persian fleet. Both fleets had remained inactive before, in their respective harbours at Delos and Samos. At length, the Grecians were urged, by an embassy from Ionia, to commence hostilities; assuring them, that the

* We learn from Plutarch, that the Grecians, after they had interred the slain, erected an altar on the spot, with the following inscription:

"The Greeks, their country freed, the Persians slain,
Have reared this altar on the glorious field,
To Freedom's patron, Jove."

And, on the anniversary of the battle, there was a general assembly of the Greeks, held at Platea, to sacrifice to Jove the Deliverer, for the victory; which subsisted till Plutarch's time. See his Aristides.

This strongly marks their religious character, along with the consecration of the spoils in the temples.
Ionians would revolt and join them as soon as they appeared, and that the Barbarians, whose ships were slow sailers, and not a match for the Grecian, would not sustain an attack. Leutychides, the Spartan admiral, happening to ask the speaker's name, he answered, Hegesistratus, signifying "leader of the army." Immediately, Leutychides hailed the omen, dismissed the rest of the embassy with assurance of succour, but retained Hegesistratus to conduct them to Samos. B. IX. § 90, 91. The Grecian fleet consisted of two hundred and fifty triremes, according to Diodorus, B. XI. chap. 34.

The Persian fleet, shunning an engagement*, retired to the Peninsula of Mycale, on the Ionian coast, near Miletus, and there drew up their ships on the beach, and fortified them with a rampart of stones and trees, protected by sixty thousand men. The Grecians following, landed their men, and just as they were preparing to attack the rampart, a herald's sacred wand was seen lying on the edge of the surge, and instantly a rumour ran through the Grecian ranks, that the army of Mardonius had been defeated in Boeotia. Herodotus, as usual, attributes this to divine interposition; but Diodorus and Polyænus, more naturally, to an ingenious stratagem of the Grecian commanders, to animate their troops. Accordingly, the Grecians boldly stormed the rampart, put most of the Persians to the sword, burnt the ships, and got an immense booty. Masistes, the brother of Xerxes, having railed at Artayntes, the Persian commander-in-chief, for having behaved worse than a woman in the engagement; the latter, provoked at this, (the bitterest taunt among the Persians) drew his scimitar to kill Masistes. But he was saved by a Halicarnassian, who happened to be behind Artayntes, seized him by the middle, and flung him on the ground. Both here, and at Salamis therefore, was the oracle of "the sons of women," fulfilled.

Another curious coincidence in the battles of Platea and Mycale, is remarked by Herodotus. Both were fought in the neighbourhood of the sacred precincts or pales of the Eleusinian Ceres †, who had temples at both places. When the Persians

* The Persians had incautiously parted with their best ships and seamen, the Phœnician; who, finding the season far advanced, and that no enterprise was intended by the Persian admiral, got leave to retire to their own ports, before the Equinoctial storms should set in. B. IX. § 96.

† Plutarch observes, that Pausanias, and the Grecian confederates at Platea, con-
were routed at *Plataea*, near the grove of *Ceres*, he observes, that none of the fugitives attempted to enter the sacred pale, nor died near the temple, but most of them fell on the profane ground, outside. “I conjecture,” says he, (if we may presume to form any conjecture about divine things), “that the *goddess* herself would not receive them, after they had burnt the royal temple at *Eleusis*.” B. IX. § 65, 101.

No wonder then, that the *Eleusinian mysteries* of *Ceres* were held in the highest veneration throughout all *Greece*, and at *Athens*, especially. A remarkable proof of this happened in the case of the poet *Æschylus*. In one of his tragedies, which he performed at *Athens*, he was in danger of being torn in pieces by the audience, on the spot, for divulging, as they supposed, some of the mysteries. He fled to the altar of *Bacchus*; and so got time to appeal to the court of *Areopagus*; who acquitted him of this dangerous suspicion, as we learn from *Aristotle*, Lib. III. c. 1.

The decisive battles of *Plataea* and *Mycale*, finished the *Persian* war, in the second campaign. The same auspicious

sulted the Oracle of *Delphi*, whether they should attack the *Persians*, or act on the defensive? *Aristides*, who was sent, received this response:

“The *Athenians* shall be victorious, if they pray to *Jove*, to *Juno of Cithaeron*, to *Pan*, and the nymphs *Sphragitides*, (from θραγίς, “a seal,” intimating a sacred silence); if they sacrifice to the heroes *Androcrates*, *Leucon*, *Pisander*, *Democrates*, *Hypsion*, *Actaeon*, and *Polycida*; and if they fight only in their own country, on the plan of the *Eleusinian Ceres* and *Proserpine*.”

This Oracle perplexed *Aristides* and the *Athenians* not a little, as removing the seat of war back again to *Attica*. But *Arimnestes*, the general of the *Plataeans*, was warned in a dream, by *Jove the deliverer*, that the plain meant by the Oracle was in that very neighbourhood, and if they searched they would find it. Accordingly, they searched, and found an ancient temple dedicated to the *Eleusinian Ceres* and *Proserpine*, near *Husia*, at the foot of Mount *Cithaeron*, the ground about which was favourable for their infantry, and disadvantageous for the enemies' cavalry. They found also the chapel of the hero *Androcrates*, quite covered with thick bushes and trees, in the same place. Nothing might be wanting to fulfill the Oracle, the *Plataeans*, at the motion of *Arimnestus*, voluntarily ceded the ground in question, (which bordered upon *Attica*) to the *Athenians*, by a public grant, that they might fight upon their own territories. And this spot, we may further remark, was included therein, in a former *Delphic Oracle*, describing “*Cecrop*’ hilly land, as extending to *Cithaeron*.”

This generosity of the *Plataeans* was afterwards, in their adversity, remembered and rewarded by *Alexander* the Great; who, when he had conquered *Asia*, ordered the walls of *Platae* to be rebuilt, and proclamation to be made by a herald, at the *Olympic games*, “That the king granted this favour to the *Plataeans*, in consideration of their virtue and generosity, in giving up their lands to the *Greeks* in the *Persian war*; and for behaving with the greatest spirit and vigour on other occasions,” (as at *Marathon*, &c.) *Plutarch’s Aristides*. 
day, which, in the morning, secured the liberties of Greece; in the evening, restored the liberties of Ionia, (colonized from Greece) after they had been enslaved, at first by Cræsus and the Lydians, and then, by Cyrus and the Persians. Nor were its benefits confined merely to the present season: it freed Europe, for ages, from Asiatic invasion, during the subsistence of the Persian monarchy, and even long after, till the erection of the fanatical empires of the Saracens and Turks, of whom the one overturned the Constantinopolitan empire, and the other penetrated through Africa, into Spain. It taught indeed the Asiatic powers, by woeful experience, the paramount superiority of the European infantry; which, under the Macedo-Grecians, and the Romans, overran all Asia, as far as the Indus.

The Persian invasion furnishes a salutary and awakening lesson to all free states, to dispute their liberties to the last gasp, and never to compromise with the enemy, let them be never so numerous and formidable*. A chosen band of Patriots, we see, determined to conquer or die in their country’s cause, were ultimately successful, through the divine blessing upon their pious and virtuous exertions for their Religion, their Laws, and their Liberty; for these were the great and glorious objects that animated the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians, (these two leading and noblest states of Greece) the former especially, to such astonishing exertions and sacrifices in their country’s cause; and enabled them to withstand and overcome the combined efforts of a cloud of foreign enemies and domestic traitors. While their most instructive historian, Herodotus, points out with great precision, the peculiar and contradistinguishing evils and defects of despotic and federal states. What calamities did the wild ambition of Xerxes inflict on his passive herd of Asiatic and African slaves? driven, and frequently goaded like oxen, to the slaughter; while the more intelligent and sagacious among his counsellors, had only to lament and rue the obstinacy and infatuation of their leaders. On the other hand, Greece was split and weakened by intestine divisions and factions; and the mutual jealousies of the leading states, of Sparta and Athens, these champions for national freedom, and of Thebes and Argos, the chief Medizing states, flung the

* See Major Rennell’s patriotic and animated exhortation to Britons, to persevere in our present internecine war with the military despot of France. Geography of Herodotus, p. 319—323.
apple of discord among them, as soon as ever they were freed from the terror of a foreign enemy; and at length brought on the Peloponnesian war, more ruinous than the foreign; which ended in their virtual subjection to the Persian sway, by the venality and corruption of their demagogues*; and at length bowed their necks to the Macedonian, and afterwards to the Roman yoke.

The defeat of the Persian forces at Mycale, in the neighbourhood of Sardis, drove Xerxes from that city, where he had resided since his return from Greece; and he retired with disgrace and dismay to Susa, his capital. His route was marked by plunder and devastation through Asia. He pillaged and destroyed all the Grecian temples in his way †: he did not respect even the ancient and venerable temple of Belus, at Babylon, but carried off from thence a statue of solid gold, twelve cubits high, the work probably of Nebuchadnezzar, Dan. iii. 1; and slew the high-priest, who endeavoured to prevent the sacrilege. B. I. § 183.

THE END OF XERXES.

The remainder of the reign of this impious son of violence, (as he was rightly described in the Grecian Oracles) was disastrous in the highest degree, clouded by the most horrid and unnatural debaucheries and cruelties, raging through and ravaging his own household and his own family; and equalling, if not exceeding, the gloomiest Thyestean tragedy. He first fell in love with the wife of his own brother, Masistes, who had fought so gallantly in his cause at Mycale; but she virtuously rejecting his solicitation, he turned his lawless eyes next on her daughter, and the wife of his eldest son, Darius, who proved more complying. In his incestuous fondness he gratified her female

* The Athenian orator, Andocides, in his third Oration, states, that in the course of the Peloponnesian war, the Spartans received from their Persian allies subsidies to the amount of five thousand talents, about a million sterling!

† Xerxes spared only two temples in the Grecian war, those of Apollo, at Delos, and of Diana, at Ephesus. Mitford conjectures, because the former was dedicated to the sun, the latter to the moon; which were held sacred, though not divinities, by the Persians. But he meant to have plundered the temple of Apollo, at Delphi. This, therefore, cannot have been the reason why these escaped. It is more probable that he was afraid to offend these maritime states, on whom he depended for assistance against the Greeks at sea.
vanity with the present of a rich embroidered mantle, worked and given him by his own wife, Hamestrís, whose jealousy was so much provoked by the indiscreet display of this mantle by his paramour, that she importuned, and at length prevailed on him basely to surrender her innocent mother to her rage; whom she mutilated most horribly, cutting off her breasts, which she flung to the dogs; her nose, lips, and ears, and cutting out her tongue; and then sent her home, a miserable spectacle, to her fond husband. Fired at these atrocious and complicated injuries, Masísites, with his sons, and some attendants, took flight immediately towards Bactria, of which province he was governor, and greatly beloved there, meditating to do the king all the mischief possible, and to rouse the warlike Saca to revolt. But Xérxes apprehending this, intercepted him on the way, and put him, and his sons, and his adherents, all to death! And to crown the horrid measure of his cruelties, if Aspásias is to be credited, in a transport of frenzy, he tore in pieces his own mother, Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, to whose influence he owed his crown, and, horrible to relate, devoured her flesh!! B. IX. § 109—113.

Vengeance, however slow, at length pursued and overtook a monster of whom the world was weary *. His chamberlain, Mithridates, introduced into his bed-chamber at night Arta- banus, the captain of his guards, who assassinated him while he slept, B.C. 464. Diodor. Sicul. B. XI. ch. 18.

ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS, OR ARDSCHIR DIRAZDEST, OR BAHAMAN.

Artabanus, after the murder of the king, meditated to secure the crown for himself, by the murder of the royal family. He falsely accused the eldest son, the hapless Darius, of killing Xerxes, to the third Artaxerxes, and prevailed on the unsuspecting youth, through fear of death himself, rashly to consent to the assassination of Darius. He then placed Artaxerxes upon the throne, in exclusion of Hystaspes, the second son, who was absent in his province of Bactria, in which he had succeeded Masísites, intending to dispatch him in turn. But Artaxerxes anticipated his treason, and cut off him and his family

* Raro antecedentem Scelestum
Deseruit, pede, Pæna, claudio.—Hor. Od. II. 2, 31.
before it was ripe for execution, about seven months after his father's death. Next he defeated his brother, after a two years' war, and obtained quiet possession of the throne.

In the third year of his reign he gave public entertainments and rejoicings at Susa; and by advice of his sycophant council deposed his queen Vashti for contumacy, because she modestly refused to expose her beauty at a public banquet, to his guests, when flushed with wine. Esth. c. i. and ii.

Gravis poena pro culpa levi, si tamen culpa!
"Severe the punishment, for so slight a fault;
If it was, indeed, a fault!"

After a probation of four years he chose Esther, the Jewess, to be his queen, in preference of all the virgins who were candidates for that dignity.

EZRA'S COMMISSION.

In the same year, and seventh of his reign, B.C. 457, he issued a decree, empowering Ezra, the Scribe of the Law of the God of Heaven, to go to Judaea, with full powers to preside there in all ecclesiastical and civil concerns; to restore and enforce the law of Moses, to appoint magistrates and judges throughout the land, and to punish all transgressors of the law with confiscation of goods, banishment, or death. Ezra vii. 2—26.

But the Jews were in imminent danger of extirpation in the fourteenth year of Artaxerxes, B.C. 450, from the malignity of Haman the Amalekite, an inveterate foe of the Jewish nation, from times of old, and a lineal descendant of Agag, the king of the Amalekites, in the days of Samuel the prophet, 1 Sam. xv. 33, who prevailed on the easiness of the king, with whom he was a prime favourite, at a banquet, to pass a royal decree for the public proscription and massacre of the Jews, as a disaffected people, throughout the Persian dominions; which, after much deliberation of the conspirators on lucky days, was fixed for the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, Adar.

This rash, impolitic, and unjust decree, however, was providentially defeated by the spirit and address of Queen Esther, and recoiled in ruin upon the heads of the wicked contriver and his whole family, as admirably described in the two books of
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

Esther, the Canonical and the Apocryphal, and noticed before, Vol. II. p. 483, where the awkward mode of superseding the decree of massacre by a counter decree, permitting the Jews to take up arms to defend themselves, instead of repealing the former, (which was not allowed by the usage of the Medes and Persians) is also noticed, ibid. To the article Nehemiah, which there follows, from p. 484 to p. 486, we must refer the reader for Jewish affairs, during the remainder of his reign.

EGYPTIAN REVOLT.

Early in his reign, the Egyptians revolted, B.C. 459, and chose Inarus, a Libyan prince, for their king. The Athenians at that time had a powerful fleet of 200 ships, lying off the island of Cyprus, to whom the Egyptians applied for succour, which was readily granted. To quell this revolt, Artaxerxes sent his brother Achæmenes*, with an army of 300,000 men, to the banks of the Nile; but the Athenians defeated the Persian fleet, sailed up the Nile, and landing their forces, joined Inarus and the Egyptians, attacked the Persian army, and slew 100,000 men, with Achæmenes, their commander in chief. The remainder fled to Memphis, and there, in the best fortified part of the city, called the White Wall, supported a siege of three years, until they were relieved by forces sent to their assistance. Thucyd. B. I.

The fleet sent upon this occasion was commanded by Artabazus, who conveyed an army of 300,000 men, under the command of Megabyzus. Having landed his forces, Megabyzus marched to the relief of Memphis, defeated the Egyptians, raised the siege, and forced the Athenians to take refuge, with their fleet, at Biblos, an island surrounded by the navigable branches of the Nile, where they and the remainder of the Egyptians, under Inarus, defended themselves vigourously for a year and a half, until they were reduced, by the stratagem of draining that arm of the Nile in which the Athenian fleet lay, by cutting canals from thence, and so the Persian army marched across it into the island. Inarus and the Egyptians surrendered themselves to Megabyzus, and he was afterwards cruci-

* Herodotus so distinguishes him from Achæmenes, the brother of Xerxes, and the uncle of Artaxerxes, who commanded the Persian fleet at Salamis. B. VII. § 236.
fied in Persia; but the Athenians, to the number of 6000, having burnt their ships, drew up in battle array, resolved to sell their lives at the dearest rate, emulating their countrymen at Thermopylae. Perceiving their desperate resolution, the Persian general thought proper to propose an accommodation, on the terms of their surrendering the island, and getting a free passage home, by sea or by land. So they marched through the Libyan deserts, to embark at Cyrene, for Greece, where few of them ever arrived. And in addition to this great loss, another Athenian fleet of 50 sail, sent to their relief, arriving soon after their surrender, were attacked by surprize, in the Nile, by the Persian fleet and army, and almost all destroyed. Diodor. B. XI.

Thus ended this disastrous Egyptian war, in the sixth year; when the Persians reduced the whole country again, about B.C. 453; except Amyrtaeus, who still maintained a party in the fens, inaccessible to the Persians.

Three years after, the Athenians, B.C. 450, exerted themselves to send another fleet of 200 sail to Egypt, under the command of Cimon, the son of Miltiades, to the assistance of Amyrtaeus in the fens. Cimon defeated Artabazus, the Persian admiral, took 100 of his ships, and destroyed many more; pursued the rest to Cilicia, and by stratagem, landing his men, as if Persians, next surprized and defeated Megabyzus, at Eurymedon, with an army of 300,000 men, and returned to Cyprus, with a double triumph. Plutarch in Cimon, and Diodor. B. XI. chap. 13.

PEACE WITH ATHENS.

This double defeat induced Artaxerxes to seek an accommodation with the Athenians, to which, after their losses, they were equally well disposed. Accordingly, they sent ambassadors to Susa, amongst whom was Callias; and on the Persian side, Artabanes and Megabyzus were sent to Athens. Peace was concluded on terms humiliating to the Persian monarch. 1. That all the Greek cities in Asia Minor should be free, and governed by their own laws. 2. That no Persian governor of the provinces should march an army within three days' journey of the coast. And 3. That no Persian ships of war should sail between the Cyanean rocks, at the northern extremity of the
Thracian Bosporus, and the Chelidonian Isles, near the southern promontory of Lycia; thus excluding the Persians from the entire Ægean sea, and that part of the Mediterranean bordering upon Asia Minor. This peace*, so glorious for the little Athenian states, established the independence of the Grecian colonies on the Asiatic coast; and was at length, after some delay, concluded B.C. 449, in the fifteenth year of Artaxerxes, thirty years after the victories of Platea and Mycale, and forty years after the first Persian invasion of Greece. It is remarkable, that as the foundation of the liberties of the Grecian states was laid by the illustrious Miltiades, in the victory of Marathon, so were they perfected by the victories of his more illustrious son, Cimon. Herod. B. VII. § 151. Diodor. B. XII. chap. 1. Plutarch. Cimon.

NEHEMIAH'S COMMISSION.

In his twentieth year, Nehemiah was sent to rebuild the walls and city of Jerusalem. The motives that induced Artaxerxes to this measure, are noticed in the second Volume, p. 484—486, of this work.

* The existence of this treaty, so humiliating to Persia, is questioned by Mitford, on the grounds that it was never observed; that it is unnoticed by Thucydides, and virtually contradicted by Plato; and that Plutarch and Diodorus, who record it, disagree, about 20 years, in its date; the former dating it immediately after the battle of Eurymedon; the latter, in the fourth year of the 82d Olympiad. Hist. of Greece, chap. xii. § 3, last note.

But these grounds seem rather insufficient: for,

1. Thucydides, in his short preliminary abstract of the affairs of Greece, might have passed over this treaty, because it was not faithfully observed, on the side of Persia, and was therefore of no avail: besides, he wrote his history of the Peloponnesian war near its close, when Athens was in a state of depression, after the ruinous Sicilian war, and dreaded the junction of the Persians with their enemies the Lacedæmonians; he might therefore be afraid of giving umbrage to Persia, by recording her disgrace.

2. Plato only says that "Greece owed its tranquillity to the prosecution of the war by the Athenians far from home, in Cyprus and Egypt." (Menexen.) But this foreign war occasioned the treaty, which Plato therefore rather implies.

3. It was the boast of Isocrates, that no Persian ships, nor troops, shewed themselves within the prescribed limits of the treaty, at least for some time, during the depression of the Persians, as Mitford himself notices.

4. The peace of Antalcidas, afterwards, B.C. 387, formally rescinded the first article of the freedom of the Greek cities in Asia Minor, by declaring they should be subject to the king of Persia; which would otherwise be superfluous.

5. The variations of Plutarch and Diodorus, as to the precise time, do not invalidate their positive testimony as to the fact.
No sooner were the Grecian states freed from the Persian war, than dissention and discord raged among themselves. The Athenians, by artfully fortifying their city, and getting from the Lacedaemonians the command at sea, which they exercised themselves with much insolence and oppression, excited the jealousy and indignation of the rest. The leading states of Sparta, Thebes, and Argos, indeed, could not brook the naval superiority and growing power of Athens; and twenty years before the peace with Persia, the Lacedaemonians determined to make war on the Athenians, expecting to be joined by the rest, either from their resentments, or their fears, when Sparta herself was overwhelmed by an earthquake, B.C. 469, and twenty thousand citizens perished in this dreadful disaster. This was followed by the revolt of the oppressed Helots and Messenians, who endeavoured to shake off their cruel yoke, and carried on a ruinous intestine war, for ten years, before they were reduced. Thucyd. B. I. § 100, 101.

The Boeotian states also revolted and shook off the authority of Thebes, in which they were assisted by the Athenians, who, by the decisive victory of Tanagra, B.C. 456, confirmed the liberties of Boeotia; and in like manner, Argos lost her dependent states in the Peninsula, Mycenæ, Epidaurus, and Tretene. Diodor. B. XI. Thucyd. B. I.

At length, the general oppressive system of the Athenian policy armed the Confederates against her in the Peloponnesian war, which commenced B.C. 431, and lasted 27 years, ending in the ruin of the Athenian dominion; so well described by Thucydides, who was employed therein himself. It broke out in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Artaxerxes, whose assistance was sought by both parties; but he wisely declined to assist either, thinking it better to let them worry each other, and exhaust themselves. They applied to him afresh, not long before his death; but he put them off again. Thucyd. B. II. and IV.

This prince was surnamed by the Persian writers, Bahaman, signifying “kind, or beneficent.” His favourite maxim was, that “the gates of a king should never be shut.” Of this, he gave a signal instance in the hospitable asylum which he generously afforded to the illustrious exile, Themistocles, who had done so much mischief to Persia, and for whose head he had offered a reward of 200 talents, near 40,000l. on his accession to the
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throne. When banished from Greece, and every part of Europe, by the unrelenting persecution of the Lacedæmonians, he boldly threw himself upon the mercy of the Persian monarch, who received him graciously, gave him the 200 talents formerly offered as a reward, “since he brought himself, and was therefore entitled to it, as a debt,” took him into his royal favour, and for his maintenance, assigned him the government of Magnesia, which brought him 50 talents yearly, for his bread; Lampsacus for his wine; and Myus for his meat. In the enjoyment of this affluence, he used to say humorously to his children, We should have been undone, if we had not been undone! And the strongest inducement afterwards held out by any Persian king to a Greek, to enter into his service, was, that “he should live with him, as did Themistocles with Artaxerxes*.” Thucyd. B. I. § 135—138.

Of true religion he gave also a specimen early in his reign, when he sent Ezra to Judea, with ample commission to establish the law of God and the law of the king in the western provinces; and for beautifying the house of the Lord in Jerusalem, and providing for regular sacrifices there, “lest there be wrath against the realm of the king and his sons.” Ezr. vii. 21—27. Artaxerxes was happy in two such master-counsellors as Ezra and Nehemiah.

We cannot therefore listen to the Persian historians who defame his memory, by the absurd and inconsistent tale, that he married his own daughter, Homai, when he was old; that at his death he left her with child, and appointed her posthumous son to be his successor, in exclusion of his adult son, Xerxes by Queen Esther; that Homai, ambitious to secure the crown for herself, most unnaturally exposed her new-born infant, richly dressed, in a little ark, on the river Gihon; that the child was saved by a poor dyer, who called him Darab, (from dar a “wooden vessel,” and ab “water,”) and reared him as his own son; that at length, he was accidentally discovered and acknowledged by his mother, who resigned the crown to him, after she had held it thirty years. See Herbelot, in Homai, Bahaman, and Darab.

* Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Eusebius, &c. refer this transaction to the reign of Xerxes; but the testimony of Thucydides, a contemporary historian, greatly outweighs theirs, and is more probable in itself. For Artaxerxes had it in view, by his means, to reduce Greece; whereas Xerxes gave up all such views, in hopeless despair.
But other respectable historians, the Tarik Cozideh, or Montekheb, &c. pass over Homai unnoticed in the dynasty of the Kaianians; which is an evident proof that they disbelieved and rejected the whole story. The exposure of Darab strongly resembles the exposure of Cyrus.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

Besides Xerxes, his only legitimate son, Artaxerxes left seventeen sons by his concubines, among whom were Sogdianus, Ochus, and Arsites. Xerxes succeeded his father, but after he had reigned 45 days, was assassinated by Sogdianus, who usurped the throne. But Ochus, coming with a powerful army from Hyrcania, of which he was governor, to revenge his brother's death, Sogdianus submitted, and was smothered in ashes. This cruel and novel death was invented by Ochus, to destroy his brother without breach of his oath, for he had sworn not to kill him by sword, poison, or hunger. The two short reigns of Xerxes and Sogdianus, amounting to only eight months, are omitted in Ptolomy's Canon, but their amount is included in the last year of Artaxerxes, according to his usage. Ochus assumed the title of Darius, usually called Nothus, "bastard," to distinguish him from the other princes of the same title. Diodorus, B. XII.

His reign proved turbulent and unfortunate. His own brother Arsites, born of the same mother, first rebelled against him, but was decoyed into a surrender, and smothered in ashes. Afterwards he was harassed with rebellions, in Media and the northern part of his dominions, which he suppressed. The Egyptians also revolted in the South, about B.C. 414, drove the Persians out of the country, and retained their independence during this and the succeeding reign. Euseb. Chronicon.

His hatred of the Athenians led him to deviate from his father's wise policy, which was, to foment divisions among the Grecian states, and to assist the weaker against the stronger, so as to prevent them from uniting against the Persians. He therefore commissioned his younger son Cyrus, governor of Asia Minor, to assist the Lacedemonians with large subsidies, against the Athenians; and enabled Lysander, their artful general, who had wormed himself into the favour of the young prince, by flattering his ambitious views, to finish the Pelopon-
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nesian war, with the overthrow of the Athenians, and demolition of their fortifications, about the time of his father's death, B.C. 404. For which, the Lacedæmonians made an ungrateful return, not long after.

Rejecting the solicitations of his wife Parysatis, to make her younger son Cyrus king, in exclusion of her elder, Arsaces, upon the plea that he was born after his father came to the throne, he appointed Arsaces his successor, and gave him as the best instruction in the art of reigning, to do justly in all things, toward God and toward man. Athenæus, Lib. XII.

However disastrous in other respects, the reign of this prince is immortalized by the reference thereto in sacred prophecy. He was the first of the four kings foretold to precede the dissolution of the Persian empire; and the famous prophecy of the seventy weeks commenced in the fourth year of his reign, B.C. 420. See Dan. ch.ix. and xi., as expounded in Vol. II. p. 507—529, of this work.

ARTAXERXES MNEMON.

Arsaces, on his accession to the throne, assumed the title of Artaxerxes, and was distinguished by the Grecians, from others of that name, by the epithet Mnemon, on account of his extraordinary “memory.” A plot was laid by his younger brother Cyrus, to assassinate him at his inauguration; “but Tissaphernes accused (διαβαλλων) Cyrus to his brother, of conspiring against him; Artaxerxes believed the information, and seized Cyrus, intending to kill him. But his mother having interceded for him, he [pardoned, and even] dismissed him again to his government. When Cyrus, therefore, departed, after having been endangered and disgraced, he meditated how to be no longer dependant upon his brother, but to reign in his stead.” Xenoph. Anabas. Lib. I. cap. 1.

The treasonable designs of the haughty and ambitious Cyrus, (here acknowledged by Xenophon, who actually served under him in his rebellion,) seem to warrant the justice of Tissaphernes' accusation, which is supported by the historians, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Justin, &c. A modern historian, however, Gillies, is rather singular, in considering it as “false*;”

* Διαβαλλω, signifies to accuse or criminate, whether truly or falsely. Isocrates has διαβαλλειν ψευδων, “to accuse falsely;” and ενθαθεν τας διαβολας καιν ψευδεις ωσι.
who raises "the magnanimity of Cyrus," and represents him as "an honour to human nature." Hist. of Greece, chap. xxv.

In his rebellious views, he was most shamefully assisted by the Lacedæmonians, who sent him a powerful body of troops to act against his brother, under the command of Clearchus, amounting, with other Greek mercenaries, to 13,000; and with an army of 100,000 men besides, collected in Asia Minor and the neighbouring provinces, Cyrus marched to attack his brother and his king; but fell, by his own rashness, after he had wounded Artaxerxes, in a desperate charge, at the battle of Cunaxa, in Babylonia, B.C. 400. The famous retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, conducted principally by the military historian Xenophon, (after Clearchus and the other generals had been treacherously cut off by Tissaphernes,) through the heart of the Persian empire, to Greece again, in a march of 2325 miles, harassed by a numerous Persian army in his rear, and by several fierce and barbarous nations in his front; which he has so modestly and admirably described in his Anabasis, won the wonder of the world, and encouraged Alexander of Macedon, more than any other circumstance, to invade Asia with so small an army.

Provoked at the ingratitude and treachery of the Lacedæmonians in particular, Artaxerxes sent Tissaphernes to make war upon their dependencies. To oppose whom, they sent Thimbro, B.C. 399, and afterwards Dercyllidas, B.C. 398; and lastly Agesilaus their king, B.C. 396, whose rapid conquests threatened the empire itself; when Artaxerxes, recurring to his grandfather's wise policy, sent 300,000 gold archers to drive Agesilaus out of Asia, and recall him to the defence of his own country, against the Thebans, and other states, who were bribed and subsidized to attack Laconia.

Following up this system, by the advice of Conon the Athenian, he raised Athens from her depression, to counterbalance the power of Sparta; he rebuilt the city, which had formerly been destroyed by the Persians; he repaired her fortifications, which had been demolished by the Lacedæmonians, out of their spoils; and he distributed a donative of 50 talents among the citizens. Xenophon's Hist. of Greece, Diodorus, &c.

"Avoid accusations, especially if they be false." Plutarch, who had seen and expanded Xenophon's account, evidently supposed that the accusation was true, as coming from a priest who had educated Cyrus.
PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS.

The effect of this system was such as might well be expected. The Grecian States, and Sparta herself foremost, wearied and exhausted by foreign and domestic wars, sued for peace; and sent Antalcidas* the Spartan, and other deputies, to negotiate at Susa. The king dictated the following terms: 1. That all the Grecian cities in Asia Minor, with the important isles of Cyprus and Clazomenae, should be subject to Persia. And 2. That all the cities of Greece, both small and great, should be free, and governed by their own laws. And the king engaged to assist "by sea and land, with ships and money," the states who agreed thereunto, against the refractory. Xenophon. Hist. B. V.

Thus did Greece formally rescind the first article of the former glorious Athenian peace of B.C. 449, by this disgraceful peace of Antalcidas, concluded in B.C. 387, and tamely surrender the Greek colonies in Asia Minor, after a struggle for near a century, from the battle of Mycale. While it established the paramount influence of Persia in Greece, by rendering all the states independent of each other, and breaking up those powerful confederacies which had so long harassed and endangered the Persian empire; whilst the last clause of enforcing the peace, "with ships and money," proved a fresh torch of discord, and enabled Sparta to tyrannize afresh over the petty states that would not submit to her authority, under pretext of not acceding to the terms of the peace, and involved her in a ruinous war with the Thebans, under Epaminondas.

When Artaxerxes was thus freed from the Grecian war, he turned his whole force against Cyprus, which had refused to agree to the peace, and reduced the whole island, B.C. 385.

Next year, he marched against the Cadusians, in the mountainous tract north of Media, who had revolted, but, for want of provisions, was forced to retreat with loss and disgrace.

His last military expedition was against Egypt; which, after three years' preparation, he invaded in the 31st year of his reign, B.C. 374, but miscarried, from the slowness of his opera-

* Artaxerxes was fond of Antalcidas at first; but after he had used him as a tool, to bring about the peace, he treated him with the contempt he deserved as a traitor to his country, whose best interests he sacrificed. Antalcidas starved himself.
tions and the rising of the Nile. Iphicrates, general of the Grecian mercenaries, having observed to Pharnabazus, who commanded the expedition, that "he was quick in his resolutions, but slow in the performance," the other replied, that "his words were his own, but his actions depended wholly on his master."

The close of his reign was embittered by domestic broils. Artaxerxes had three legitimate sons, Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus, and one hundred and fifteen that were spurious. To prevent contentions about the succession to the throne, and check the ambition of Ochus in particular, he appointed Darius, the eldest, his successor, and allowed him to wear the royal tiara. But Tiribazus, (whom the old king had provoked, by successively promising him two of his daughters in marriage, and afterwards disappointing him, by marrying them himself,) drew Darius and fifty of his brothers into a conspiracy against their father's life. But the plot was detected, and they all suffered condign punishment.

But a fresh contest broke out between Ariaspes and Ochus, the legitimate sons, and Arsames, a favourite natural son of the king, about the succession; when Ochus contrived to murder both his brothers to secure his own. These domestic tragedies broke the old king's heart, in the 94th year of his age, according to Plutarch.

Artaxerxes was naturally a mild and a merciful prince, and governed with great moderation and justice, and with considerable political wisdom. The following anecdotes, recorded by Plutarch, seem to mark his character, and to confirm the treason of Cyrus his brother, before his open rebellion.

"At first he seemed entirely to imitate the mildness of the first Artaxerxes, whose name he bore, by behaving with great affability to all who addressed him, and by distributing honours and rewards to persons of merit with a lavish hand. He took care that punishments should never be embittered with insult. If he received presents, he appeared as well pleased as those who offered them, or rather as those who received favours from him; and in conferring favours, he always kept a countenance of benignity and pleasure. There was not any thing, however trifling, brought to him by way of present, which he did not receive kindly. Even when one Omisus brought him a pomegranate of uncommon size, he said, By the light of Mithra, this
man, if he were made governor of a small city, would make it a great one. When he was once upon a journey, and people presented him with a variety of things by the way, a labouring man, having nothing else to give him, ran to the river, and brought him some water in his hands. Artaxerxes was so much pleased, that he sent the man a gold cup and a thousand darics. When Euclidas the Lacedaemonian said many insolent things to him, he contented himself with ordering the captain of his guard to give him this answer, 'You may say what you please to the king; but the king would have you to know, that he can not only say, but do.' One day, as he was hunting, Tiribazus shewed him a rent in his robe; upon which the king said, 'What shall I do with it?'—'Put on another,' said Tiribazus, 'and give that to me.' 'It shall be so,' said the king, 'I give it thee; but I charge thee not to wear it.' Tiribazus, who was giddy and vain, disregarding the restriction, soon put on the robe, and at the same time tricked himself out with some golden ornaments fit only for queens. The court expressed great indignation, because it was a thing contrary to their laws and customs: But the king only laughed, and said to him, 'I allow thee to wear the trinkets as a woman, and the robe as a madman.'

"In his expedition against the Cadusians he endured all the fatigues and hardships of the meanest soldier in his army. He took his quiver upon his back, and his buckler upon his arm, and quitting his horse, would often march foremost up the most craggy and difficult places; insomuch, that the soldiers found their toil much lighter when they saw the vigour and alacrity with which the king proceeded, for he marched above 200 stadia a day. At last he arrived at one of his own palaces, where there were gardens and parks; but the country around was naked and barren. The weather being very cold, he permitted his soldiers to cut wood out of his own parks, without sparing either pine or cypress; and when the soldiers were loth to touch trees of such size and beauty, he took an axe in his own hand, and laid it to the finest tree among them. After which they cut them down without scruple; and having made a number of fires, passed the night with great comfort.

Is it not strange that his reign should be omitted by the Persian historians?
ANALYSIS OF

OCHUS, OR DARAB I.

Fearing the public odium for the murder of his brothers, Ochus concealed his father's death for ten months, and conducted the administration of affairs in his name, until he thought that his own authority was sufficiently established. As soon as his accession was announced, all Asia minor, Syria, Phœnicia, with other provinces, revolted against him. But this formidable revolt, which threatened to overturn the empire, ended in nothing, through the treachery and corruption of the leading partizans; Datames only excepted, the governor of Cappadocia, who gave him much trouble, until he was assassinated by Mithridates, one of his intimates, suborned by Ochus, according to Cornelius Nepos. See Diodor. Sic. B. XV; who, misled by the name of Artaxerxes, which Ochus assumed, placed this revolt in the last year of his father, so beloved and revered by his subjects.

To prevent future disturbances at home and abroad, this execrable prince cut off all the royal family, without respect to consanguinity, age, or sex. His own sister, Ocha, and his mother-in-law, whose daughter he had married, he buried alive; and shot to death, with his archers, one of his uncles and a hundred of his children and grand-children. This uncle was the father of Sysigambis, and the grand-father of Darius Codomannus, the last king of Persia. For Q. Curtius relates, that Ochus massacred the father and eighty brothers of Sysigambis in one day. He also destroyed all the nobility whom he suspected of disaffection throughout the empire.

But vain were all his jealous cruelties to keep his subjects in awe. In the fifth year of his reign Artabazus, governor of one of the western provinces, revolted; and, by the assistance of Chares, and an Athenian force, defeated seventy thousand of the king's troops; but Ochus, threatening to make war on the Athenians, they recalled Chares. Afterwards Artabazus procured assistance from the Thebans, and routed the king's army in two engagements; but the king having bribed the Thebans with 400 talents, Artabazus was left to himself, and, after three years' resistance, forced to fly, and take refuge with Philip, king of Macedon.
REVOLTED PROVINCES REDUCED.

No sooner was this insurrection quelled, than the Sidonians, Phœnicians, and Cyprians revolted, and joined the Egyptians, who still maintained their independence. After repeated failures of his generals to reduce them, Ochus himself took the command of the expedition against them. He besieged Sidon, which was betrayed to him by the king, Tennes; on which the Sidonians, in despair, set fire to the city, and destroyed men, women, and children, with all their treasures. Ochus sold the ashes, which contained great quantities of melted gold and silver, for a high price, and rewarded Tennes, the traitor, as he deserved, by putting him to death. The catastrophe of Sidon terrified the rest of the Phœnicians into submission; and among them we may include the Jews, who seem to have joined the common cause. See Vol. II. p. 532 of this work. He then entered into a composition with the Cyprians, and granted them favourable terms. He afterwards invaded Egypt with his whole force, B.C. 350, in the ninth year of his reign, which he completely reduced, chiefly by the assistance of Mentor, the Rhodian, and his Greek mercenaries; and treated the Egyptians with great severity. He dismantled their towns, plundered their temples of their treasures and public records, sacrificed their calf god, Apis, to an ass, in revenge for being nicknamed the ass himself by the Egyptians, for his sluggishness and inactivity; and returned in triumph to Babylon, with immense spoils of gold, silver, and other precious things, from the conquered provinces. From this decisive war we may date the humiliation of Egypt. Nectanebus, the last of her native kings, now fled with all the treasures he could collect, into Ethiopia, or Abyssinia. Diodor. B. XVI.

All the revolted provinces being reduced, and peace established throughout the whole empire, Ochus, following his natural bias, gave himself up to ease and luxury, leaving the administration of public affairs to his ministers; of whom the chief favourites were Bagoas, the Egyptian eunuch, and Memnon, the Rhodian; the former governed all the provinces of Upper Asia, and the latter those of the lower. Diodorus, B. XVI.
EMBASSY TO PHILIP OF MACEDON.

Alarmed by the fame of the growing greatness of Philip, king of Macedon, about B.C. 344, the fifteenth of his reign, he sent some of his trustiest ministers on an embassy to Philip, under pretence of offering him the friendship and alliance of the great king, but in reality to spy out his strength, his resources, and his designs. The young Alexander, then a boy of twelve years old, in his father's absence, entertained the ambassadors, and gained upon them greatly by his politeness and good sense. He asked them no childish or trifling questions, but enquired the distances of places, and the roads through the upper provinces of Asia: he desired to be informed of the character of their king, and how he treated his enemies; and wherein the strength and power of Persia consisted. The ambassadors were surprised, and counted the famed shrewdness of Philip as nothing compared with the vivacity and lofty enterprising genius of his son, and said to each other, "This boy indeed will be a great king; ours is a rich one!" Plutarch, in Alexander. How early did this conversation unfold the latent ambition of Alexander, and his premeditated design of invading Asia from his childhood! And how remarkably did the observation of the Persians accord with the Scripture characters of both kings, of the "goat and the ram!" Dan. viii. 5—7, xi. 2, 3.

Ochus, at length, was poisoned by Bagoas, in revenge for all the calamities he had brought upon Egypt. And this powerful minister destroyed all the rest of his family, except Arses, the youngest son, whom he raised to the throne, allowing him the name of king, while he retained all the authority.

ARSESES.

The reign of Arses was short; for in his third year, Bagoas finding that his treasons were likely to be punished by the young
king; anticipated his intention, by dispatching him and all his children. His short reign, which was merely nominal, is omitted therefore by Justin, and Scripture. I have annexed it to that of Ochus.

Ochus is styled by the Persian historians, Darab I.

We have seen from Plutarch, that he sent an embassy to Philip, to propose an alliance. Improving on this, the Persian writers invented his marriage with the daughter of Filikous, or Philip; whom he sent back again to her father; because she had a bad breath, after she was with child. Ascander, or Alexander, the son whom she bore, was adopted by Philip, and succeeded him in Macedon afterwards. Ochus married another wife, by whom he had a son, Darab II. or Codomannus, who succeeded him in Persia. But Ascander, the elder brother, raised an army, to recover his right, invaded Persia, and conquered Darab. See Herbelot, Darab, and Escander.

This fiction was invented by the Persian historians, the Lebatarikh, the Tarik Montekheb, &c. to cover the disgrace of the conquest of Persia, by Alexander. That by Darab I, they meant Ochus, whose history they metamorphosed, is evident from the Schah Name, which records exploits of Darab, consonant to those of Ochus. "That after his accession to the throne, on his mother Homai's resignation, he made war on his neighbours, and extended the limits of his empire on every side; insomuch, that his power exceeded that of all his predecessors."

Thus do the Persian historians, even in their departure from the Greek, bear undesigned testimony to the veracity of the latter, and convict themselves of intentional misrepresentation.

DARIUS CODOMANNUS, or DARAB II.

This prince was a collateral branch of the royal family. His grandfather was the brother of Darius Nothus. Only one of his sons, Ostanes, escaped the massacre of the family, by the ruthless Ochus. Ostanes married Sisygambis, his own sister, by whom he had Codomannus. During the reign of Ochus, this young man lived in obscurity, and supported himself as an astanda, or courier, by carrying the royal dispatches. At length he signalized his valour, in killing a Cadusian champion, who had defied the whole Persian army to single combat. For this gallant exploit, he was rewarded by Ochus, with the important
government of Armenia: and upon the murder of Arses and his family, was advanced to the throne, by Bagoas. But finding that Bagoas meant to dispatch him likewise, he caught the traitor in his own trap, and made him swallow the poison he had prepared for Codomannus.

Darius (for he assumed that name) when settled on the throne, enjoyed singular advantages. He had no competitors nor opponents; for the royal family, and the principal nobility, had been destroyed by Bagoas and Nothus; the empire was fully settled and established; and he was "far richer" than his predecessors, "the three last kings;" because he was possessed of the vast additional treasures procured by the plunders of his predecessor, Ochus, after the reduction of Egypt and the other revolted provinces. And his personal bravery, and acknowledged merits, made him admired and respected, universally, throughout the empire.

Darius ascended the throne, B.C. 335, shortly before the assassination of Philip of Macedon, near the end of that same year; and, as Alexander complained, by Persian instigation, and bribery of the assassins; who made it one of his public grievances, seemingly not without sufficient grounds; for this charge of Alexander's is recorded by the accurate and judicious Arrian, and adopted by Quintus Curtius*. And surely, Ba-

* Arrian has given the letter of Alexander to Darius; of which this is an extract. B. II. ch. 14.

"Your ancestors invaded Macedonia and the rest of Greece, and did us mischief, without any provocation. I, when elected general of the Greeks, to punish the Persians, crossed over into Asia, to repel your underhand aggressions; for ye aided the Persians, who had injured my father: and Ochus sent a force into Thrace, which was under our government. My father also was slain by conspirators, whom ye suborned; (as ye yourselves boasted, in your letters sent every where) when you, with Bagoas, slew Arses, and usurped the kingdom, contrary to the Persian laws, injuring the Persians," &c.

Quintus Curtius, in his copy of the letter, charges Darius, openly, with setting a price upon Alexander's head. B. IV. ch. 1.

"Who is ignorant that my father was slain by them, whom your emissaries suborned, through hope of a great sum of money? For ye wage impious wars; and, though in open hostility yourselves, ye proscribe the heads of your enemies. Even you yourself, Darius, the king of so great a host, wished to bribe an assassin against me, for a thousand talents! I therefore only repel, not wage war: and the gods themselves maintain the better cause, since I have reduced a great part of Asia, and have conquered yourself in battle, [at Issus]."

The haughty and high-minded Alexander was not likely to have urged the charge of the assassination of his father, Philip, against the Persians, who bribed the conspirators, without strong grounds. And this may tend to acquit Alexander himself, and his mother
goas, who then governed the Persian empire, would not have scrupled this mode of removing a formidable foe, especially after he had been elected captain general of the Grecian states shortly before, for the purpose of invading Persia. Codomannus himself did not scruple to proscribe Alexander, and set a price upon his head, of ten thousand talents; with which Alexander also openly reproached him by letter. The assassin employed was Alexander, son of Æropus, commander of the Thessalian cavalry. But the plot was discovered by the vigilance of Parmenio, as we learn from Arrian.

Scripture informs us, that Darius was the first aggressor in the war that ensued: that "he was far richer than his three predecessors; and in his strength, through his riches, he shall stir up the whole [realm] against the realm of Græcia." Dan. xi. 2.

Alexander, in his letter, complained of the underhand aggressions of Darius, and charged him with sending improper letters (γραμματα ουκ επισηδουα) "through all parts of Greece, to excite them to make war on him; and with sending money to the Lacedæmonians, and some others, to corrupt his friends, and break the peace." Arrian, B. II. § 14. Nor did Darius confine himself to such underhand measures: he raised a powerful army, collected a great fleet, and engaged the ablest officers to command both, of whom Memnon, the Rhodian, was the most approved for valour, skill, and fidelity.

**ALEXANDER'S INVASION OF ASIA.**

This extraordinary prince, the subject of Prophecy, ascended the throne of Macedon B.C. 335, when he was only twenty years old. With great spirit and activity, he immediately quelled the various insurrections that broke out upon his father's death. He defeated the Illyrians, and independant tribes of Thrace; crossed the Danube, upon stuffed hides, and

Olympia, of being privy to the assassination, and of screening the assassins; a charge insinuated against them, by Justin, B. IX. ch. 7; who omits no opportunity of setting the character of Alexander in an unfavourable light. However impetuous, and sometimes outrageously cruel, Alexander might be, yet cool malignity, and deliberate treachery, do not belong to his character, which certainly was distinguished (as Plutarch observes, and by the Persians themselves) for μεγαλωπαραγμοσυνη, "lofty enterprising genius."
awed the Triballi and Celtæ; he quelled a rebellion in Greece, by the destruction of Thebes, and sale of the captive Thebans, only fourteen days after he received the account of it, on the borders of Illyria. He afterwards assembled his army at Dios, in Macedonia, where he exhibited games and sacrifices, in all the pomp of Grecian superstition.

Here he had that remarkable dream, or vision, in which, as he related himself, "while he was considering how to subdue Asia, a person, in the dress of the Jewish high-priest, appeared to him, and encouraged him not to delay, but pass over with confidence; for that HE HIMSELF would lead his army, and give him the Persian empire." Joseph. Antiq. XI. 8, 4.

The credibility of this vision has been questioned; because it is not noticed by any Heathen historians, but by a Jewish, only. Their silence, however, is not sufficient to invalidate his positive testimony, for reasons assigned in Vol. II. p. 532—534, of this work.

A very remarkable circumstance is recorded by Plutarch, as happening on the day of his birth, which was the sixth of Hecatombaeon, in the first year of the 106th Olympiad; or July 1, B.C. 356. The temple of Diana, at Ephesus, was maliciously burnt, that same day, by Erostratus. But all the Magi who were then at Ephesus, looked upon the fire as a sign, which betokened a much greater misfortune: they ran through the city, beating their faces, and crying, "This day hath brought forth the great scourge and destroyer of Asia!"

This testimony of the Heathen historian may tend to corroborate the foregoing, of the Jewish. The Magi, or Persian Priesthood, must have been well acquainted with the prophecies of their venerable Archimagus, Daniel; especially those which predicted the downfall of the Persian empire, by the Macedonian, under the significant emblems of the Ram and Goat; and even Cyrus, in his signal epitaph at Pasagardæ, had intimated the certainty of it. Is it then improbable, that when Philip, of Macedon, was likely to reduce all Greece under his dominion; and when that year, in particular, was marked by a comet, which appeared for seventy nights together, (usually considered to portend the birth of an illustrious prince, from the days of their ancestor, Balaam, Numb. xxiv. 17.) they might, from the combination of all these circumstances, collect, that the son of Philip (the pregnancy of whose wife could not be unknown)
was that predicted "scourge and destroyer of Asia?" And
Alexander, who would naturally have heard the circumstance,
might have considered his dream as further encouragement, and
an invitation from God. The Heathens had great faith in
dreams, from the earliest ages of the world. οναρ εκ Διος εστιν.
"The dream proceeds from Jove," was much older than
Homer's days. (See the remarks in this volume, p. 63.) And
we may here repeat, that the Apostle Paul, and his company,
were invited to cross the Hellespont, to the spiritual conquest of
Europe, by the vision at Troas, of a man in a Macedonian
Early in spring therefore, B.C. 334, Alexander marched, in
twenty days, to Sestos, on the Hellespont, with an army of little
more than 30,000 foot, and 5000 horse; and had them conveyed
to Asia by his fleet of 160 galleys, besides transports; without
any opposition from the enemy to their landing. He took with
him only seventy talents, or a month's pay for his army; and
before he left home, he disposed of almost the whole of the
revenues of the crown, among his friends. When Perdiccas
asked him, "What he left for himself?" he answered, "Hope."
Such was the spirit with which Alexander invaded Asia.
As soon as he landed, he went to Troy, and sacrificed to
Pallas, the patroness of the Greeks, and offered libations at the
tomb of the hero Achilles, whom he proposed for his model.

BATTLE OF GRANICUS.

At the river Granicus, in the lesser Phrygia, the tardy go-
vemors of the western provinces assembled an army of 100,000
foot, and 20,000 horse, to oppose his passage; contrary to the
judicious advice of that experienced general, Mennon, the Rhod-
ian, not to risk a pitched battle with Alexander's veterans, but
to waste the country before him; and to make a powerful diver-
sion, by carrying the war into Macedonia and Greece. But this
precautionary plan was rejected with scorn, as "unworthy of
the magnanimity of Persians*." The consequence was, a
total defeat of their army, chiefly by the desperate exertions of
Alexander himself, and the prowess of his Thessalian cavalry,
routing the Persian, so famous, though four times as numerous;

* Αναξιων της Περσων μεγαλοψυχιας. Diodor. B. XVII. ch. 2.
to the utter astonishment of the Greek mercenaries, who composed the flower of the Asiatic infantry, and stood, petrified with dismay, in their original position, till they were surrounded on all sides, and cut to pieces, by the Macedonians; except two thousand, who surrendered, and were condemned to work in the Thracian mines, for bearing arms against their country. The conqueror, by this severity, aiming to deter the Asiatic Greeks from entering into the enemy’s service. Arrian relates, what is scarcely credible, that in such a severe engagement, Alexander lost only 85 of the cavalry, and 30 of the light infantry, who rendered most important service in the engagement, intermixed with his squadrons, against the enemy’s cavalry.

This signal victory put Alexander in possession of Sardis, the capital of Asia Minor; and all the cities around surrendered to him, except Halicarnassus and Miletus, which he took by storm. The former, however, commanded by Memnon, the Rhodian, made an obstinate defence; and when taken was demolished, that it might never again serve for a retreat to his enemies.

To conciliate the Asiatic colonies from Greece, he declared them free, and exempt from tribute; to conciliate his soldiers, he dismissed such as had married that year, and sent them home to their wives, with orders to return again next spring. A wise military law prescribed by Moses, Deut. xxiv. 5, which his tutor, Aristotle, probably learned from the Jews; of whom he makes honourable mention; and speaks highly of the learning of a Jew, whom he met in Asia, as master of the Greek language, and who conversed with the philosopher on literary topics, and communicated rather more information than he received. From him, Aristotle might have learned this singular law, and communicated it to his royal pupil. See Josephus contr. Apion. Lib. I. p. 1347. Hudson.

He then adopted the bold and decisive expedient of discharging and dismissing his fleet; which was too small to cope with the Persian, collected from Phœnicia and Egypt; and yet too large for his small treasury to maintain: declaring to his lieutenants, that by conquering the land, he would render himself master of the sea; since every harbour that surrendered to him must diminish the naval resources of the enemy, and tend to disable them from invading Greece in his absence; and also contribute to hold open his communication with his own domi-
nions, and introduce fresh supplies from thence; when he should find it expedient, after subduing the maritime provinces, to advance into the heart of Asia. The profound wisdom and policy of all these measures, was worthy indeed of the son of Philip, and the pupil of Aristotle*.

Next spring, B.C. 333, Alexander marched into Phrygia, from Perga and Pamphylia, where he appointed a rendezvous of his detached troops in Asia, and new levies from Greece. There he either cut, or untied, the famous Gordian knot; a feat, which an Oracle had reserved for the conqueror of Asia. Arrian, Curtius. He afterwards reduced the provinces of Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia; and appointed governors in them, as if already part of his dominions.

Most providentially for him, died Memnon the Rhodian, while consulting his master's true interests, and successfully employed in reducing the Greek islands, preparatory to carrying the war into Macedonia. His death at this critical juncture, was soon followed by that of Charidemus, the Athenian exile, and the ablest officer now left, after the destructive battle of Granicus, in the Persian service, who had served with great reputation under Philip of Macedon. In a privy council of the Persians, when it was proposed that the king should head his army, and march to meet Alexander, Charidemus strongly opposed the measure; saying, that the king ought not to risk

* How early anxious Philip was about the education of Alexander, we may judge from his letter to Aristotle, the philosopher, on his birth, preserved by Aulus Gellius. It is indeed a finished model of simple elegance and politeness, imperatorial brevity, and dignified elevation of sentiment.

**Philip to Aristotle, greeting.**

"Know, that to me a son is born. On this account, I am highly thankful to the Gods; not so much for the birth of the boy, as for his being born during your time: for I hope, that by his being bred and educated under you, he will become worthy of us, and worthy also to succeed in the management of affairs." A. Gell. ix. 3.

From such an attentive father, and consummate tutor, aiding and improving great and uncommon talents in the pupil, what might not be expected? The accomplishments of Alexander's mind, Plutarch considers as fully adequate, with insignificant forces, to the conquest of Persia,—"He crossed the Hellespont, to invade the Persians, with better resources from his preceptor Aristotle, than from his father Philip." De Alexand. Fort. p. 327. Edit. Xyland.
his sacred person; and he pledged himself, that with the command of 100,000 men, of whom a third part should be Greek mercenaries, he would force Alexander to abandon his enterprise. Darius was disposed to accede; but his ministers rejected this salutary course, through envy, insinuating that Charidemus meant to betray their cause to the Macedonians. Fired at this insult, he called them cowards, in the king's presence; for which, he was ordered away to instant execution, exclaiming as he went, that the king would shortly repent of his injustice, and be punished with the loss of his kingdom! which was soon verified by the event. Diodor. Curtius.

Having now no officers qualified to replace Memnon and Charidemus, Darius took himself the command of his army, and marched from Susa, with 600,000 men. Before his departure, he had an ominous dream. He thought he saw the Macedonian phalanx all on fire; that Alexander waited on him, as a servant, and in his former astanda dress; after which, Alexander went into the temple of Belus, and suddenly disappeared. "By this," says Plutarch, "heaven seemed to signify, that honour and prosperity would attend the Macedonians; and that Alexander would become master of Asia, like Darius, who, from a simple courier, became king; but that he would, nevertheless, soon die, and leave his glory behind him:"—as he actually did, at Babylon, after attempting to rebuild the temple of Belus.

This interpretation of the heathen philosopher, most remarkably accords with SACRED PROPHECY, Dan. viii. 5—8, xi. 3, 4. It might probably have been disclosed by the Magi, who must have understood these prophecies, though they dared not unfold them to the king; basely deviating from the courageous frankness of their venerable Archimagus, Daniel, to the haughty Nebuchadnezzar, and the sacrilegious Belshazzar; who proved most clearly thereby, that he was indeed animated by "the spirit of the holy gods;" as confessed even by the awe-struck despots themselves, Dan. iv. 8, v. 11—14—29.

**BATTLE OF ISSUS.**

Alexander having been confined in Cilicia by a dangerous fit of illness, from which he was recovered by the skill of his physician Philip, and his own magnanimity, (in drinking the potion
prescribed, after he had received a letter, intimating, that he
was bribed by Darius to poison him, while Philip was actually
reading it, without betraying any emotion,) Darius imagined
that Alexander's tardiness to meet him was the effect of fear.
He then wrote him an arrogant letter, styling himself "king,"
without giving that title to Alexander, who returned his arro-
gance with interest, as we observed before, from Arrian and
Curtius; and fearing that Alexander would fly from him to
avoid an action, he hastened toward Cilicia, while Alexander
hasted toward Syria to meet him. They missed each other in
the night, and finding their mistake, both turned back, Alex-
ander rejoicing to catch his enemy entangled in the Syrian
straitst, in a position impracticable for his cavalry; and Darius,
too late convinced of his error, in not waiting for Alexander's
small army, in the open and spacious plains of Damascus; as
he had been faithfully advised by Amyntas, the Grecian exile.
The error proved fatal. Alexander attacked the Persians with
great fury, and, according to Arrian, slew 110,000; Diodorus
says 130,000; while Darius himself, with difficulty, escaped by
flight. Alexander pursued him ineffectually, with a chosen
band, for 200 furlongs, and then returned to the camp at mid-
night, and refreshed himself in the baths prepared for Darius,
whose tent was taken, with his mother, wife, and children, and
an immense booty, and reserved for the conqueror, during the
plunder of the enemy's camp.

Immediately after this battle, Alexander sent to Damascus,
and took all the heavy baggage, equipage, and treasures of the
Persian army, with their wives and children, which had been
left behind, in the disastrous expedition to the Syrian Straits.

As soon as Darius reached Babylon, in his flight, he wrote to
Alexander, complaining of his aggressions, offering to ransom
his wife, mother, and children, and to treat about peace. Alex-
ander answered him in the haughtiest style, concluding with
this sentence: "When you write next to me, remember that
you write to the king of Asia. Treat me no more as your equal,
but as lord of all you possess. If you dispute my title, prepare
to do so in another general engagement; but attempt not to fly,
for wherever you go, I am determined to follow you."
ANALYSIS OF

SIEGE OF TYRE.

For the present, however, he did not follow Darius; but, steady to his original plan, of reducing all the maritime provinces first, he marched in the spring of B.C. 332, into Phoenicia. All the states of that country, and the island of Cyprus, submitted, except insular Tyre, which at length, after a most obstinate siege of seven months, having made a causeway from the main to the island, he took by assault, with the loss of 400 men, slew 8000 of the Tyrians, crucified 2000 more, and sold 30,000 captives; to strike terror into the neighbouring states by such exemplary severity. His enlarged views of commercial policy, however, induced him to repopulate Tyre, from the adjacent countries; improved in its harbours or basins, by the very isthmus which he had made, this maritime city soon recovered its former greatness. See a more particular account of the two Tyres, and the prophecies concerning them, Vol. I. p. 443—446, of this work.

During the siege, Darius wrote again to Alexander, offering to cede to him all the provinces west of the Euphrates; to give Alexander his daughter in marriage, as a friend and ally; and 10,000 talents for the ransom of his family. When these proposals were communicated to his privy council, Parmenio said, "I would accept them, were I Alexander;" "And I too," replied he, "were I Parmenio." But since he was Alexander, he said, he would send an answer worthy of Alexander:—"That he wanted no money from Darius, nor would accept part of the country; since he was lord of the whole; that if he chose, he could marry the daughter of Darius, even without his consent; and he required Darius to come to him, if he wished to make Alexander his friend." Arrian, Lib. II. § 25.

Despairing of any accommodation with such a haughty foe, Darius continued his preparations for war, while Alexander proceeded on his systematic plan, to invade Egypt.

In his way, he turned aside from Gaza, which he reduced, to chastise Jerusalem, for refusing him supplies during the siege of Tyre, and for rejecting his friendship, and adhering to Darius.

To deprecate his threatened vengeance, Jaddua, the high-priest, in his pontifical robes, attended by the priests in their
vestments, and a multitude of the citizens, clad in white, came out to meet him, in solemn procession, as far as Sapha, an eminence near the city. Alexander, when he saw the high-priest, instantly advanced alone to meet him, adored the sacred name inscribed on his mitre, and saluted him first. He accounted for this extraordinary procedure, as owing to his dream at Dios; noticed before. And he was probably shewn, by the high-priest, the signal prophecies of Daniel respecting himself, as the conqueror of Persia. See Vol. II. p. 532—534, of this work.

The strongest test of the reality of this mysterious procedure, may be drawn from his conduct. Nothing surely, but the most determined and irresistible enthusiasm, could have influenced his measures; furnishing a positive assurance of victory and ultimate success, which astonished his oldest captains, and rendered him altogether fearless of dangers in any shape. With a rapidity so admirably described in Prophecy, as "the leopard with two pair of wings," and the fierce "goat from the west, who touched not the ground for swiftness," he flew to undoubted conquest, in every quarter; no obstacles could arrest his speed; and not all his rashness and temerity could work his destruction, acting under the guidance and support of that ALMIGHTY POWER, which, as in the parallel case of Cyrus, "subdued nations before him, and ungirded the loins of kings, and gave him the hidden treasures, stored in secret places."

That Alexander, indeed, firmly believed in a particular providence, we learn from Plutarch's valuable life of him. He held, with the Egyptian philosopher, that "all men are governed by God: for in every thing the ruling and governing power is divine:" and he was persuaded, that "God is the common father of all men, more especially of the good and virtuous." And Plutarch himself relates, "the divine assistances" he particularly experienced in his perilous journey across the deserts of Libya, to the temple of Jove Amun*; such as copious and constant rains, to prevent thirst, cool the air, and lay the shifting stands; and what appears ridiculous enough, a flock of crows sent to pilot him in the right track, where the marks were defaced!

The contrary ominous persuasion of his own downfall, de-

* Apovv, as written by Herodotus, in Hebrew signifies "truth," as observed before.
pressed and sunk Darius. He seems to have been infatuated in his counsels, and pusillanimous in his conduct; totally unlike the stout astanda, who slew the Cadusian champion! His mournful reflections on receiving the account of his wife’s death in the camp of Alexander, and the respectful treatment of his family there, concluded thus:—*If the time determined by fate, and the divine wrath, or brought about by the vicissitude of things, is now come, and the glory of the Persians must fall; may none but Alexander sit upon the throne of Cyrus!*—Here is a striking allusion to the epitaph of Cyrus, of which Darius could not be ignorant. There certainly was more piety, though mixed with superstition, in the heathen world of old, than we Christians of the present day are disposed to admit.

When Alexander reached Egypt, he found no opposition. On the contrary, the natives hailed him as their deliverer from Persian bondage.

From Egypt, he proceeded to visit the temple of Amun. Plutarch attributes it to political motives: "Alexander," says he, "neither believed, nor was elated with the notion of his divinity, as the son of Amun; he only made use of it as a means to bring others into subjection, among the Barbarians; but he was extremely cautious of avowing such pretensions to the Greeks." When wounded once, with an arrow, which put him to great pain in extracting, he said, "My friends, this is blood, and not the ichor shed by the blest immortal Gods!" His mother Olympias, indeed, openly ridiculed his imposition on the vulgar: "Will Alexander," says she, "never cease embroiling me with Juno!"

After his return from Libya, Alexander wintered at Memphis, and appointed separate and independent governors of the several garrisoned towns; in order to prevent the mischief so often experienced by the Persians, by entrusting too much power in a single hand. He wisely separated the financial, judicial, and military functions, to prevent the oppression of the people by their union; and his enlightened and comprehensive policy chose the site of a new city, Alexandria, to be the common emporium of commerce for the eastern and western worlds, by its two adjacent seas, the Red Sea, and the Mediterranean.
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

BATTLE OF ARBELA.

After he had settled Egypt, he marched next spring, B.C. 331, to Tyre, where he appointed the general rendezvous of all his forces. Thence he proceeded to seek Darius, across the Euphrates and Tigris, and found him encamped in a plain open country, at the village of Gaugamela, near Arbela, in Assyria, with an army of a million of men, awaiting the result of a general engagement; which was fought in the month Boedromion, on the first of October, B.C. 331. The day is critically determined by a lunar eclipse, recorded by Plutarch, as happening eleven days before the battle; which, by astronomical calculation, fell on Sept. 20, that year. See Strauchius, p. 283.

This decisive victory decided the contest, and gave Alexander possession of the throne of Persia, whose reign however is dated by Ptolomy, from the beginning of the current year, Nov. 14, B.C. 332, which ended about six weeks after the battle. See the explanation of his Canon, Vol. I. p. 171 of this work.

SECTION VIII.

MACEDO-GRÆCIAN DYNASTY. 102 YEARS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Alexander the Great</td>
<td>8 (332)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Philip Arideus</td>
<td>6 (324)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Partition of the Provinces</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Alexander Ægus</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Seleucus Nicator</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Partition of the Provinces</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Final Partition of the Empire</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Antiochus Soter</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Antiochus Theos</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Seleucus Callinicus</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parthian dynasty</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The composure of Alexander on the night before the battle of Arbela, is remarkable: he slept so soundly, that his officers were obliged to wake him, just before the engagement began. He awoke indeed with full assurance of victory, from the excellence of his dispositions, and the superiority of his troops inured to conquest. See Vol. III. p. 200, note, of this work, for an account of the particulars.
This period includes the reigns of *Alexander* and his successors in the east, until the foundation of the *Parthian* empire by *Arsaces*. From which time, the *Macedo-Graecian* kings of *Syria*, lost their dominion in *Persia*, and the more eastern provinces. The dates are taken from Ptolomy's Canon, and from the table of the kings of *Syria*, with a slight correction. See Vol. I. p. 164 and 175 of this work.

The Canon, as observed before, dated the accession of *Alexander* to the throne of *Persia*, B.C. 332, which in reality commenced from the battle of *Arbela*, Oct. 1. B.C. 331. In like manner it dated his death, in the *Nabonassarean* year, 425, which ended Nov. 12. B.C. 324. Whereas he died, according to Plutarch, on the 28th of the Macedonian month *Desius*, corresponding to the 23d of May, "and all acknowledge," says *Josephus*, "that *Alexander* died in the 114th Olympiad," which began about the summer solstice, B.C. 324, and ended with the succeeding, B.C. 323*, about a month after his death. *Joseph. Contr. Apion.* l. § 22. p. 1347. *Hudson. Seleucus Callinicus* reigned 21 years; but he was taken prisoner by *Arsaces*, in the 17th year of his reign. B.C. 229. he died B.C. 225.

**ALEXANDER THE GREAT.**

*Darius* fled shamefully among the foremost, from *Arbela*, over the *Armenian* mountains, into *Media*, intending to elude pursuit and raise fresh levies in that warlike country, and left *Alexander* in possession of the central provinces of *Babylonia, Susiana*, and *Persia* proper, and all his immense treasures.

**RICHES OF DARIUS.**

The treasures which *Alexander* found in these provinces, and afterwards in *Media*, were prodigious. At *Susa* he found upwards of 40,000 talents of gold and silver bullion, beside 9000 talents of coined money in *darics*, according to *Diodorus*; which *Curtius* estimates roundly at 50,000 talents. He found there also precious goods and furniture, especially five thousand

*Not advertsing to the summer solstitial commencement of the Olympiad years, and the correspondence of the Macedonian months, Dr. Gillies, in his history of Greece, Vol. III. p. 479, dates his "death Olymp. 114, 1. B.C. 324. May 28." and therefore antedates his Bactrian and Indian expeditions a year too early.*
talents weight* of the finest purple, which had lost nothing of its original freshness and lustre, though laid up a hundred and ninety years before, in the reign of Darius Hystaspes. The value of this article was immense †.

At Babylon, the treasures laid up from the days of Nebuchadnezzar (if not removed by the Persian kings) must have been great, though not specified by the historians.

At Persepolis, the treasures in the citadel alone, which Alexander reserved for himself, when he wantonly set fire to the palace, and cruelly gave up the city to be sacked by his soldiers, amounted to 190,000 talents. Among these were probably found the treasures of Cræsus, transported thither by Cyrus. All these treasures, and a vast quantity of precious goods and rich furniture, and equipage, Alexander transported from thence to Susa, which loaded no less than ten thousand pair of mules, and five thousand camels, according to Plutarch. At Ecbatana, where Cambyses deposited his treasures, if we may credit Diodorus, the amount was not less than 180,000 talents.

The plunder which Alexander found also in the Persian camps at Issus, and Damascus, and Arbela, and afterwards from the assassins of Darius, was very great, at least amounting to 25,000 talents more. The sums here specified, amounted to 445,000 talents; which rated at the Babylonish talent, 226l. would give 90,570,000l.; and if to this, we add the untold treasures at Babylon, and the precious furniture at Susa and Persepolis, amounting to as much more at least, the whole value will not probably be over-rated at 200 millions sterling ‡. Besides this amazing booty, Alexander came into possession of a fixed yearly revenue of 300,000 talents § or near 68 millions, according to Justin. How accurately therefore did the Scripture of Truth, delivered in the first year of Darius the Mede, B.C. 553, above 220 years before the catastrophe, describe Darius

* The common Attic talent, in Troy weight was 56lb. 11 oz.
† Pliny states, that a pound weight of the double-dyed Tyrian purple, sold at Rome, in the days of Augustus, for a hundred crowns. At this rate, the value of a talent weight would have been 5600 crowns, or 1400l. sterling; and 5000 talents, seven millions sterling.
‡ At Alexander’s death there were found in the royal treasury only 50,000 talents; he had expended or lavished the rest.
§ 300,000 talents was a prodigious rise from the taxation of Darius Hystaspes, only 14,560 talents. This proves that the Persian government of the provinces was less oppressive than the Macedonian.
Codomannus, the last king, as "far richer than all" his predecessors, not only from the days of Nothus, but even from the days of Cyrus, Dan. xi. 2. See the riches of Cyrus, p. 102. of this volume.

Steady to the original plans of permanent conquest, and establishment of his new empire, Alexander pursued Darius into Media without delay, to prevent him from raising a fresh army among the warlike Medes, Parthians, and Bactrians, before the terror of the late victory should subside. He deposited his treasures at Ecbatana, under protection of a strong garrison, and dismissed his Thessalian cavalry, and other auxiliary troops, with a gratuity of 2,000 talents, beside their full pay. With a chosen troop he then marched in quest of Darius, next spring, B.C. 330, to deliver him, if possible, from the conspirators, who had basely seized his person, with astonishing speed, 3,300 furlongs in eleven days without intermission, about forty miles a day, and at length overtook that unhappy prince just after he expired of the wounds he received from the conspirators, who left him behind to facilitate their own escape. But this did not avail them. He pursued the murderers through the barbarian regions of the Arii and Zarangæi, 600 furlongs, in two days; and punished them with a cruelty unworthy of the Grecian character, though they richly deserved death.

NORTHERN EXPEDITION.

Bactria he reduced, with the mountainous provinces contiguous thereto, in the campaign of B.C. 329, with no small labour and difficulty; thence he proceeded to Sogdiana, where, in the next campaign, B.C. 328, he took the impregnable fortress, as it was considered, in which Oxyartes, the Bactrian, his chief opponent, had placed his wife and children, and well stored with provisions, as it were, in perfect security. When Alexander summoned the garrison to surrender, they in derision asked if he was provided with winged soldiers? for they feared no others. This insolence piqued his pride, and he resolved to reduce the place, at whatever loss; probably to impress the terror of his arms on these remote and warlike provinces, by unexampled and almost incredible exploits of combined skill and determined bravery:

Alexander, therefore, proposed a reward of twelve talents
(2,712 l.) to the first man that should scale the rock, and so on in proportion to the last of ten, whom he promised 300 darics, (375 l.) He then chose three hundred men out of the volunteers, who were best accustomed to the business of scaling in sieges, and furnished them with iron tent pins and strong hempen ropes, that by driving the former into the congealed snow, or into the ground where free from snow, and fastening the ropes thereto, they might climb up the steepest side of the rock, and the most unguarded by the enemy. This they attempted at night, and after the loss of thirty of their party, who were buried in the snow, and could not be found, the rest with great difficulty reached the summit about morning, and waved their handkerchiefs, the appointed signal of their success. Alexander then sent a herald to summon the besieged to surrender without delay to the winged soldiers, whom he pointed out to them on the top of the rock. The enemy, astonished at the unexpected sight, and thinking that the party were more numerous and better armed than they really were, surrendered themselves, so much were they terrified at the sight of those few Macedonians. This curious anecdote, told by Arrian, B. IV. § 18, 19, admirably corresponds to the prophetic symbol of the "Leopard with two pair of wings," who was foretold to invade Asia, Dan. vii. 6.

To attach Oxyartes to his interests, he married his fair daughter Roxana, who was among the captives, and the most beautiful woman in Asia, next to the wife of Darius.

This advantageous alliance enabled him in the course of the following campaign, B.C. 327, to reduce another fortress of Chorienes in Bactria, still stronger, where a powerful tribe, the Paretae, had shut themselves up, well supplied with provisions and ammunition to stand a siege; and surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, or gulph, which prevented his approach to the place. Over this, with great labour and difficulty, his army made a bridge of piles, covered with hurdles and earth, while the barbarians ridiculed the attempt, until to their great astonishment he passed his army over the bridge, and brought them close to the rock, and attacked them with missive weapons; while his troops were sheltered by mats from theirs. By the advice of Oxyartes, who was sent in to them at their own desire, they surrendered the place; which Alexander wisely restored to Chorienes, and entrusted him with the government of the whole province. In return for his kindness Chorienes hos-
ANALYSIS OF

pitably entertained Alexander's whole army for two months with corn, wine, and salted flesh, out of his stores, during the winter, when much snow had fallen during the siege. Arrian, Lib. IV. § 21.

These three perilous campaigns among the mountainous regions of Taurus, and its continuation eastwards, from the Caspian sea to the rivers Oxus or Gihon*, and Jaxartes or Sirr, which both run, at present, into the sea of Aral, were wisely planned, and successfully executed. The countries of Turan, or eastern Scythia, had long resisted, and now were only nominally dependent upon Iran, or the Persian empire. It was absolutely necessary therefore to reduce these warlike tribes before he set out on his Indian expedition, both for the security of his recent conquests westward, and also to recruit his army with new levies in these regions, to enable him to encounter the powerful nations eastward with harder troops.

His conquests however in Media, Bactria, &c. were tarnished by some acts of cruelty and ungovernable rage. He put to death Philotas, the son of Parmenio, and Callisthenes the philosopher, upon the charge of conspiring his death with Hermolaus and the royal Macedonian guard. The conspiracy was discovered by Ptolemy Lagus, his natural brother; and the conspirators were stoned to death in the country of the Arii. Old Parmenio himself, the early companion of his fortunes, was sacrificed in Media, after his son's death, if not to his criminality, at least to Alexander's security. Arrian, B. IV. § 13, 14; Curtius, B. VI. § 7, &c. And in a fit of drunkenness he pierced with a spear, snatched from one of the guards, his old friend Clitus, who saved his life at the Granicus, for repeatedly insulting him, and deriding his pretensions to divinity. This last act was totally inexcusable, for though Arrian justly blames Clitus for his insolence, he censures Alexander for suffering himself to be overcome by anger and ebriety. But he instantly repented, and would have slain himself with the same weapon, if he had not been prevented by his friends; and his remorse was so excessive, that he continued for three days without taking any nourishment. Arrian, B. IV. § 9.

* The river Oxus formerly ran into the Caspian. Major Rennel marks in his map of the thirty satrapies, that its course was changed A.D. 1640.
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

INDIAN EXPEDITION.

In the spring, B.C. 326, Alexander set out on his Indian expedition: in ten days he crossed the mountainous region of Paropamisus, and took the road to Candahar, the same route which was afterwards followed by Tamerlane and Nadir Schah, in their invasions of India, and which is still frequented by the caravans from Agra and Ispahan, and the most convenient in order to cross the great rivers of the Penjap, nearer their sources, and to avoid the deserts that lie to the southward.

By a stroke of the most refined and daring policy, seeing his army much encumbered with baggage, on the very morning before they set out, he set fire to his own baggage and that of his friends, and then ordered all the baggage of his army to be destroyed likewise. Struck with the magnanimity and prudence of this prompt measure, few were displeased, and many received it with acclamations of applause. This extraordinary proof of his ascendancy over his troops inspired him with fresh confidence in the success of the expedition.

In sixteen days he marched from the Oxus to the Indus, and required hostages and cavalry from the tribes through whose territories he passed. He then crossed that great river, probably on a bridge of boats, at Taxila, and found a ready submission from Taxilus, the king, whose dominions he restored and augmented, and who in return furnished him with seven thousand Indian horse.

Major Rennel, in his Memoir of the Map of Hindostan, supposes that Taxila was the site of modern Attock, the pass from Cabul and Candahar to India.

The army crossed the Indus about the summer solstice, a season when the rivers are swollen by the melted snows from Paropamisus and Cashmire. Trusting to this, Porus, a warlike prince, resolved to dispute the passage of the Hydaspes, or Shantron, with a great army of infantry, cavalry, and elephants. But Alexander out-generalled him, and crossed the river by stratagem, on skins and boats, defeated his army, and took him prisoner. When Porus was brought into his presence, Alexander asked what he wished to have done for him? He an-
answered, "To treat me royally*, Alexander." Pleased at the request, Alexander replied, "That I will do for my own sake, Porus; but ask what you please for your sake." Porus however declined, saying that every thing was included in the foregoing request. Alexander was still more pleased at this second answer, reposing the utmost confidence in his royal clemency. Porus knew his conqueror well. Alexander then enlarged his dominions, and when he left India appointed Porus his viceroy, and placed under his jurisdiction all his conquests in that quarter, amounting to seven nations and above ten thousand cities. His great penetration in judging of characters appeared in this instance by the event. Porus never betrayed his trust. He was steady in his attachment to Alexander, and even his successors; notwithstanding all their ambitious contests for sovereignty with each other, he never revolted.

Alexander founded two cities on the banks of the Hydaspes; Nicaea, on the spot where he obtained the victory over Porus, probably where the fortress of Rotas now stands; and Bucephalia, on the western bank, where his old horse Bucephalus died. In his progress through the Penjab, that rich country watered by the "five" rivers that compose the Indus, he next crossed the Acesines or Jenaub ; then the Hydraotis or Ravee; and came at last to the most eastern, the Hyphasis, Beyah, or Setlege, with little opposition from the native powers, who in general followed the examples of Taxilus and Porus, rather than contend with a conqueror, whose valour was only exceeded by his clemency to those who submitted.

Here he learned that the country beyond, reaching to the Ganges, was rich and fertile; the inhabitants industrious and brave, living in peace and plenty, and having a great number of elephants, superior in size and strength to the western. Alexander, therefore, wished to cross that greatest river of the old world†, where it was said to be thirty-two furlongs, or four miles in breadth, and a hundred fathom in depth; according to Plutarch. But when the Macedonians heard that the opposite

* Ὠτι, βασιλικὸς, μοι χρησθαι, ὁ Αλεξάνδρε. The word βασιλικὸς is usually referred to Porus, but in reality it refers to Alexander, as is evident from Alexander's explanatory answer.

† The Ganges, with its other branch the Barampooter, compose the largest river in Asia; the Indus is the next; then the Nile, in Africa; and the Ister or Danube in Europe. The Maranon, or river of the Amazons, in South America, is the largest in the world.
shore was lined with a formidable host of eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, and six thousand war elephants, they refused to accompany him. They were deaf to his tempting offers of wealth, dominion and glory, in the fertile plains of Hindustan, and unmoved by his remonstrances, soothes and sullenness, for several days together. At length, the entreaties of his friends, and the cries and tears of the soldiers, forced him to relinquish the ambitious measure, and return. And his army thanked him, that *he who was invincible, should suffer himself to be overcome.* Andracottus, who afterwards reigned there, and had seen Alexander in his youth, thought that he might have made himself master of the whole country; so much was the reigning prince despised and detested.

**INDIAN BRAHMENS.**

There were two descriptions of Indians, to whom Alexander shewed no mercy, the Military casts, and the Brahmens. The former, because they hired themselves to the native princes to fight their battles and garrison their towns, and opposed him gallantly; the latter, because they branded with infamy the princes who submitted to him, as traitors to their country, and stirred up the rest to assert their common liberties against this lawless and unprovoked invader. Having, at one time, granted an honourable capitulation to one of these cities, after a brave defence, he massacred the Mercenaries on their way home, as if not included among the citizens, in order to deter the rest from fighting against him: and he hanged many of the Brahmens in the course of the expedition. He once took ten, who were reputed the wisest and ablest of this class, and had done him infinite mischief, by fomenting revolts. To make trial of their skill, he proposed to them the hardest questions, declaring that the man who answered worst, should be executed first, and the rest in order; and he appointed the eldest to be judge.

He asked the first, *Which were most numerous, the living or the dead?* He answered, *The living, for the dead no longer exist.* According to Strabo, "the Indian Brahmens hold the present state of life an embryo only; but death, a birth unto the real life, and the happy to the seekers of wisdom." B. XV.

* Νομίζειν μεν γαρ δὴ τὸν εὐθαδὲ βιον ὡς αὐτὸν κυνομον εἶναι, τὸν δὲ θανατὸν γενεσίν εἰς τὸν οὖτως βιον, καὶ τὸν εὐδαιμον τοὺς φιλοσοφησάτι.
He asked the second, *Whether the earth or the sea produced the largest animals?* He answered, *The earth, for the sea is part of it.* This seems paradoxical; for the sea animals are largest.

The third was asked, *Which was the craftiest of all animals?* 

*That*, said he, *with which man is not yet acquainted.* Meaning probably *man himself*; according to the oracle, "*know thyself,*" and to Scripture, "*the heart of man is deceitful above all things—who can know it?*"

The fourth, *Why he persuaded Sabbas to revolt?* Because, said he, *I wished him either to live, or die, with honour.* This was a noble answer, and fully justifies the emendation *Καλως,* instead of *Κακως.*

The fifth, *Which do you think oldest, the day or the night?* He answered, *The day, by one day.* The king appearing surprised at this solution, the philosopher told him, *abstruse questions must have abstruse answers.* Perhaps, he alluded to "*a day of Brahma,*" the Creator, which in their mysterious philosophy contained a *calpa,* or a thousand *maha yugas,* and a *maha yuga,* 4,320,000 years; equivalent to eternity. A sublime idea, corresponding to Scripture. Ps. xc. 4; 2 Pet. iii. 8. See Vol. I. p. 196 of this work.

The sixth, *What were the best means for a man to make himself loved?* He answered, *If possessed of great power, do not make yourself feared.* A pointed rebuke to Alexander himself.

The seventh was asked, *How a man might become a god?* He answered, *By doing what is impossible for man to do.* Thus finely exposing the impious pretensions of the conqueror.

The eighth, *Which is strongest, life or death?* *Life,* said he, *because it bears so many evils.* This was applicable to their own case.

The last question was, *How long is it good for a man to live?* *So long,* said the philosopher, *as he does not prefer death to life.* This was a noble answer, in the true spirit of the fourth, intimating fortitude and resignation to their fate.

Then turning to the judge, he ordered him to give sentence. *In my opinion,* said the old man, *they have all answered, one worse than another.* If this is thy judgment, said Alexander,

\* ΑΛΛ' ἡ καλως ζην, ἡ καλως τεθνηκεναι 
Τον ευγενη δει.  

*Σοφοκλ. Ajax, 480.*
thou shalt die first. Not so, replied the sage, except you chuse to break your word: for you declared the man that answered worst should suffer first.

Struck with their ingenuity and subtilty, the king loaded them with presents, and dismissed them, seeking to conciliate by kindness, those whom he could neither confute by argument, nor terrify with threats. He was equally admired by the Brahmens. Calanus was his intimate friend; and Mandanis declared, that the Macedonian invader, at the head of a victorious army, was the only adept in wisdom* he had ever known, even by report. Strabo, Lib. XV. p. 705.

VOYAGE DOWN THE INDUS.

Having partly collected, and partly built, a fleet of two thousand vessels, on the Hydaspes, since the time he first crossed it till his return, he divided his army into three divisions, and embarked himself with one division, and sailed down that river, till its junction with the Indus, attended by the two other divisions on land, who marched downwards, along the opposite banks of those rivers, that the army and fleet might mutually support each other, and also more effectually explore the regions on both sides. This expedition began in spring, B.C. 325, and employed several months, having been frequently interrupted by hostilities with the natives, particularly the warlike tribe of the Malli, at the siege of whose capital, by “the

* We learn from Plutarch, in his life, that Alexander was instructed by his preceptor Aristotle, not only in morality and politics, but also in those abstruser branches of science, which were called acroamatic, as taught in “private conversation” to a chosen few. Hearing that Aristotle had published a treatise thereon, he wrote a letter to him, which strongly marks his monopolizing spirit of knowledge, as well as of conquest:

"ALEXANDER TO ARISTOTLE, GREETING.

"You did wrong in publishing the acroamatic parts of science. Wherein shall we differ from others, if the sublimer knowledge we gained from you, be made common to all the world? For my part, I had rather excel the bulk of mankind in the higher branches of learning, than in extent of power and dominion. Farewell."

Aristotle apologized by telling him that his book of Metaphysics, though published, was not published; meaning, that none could comprehend it without an instructor. That it was only of use to refresh the memories of those to whom it had been taught by himself.

Of Aristotle he said, that “he loved him no less than his own father: for from the one, he derived the blessing of life; from the other, the blessing of a good life.”
extravagance of his rashness*,” (τῷ αφοφανείᾳ τῆς τολμητικῆς) according to Arrian, he ran the most imminent hazard of being slain; leaping down, alone and unsupported, from the wall, among a multitude of the enemy, where he was severely wounded with an arrow in the breast, before his troops could get in to rescue him; who, in their rage, massacred men, women, and children! The Malli were a tribe of the Oxydrace.

Having performed his voyage down the Indus to the Ocean, and detached one division of his army, under Craterus, through the upper provinces of Arachosia and Aria, with directions to join him in Carmania, he set out in September, B.C. 325, at the head of the other division of his army, through the great Gedrosian desert, on his return to Persia, along the sea coast, accompanied by his fleet. He marched himself on foot in this land and sea voyage of discovery, through the barren sands, and shared all the hardships of the meanest soldier, exposed equally to hunger, thirst, and fatigue. His chief objects, in this perilous march, were to dig wells and discover water, and explore harbours; objects of prime importance in any future navigation along that desolate coast. One day, some soldiers having discovered a small quantity of muddy water in the bed of a torrent, brought it in great haste to the king in a helmet, who was well nigh exhausted with heat and thirst. He received it graciously, thanked them, and then immediately spilled it on the ground, in presence of them all. By this action, the spirits of the whole army were as much revived and recruited as if each of them had drunk the water spilled by Alexander. “An action,” says Arrian, “which I commend especially, because Alexander shewed thereby his fortitude and his generalship.” B. VI. § 26. After a most dreadful march of two months through the great desert, he reached the cultivated province of Carmania, which had been reduced by the division of Craterus, and was


“ The same providence that raised up and conducted Cyrus, preserved the rash Macedonian from perishing, till he had overthrown the Persian empire. I call him rash, because he exposed his own person too much; for his enterprise, though very bold, was perhaps neither rash, nor rashly conducted.—Alexander was designed and reserved for extraordinary purposes, to assist in fulfilling and justifying the prophecies of Daniel.”—Jortin might have spoken more decidedly on this enterprise, than “perhaps:” It was planned and executed with consummate sagacity and prudence.

† See a similar action of David in a battle with the Philistines. 2 Sam. v. 17—25. Vol. II. p. 331 of this work.
joined by fresh supplies of men and cattle, to repair the waste of both in the course of this destructive expedition.

Mean while, Nearchus proceeded with the fleet, and at length arrived in April, B.C. 324, in the Euphrates, after a voyage of seven months, from the mouth of the Indus, in the winter, and most unfavourable season. The curious journal of this voyage, written by Clearchus himself, is preserved by Arrian, in his Indian History, from chap. xx. to xli.

ALEXANDER'S REGULATIONS.

The first act of Alexander, on his return from his Indian expedition, was to enquire into and punish the mal-administration of his generals and governors of provinces, during his long absence.

Cleander and Sitalces, commanders of the Median levies, were accused by the Medes, and their own soldiers, of spoiling their temples and sepulchres, and other atrocious deeds of avarice and cruelty. They were immediately punished with death. Hearing also, that the governors whom he had appointed at Persepolis, Susa, and Babylon, had despised his orders, encouraged by his long absence and adventurous disposition, and acted as independent princes, and oppressed the people, he hastened to Pasargadae, and punished them most severely. This was highly to his honour and to his interest; for, as Arrian remarks, "it was this especially that kept in order the nations that had either been conquered by Alexander, or voluntarily submitted to him, though so numerous, and so remote from each other; that under his dominion, the governed were not allowed to be injured by their governors." Arrian, B. VI. § 27.

The last year of his life Alexander spent in a circuit through the imperial cities of Persepolis, Susa, Ecbatana, and Babylon, and in forming the noblest plans for the consolidation and improvement of his mighty empire. He removed the dams and obstructions by which the timid policy of the Assyrian and Persians kings, averse to commerce, had impeded the navigation of the great rivers Euphrates, Tigris, and Eulai, or Choaspedes; he formed a basin at Babylon, capable of holding a thousand galleys; he restrained the inundations of the Euphrates, by cutting new canals; he sent vessels to explore the
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Persian and Arabian gulphs; and shortly before his death, he took measures for exploring the coasts of the Caspian sea, which then was thought to communicate with the Northern Ocean.

To conciliate the minds of his European and Asiatic subjects, he promoted intermarriages between both, and set the example himself. At Susa, he married Barsine, the eldest daughter of Darius, (called Statira by Curtius, Justin, and Plutarch,) and gave her sister Drypetis to his friend Hephaestion, saying that he wished their children to be kinsmen. By the advice of their master, likewise, Perdicas, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and other general officers, intermarried with the Barbarian nobility; and the soldiers were encouraged by presents and dowers, to follow the example of their leaders. Above ten thousand Greeks and Macedonians, on this occasion, married Asiatic women.

Plutarch, seizing the true spirit of these regulations, thus finely apostrophizes Xerxes, for the folly of uniting Asia and Europe by a bridge of ships.

"O foolish barbarian, in vain didst thou labour abundantly about the Hellespontine bridge! It is thus that intelligent kings unite Europe to Asia; not by timbers, nor by cords, not by inanimate and insensible bands, but by uniting both races in lawful love, sober wedlock, and intercommunities of children."

Montesquieu also thus excellently accounts for his conduct in this and other regulations. L'Esprit des Lois, Lib. X. chap. 14.

"He resisted those who wished that he should treat the Greeks as masters, and the Persians as slaves. Even Aristotle himself gave him this counsel. He thought only how to unite the two nations, and to efface the distinctions of the victorious and the vanquished people. After his conquest, he relinquished all those [European] prejudices that had helped to make it.

* Plutarch says, that Alexander was so pleased with the account of the voyage of Nearchus, that he meditated to sail in person, with a great fleet, to circumnavigate the coasts of Arabia, and Africa, and enter the Mediterranean, by the pillars of Hercules; thus emulating the Phoenician voyage, in Pharaoh Necho's days.

† Ο βασιλεύς Ζερες, και ανοιχτε, και ματη πόλα περι την Ἑλληνουνιαν πονηρας γεφυραν ουσας εμφενεις βασελεις Ασιαν Κυρυαγ ςυναπτουσι, ον τις, υπερθεσα αοιδες, υπερ αφυγοι και ασιμπαθει δεσμος, αλλ ερωτι γομμας και γαμος σωφρος, και κοινωνιας παιδων, τα γενη ςυναπτουτες. Plutarch. De fortuna Alexandri.
He assumed the manners of the Persians, wishing not to mortify the Persians, while he made them adopt the manners of the Greeks. For this reason it was, that he marked so much respect for the wife and the mother of Darius, and that he shewed so much continence. What conqueror but himself was lamented by all the peoples whom he had reduced? What usurper but himself had his death bewailed with tears by the family whose throne he overthrew? [Sisygambis, the mother of Darius, starved herself for grief.] This is a trait in his life, of which no other conqueror* that we read of in history could boast.

"Alexander, who sought to unite the two nations, designed to plant in Persia a great number of Grecian colonies. He built an infinity of towns†, and so well cemented all the parts of this new empire, that in all the troubles and confusions of the most frightful civil wars, (during which, the Greeks, as we may say, annihilated themselves,) not a single province of Persia revolted.

"In order not to exhaust Greece and Macedon, he sent to Alexandria, a colony of Jews, allowing them to retain their own laws and customs. It mattered not to him, what were their manners, provided they were faithful to him. He not only left the conquered peoples their own customs and laws, but often the same kings and governors that he found among them. He put Macedonians at the head of the troops, and Natives at the head of the government, chusing rather to run the risk of partial insurrections, which sometimes happened to him, than of a general revolt.

"The kings of Persia destroyed the temples of the Grecians, Babylonians and Egyptians: on the contrary, he rebuilt them. There were few nations that submitted to him, upon whose altars he did not offer sacrifices. He seemed to conquer, only to be the monarch of each nation in particular, and the first citizen of every town.

"The Romans conquered all, to destroy all: he wished to conquer all, to preserve all: and whatever countries he traversed, his first ideas, his first designs were always to do something that might augment its power and prosperity. The first means of

* Montesquieu forgot Cyrus the Great, with whom we may justly say, no other conqueror was worthy to be compared, beloved by God and man.
† Diodorus and Plutarch reckoned that Alexander founded no less than seventy cities, in the most important stations, which he garrisoned, to secure the conquered provinces.
promoting these ends, he found in the grandeur of his genius; the second, in his frugality and private economy; the third, in his immense prodigality in great matters. His hand was shut to private expences, it was opened to public expences. Was it necessary to regulate his household? he was then a Macedonian. Was it necessary to pay the debts of his soldiers, to share his conquests with the Greeks, to make the fortune of every man in his army? he was then Alexander.

"He committed two bad actions: he burned Persepolis* and he killed Clitus; but he rendered those actions famous by his repentance: insomuch that the world forgot his crimes, to remember his respect for virtue; so that they were considered rather as misfortunes than faults; so that posterity found the beauty of his mind closely connected with his extravagances and weaknesses; so that it was necessary indeed to complain of him, but impossible to hate him.

"If we compare him with Caesar; when Caesar wished to imitate the kings of Asia, he disobliged the Romans, from a motive of mere ostentation; when Alexander wished to imitate the kings of Asia, he did a thing which entered into the plan of his conquest."

MUTINY AT OPIS.

To this masterly apology and panegyricon Montesquieu, we shall add Alexander's noble and high-minded vindication to his mutinous troops at Opis, on the Tigris, after he had seized, with his own hands, and punished thirteen of the ringleaders on the spot, not many months before his death; as recorded by his best historian, Arrian. B. VII. § 8—11.

"When the troops, appalled at this prompt execution, were silent, he re-ascended the tribunal, and spoke thus:

"It is not to restrain your impatience to return home, Macedonians, that I shall address you—(You may freely depart, wherever you please, with my consent!)—but that ye may know in what a different plight ye go away from that in which ye were.

* Arrian, Strabo, and Plutarch agree, in confining the conflagration to the palace; and the last says, that only a part of the palace was destroyed. Curtius, with his usual extravagance, burns the whole city so completely, that not a vestige of it was left! This is confuted by Alexander's visit to Persepolis after his Indian expedition.
"And first, as it is fit, I shall begin my speech with Philip my father. Philip found you vagrants and indigent; for the most part, clad in sheep skins, and feeding a few sheep through the mountains, and ill contending for them with the Illyrians and Triballians, and the neighbouring Thracians. He gave you clothes to wear, instead of the sheep skins; he brought you down from the mountains to the plains, and made you a match for the neighbouring barbarians, so as to trust no more in your strong holds for safety, but rather in your personal valour. He rendered you inhabitants of cities, and adorned you with good laws and morals. From being slaves and dependants, he made you leaders of those very barbarians, by whom yourselves and your goods were led and carried away. Most part of Thrace he annexed to Macedon, and of the places on the sea coast, having got the most important into his possession, he opened commerce to the country, and enabled you to work the mines in security. He rendered you rulers of the Thessalians, of whom ye formerly died with fear. And having humbled the Phoceans, he made for you a broad and open avenue into Greece, instead of a narrow and difficult pass. The Athenians and Thebans, who were always plotting against Macedon, he humbled so far, with our co-operation, that instead of paying tribute to the Athenians, and obeying the Thebans, they, on the contrary, derived their own security from us. Passing into Peloponnesus, he settled matters there also; and having been appointed generalissimo of all the rest of Greece in the expedition against Persia, he gained this glory, not more for himself than for the Macedonians. Such were my father's services toward you; they were great indeed, considered in themselves, but little, compared with ours.

"When I succeeded my father, I found a few gold and silver cups, and not sixty talents in the treasury, beside a debt of five hundred talents contracted by Philip. I then borrowed myself eight hundred more, and setting out from a country that could not well maintain yourselves, I immediately opened to you the passage of the Hellespont, though the Persians were then masters of the sea; and having defeated with my cavalry the Satraps of Darius, I added to your empire all Ionia, and all Æolis, and both Phrygias and the Lydians, and took Miletus by storm; and having received the voluntary submission of all the other states, I enabled you to reap the fruits. The profits of Egypt
and Cyrene, which I acquired without a contest, came to you. Coele Syria, and Palestine, and Mesopotamia, are your possessions. Babylon, and Bactria, and Susa are yours. The wealth of the Lydians, the treasures of the Persians, the goods of the Indians, and the outer sea are yours. Ye are satraps, ye are generals, ye are colonels. What more then remains for myself, for all these toils, but this purple and this diadem? I possess nothing apart; nor can any one point out any treasures exclusively mine, which are not either bestowed on you, or kept for your use; since I have no private motive to keep them, feeding on the same fare with yourselves, and taking the same sleep. Nay, my fare is not equal to that of the luxurious among you. I am conscious of watching before hand for you, in order that you may sleep securely.

"But, perhaps, it may be said, that I have acquired these by your labours and toils, while I led you myself without labour and toil. But which of you is conscious that he has laboured more for me than I did for him? Come now, whoever of you has wounds, let him strip and shew them, and I will shew mine in turn. For there is no part of my body in front that is left unwounded; nor is there any kind of weapon, either in close or distant fight, of which I do not bear the marks on myself: for I have been wounded by sword in hand, or hit by arrows, or from machines, and often struck by stones and clubs, for you and for your glory, and for your emolument, when leading you through every land and sea, and through all sorts of rivers, mountains and plains.

"I have married you with the same marriages as myself, and the children of many of you will be kinsmen to my children; and whoever was in debt, I did not scrutinize rigidly how it was contracted, but cleared it off, though ye had such great pay, and such great plunder, whenever a city was stormed; and most of you have crowns of gold, immortal monuments both of your valour, and of the recompence you received from me: and whichever of you died, his death was glorious, and his tomb conspicuous. Many of your brazen statues stand at home, your parents are held in honour, ye are freed from all public service and tribute; for none of you died in flight while led by me.

"And now I intended to send away such of you as were unfit for war, so as to be objects of envy to those at home; but
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since ye all wish to depart, depart all! and when ye have gone home, tell that your king, Alexander, after conquering the Persians, Medes, Bactrians, and Saces, overthrowing the Uxians, Arachotians and Drangae, and acquiring the Parthians, Chorasmians, and Hyrcanians, as far as the Caspian sea; crossing the Caucasus, at the Caspian gates, and passing the rivers Oxus and Tanais, and even the river Indus, which was never passed by any other but Bacchus; and after crossing the Hydaspes and Acesines, and if ye had not been loth, the Hyphasis too; and navigating through both the mouths of the Indus to the ocean; and marching through the Gedrosian desert, which none ever passed with an army before, and acquiring Carmania, in the way; and after his fleet had sailed round from India to Persia, he was brought back indeed by you in triumph, to Susa; but that you left him, and went home, giving him up to the care of the conquered barbarians! These accounts, perhaps, will gain you glory with men, and sanctity with gods: Depart!"

Having thus said, he sprang hastily from the tribunal, and passing by to the palace, he neither dressed himself, nor appeared to any of his companions. Nor did he appear the next day. On the third he called in the chiefs of the Persians, and distributed among them the commissions of the ranks, and only such of them as he had made relations (by marriages) he allowed to kiss him.

The Macedonians, struck at the instant with his upbraiding speech, remained there in silence, at the tribunal, nor did any one attend the king at his departure, except his friends and body guards. The multitude who remained were at a loss what to do or say, and yet were not willing to depart themselves. But when they were told of the king's proceedings in regard of the Persians and Medes, how that the commissions were given away to the Persians, and the Barbarian army marshalled into companies, and the Persian guard called by Macedonian titles, "the foot-company, the Argyraspides, the horse company, and the king's guard, they could no longer contain themselves; but running together to the palace, they threw down their arms before the gates, as suppliants to the king, and standing before the gates, they cried aloud, begging to be admitted; that they were ready to give up the authors of the tumult, and beginners of the clamour, and that they would not quit the gates, day nor night, until Alexander should have some compassion on them.
When he was told this, he hastily came out to them, and seeing their dejection, and hearing the cries and groans of the multitude, he shed tears himself. He then received them into full favour again, and dismissed them, shouting and singing paëns as they returned to the camp."

I having given this most interesting speech entire, as an admirable and authentic outline of Philip's and Alexander's history; and also a lively specimen of his extraordinary powers of plain, close, and impressive reasoning; of governing the passions, and conciliating the affections of his troops. It would have been spoiled by abridgment.

VISIT TO BABYLON.

Alexander's last visit was to Babylon. He had been warned by the Chaldaean priests*, not to visit that city, or at least not to enter it on the eastern side. But the marshes prohibited his approach on the western side. His friend Calanus, the Indian philosopher, who weary of life, had burned himself on a pile, in Persia, at their last interview, told Alexander that "they should meet again at Babylon." He might have heard, perhaps, of Darius Codomannus' dream, and the interpretation of the Magi. Alexander therefore, entered that city with strong forebodings of his fate; and he who had so often employed superstition as an engine of state policy, when he represented himself as the son of Amun, now fell a prey to it himself. "Superstition, like water, always flowing to the depressed and low grounds, filled Alexander with dejection and fear," according to Plutarch's imagery. Perhaps to conciliate the Babylonian god, and avert his anger, he engaged in that fatal project of rebuilding the temple of Belus, recorded by Arrian, B. VII. § 17, and by Josephus, Contr. Apion. B. I. § 22. He knew not, alas! those sacred prophecies of Daniel, (well known to the Magi), foretelling his early doom, and the desolation of Babylon. See Vol. II. p. 533, and the present Vol. p. 67.

Here, Alexander, as Doctor G. Fordyce has observed, appears to have died of an irregular semitertian fever, caught by surveying the marshes adjoining the river Euphrates, to ascen-

* Alexander suspected that the Babylonian priests wished to hinder him from going thither, that he might not detect their peculation of the sacred treasury, and apply the money to rebuilding the temple. This determined him. Arrian, B. VII. § 17.
tain the means by which they might be most advantageously drained. The daily reports, or bulletins respecting the progress of his disorder, for the last twelve days, from the eighteenth to the thirtieth of the month Dæsius, when he died, have been preserved and transmitted to us, by Arrian, B. VII. § 25; and Plutarch, in his life. He probably increased his fever by intemperance at first in a continued carousal of two days.

Thus was cut off in the prime of life, and in all the pride of conquest, Alexander the Great, after he had lived thirty-two years and eight months, and reigned in all, twelve years and eight months from his father Philip's death. "When he was strong, the great horn of the western goat was broken!" Dan. viii. 8.

What he achieved in the short compass of his reign, is altogether astonishing. When asked once, by what means he had effected such wonderful things, he answered, μηδὲν αναβαλλομενος. "By postponing nothing." His measures indeed were all planned with the soberest and most deliberate circumspection; and then executed without delay, and with all the rapidity of "the double-winged leopard" in prophecy. For as Arrian justly observes, "he resembled no other man, and seemed to have been born by a special PROVIDENCE.*"

What he accomplished, however, fell infinitely short of what he intended. He was greatly disappointed in his Indian campaign, at the refusal of his soldiers to cross the Hyphasis; and unquestionably meditated a future invasion even of the regions beyond the Ganges, to which his subsequent measures were plainly subservient; and he must have been irresistible, humanly speaking, with all Asia under his control, from the shores of the Ionian sea, to the banks of the Hyphasis, with increased fame, experience, and resources both by land and sea.

That he meditated the conquest of Africa also, appears from his preparations for circumnavigating that vast peninsula, and returning by the straits of Gibraltar into the Mediterranean sea; emulating Pharaoh Necho's expedition.

And that he meditated the conquest of the rest of Europe, appears from the timber he ordered to be cut on Mount Libanus, and the fleets to be built in the sea-ports of Phœnicia and Palestine; and from his intended survey of the shores of the Caspian

* οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἐμοίγε ἐξω τον θείον φυγαί αν δοκει ανηρ, οὐδὲν ἀλλω ἀνθρωπων εἰκως.
sea. In his tablets were found memorandums for building new
cities in Europe and Asia; peopling the former with Asiatics,
the latter with Europeans. The vast and capacious mind of
this mighty conqueror, was likely indeed to have produced a
grand revolution in the state and manners of the ancient world,
by promoting general intercourse among the several branches of
his mighty empire; but Providence, to shew the vanity of
human projects, checked his ambitious career, *hitherto shalt
thou go, and no further!* and to humble his inordinate pride,
and impious arrogance, soon mingled him with the dust!

He seems to have had a strong presentiment of the ensuing
dissentions and convulsions after his death, kindled by the am-
bition of his generals; and to have despairs of his children’s
succession. He told his friends, “that he was more troubled
on their account than on his own; for he was afraid, that after
his death, fortune would throw the empire into the hands of
some obscure and weak man.” When they enquired to whom he
left the kingdom? he answered, *to the most worthy*; and he
gave his ring, when speechless, to Perdiccas.

PHILIP ARIDÆUS, AND ALEXANDER ÆGUS.

A contest for a week took place between his generals about
the succession, and the distribution of provinces and offices. At
length it was agreed, that Philip Aridæus, his natural brother,
and a weak person, should be elected king, and that if Roxana,
who was then eight months pregnant, bore a son, (which she did,
Alexander Ægus), he should be associated with his uncle in
the kingdom, and Perdiccas appointed regent, or guardian to
both.

The first partition of the provinces was Egypt to Ptolemy
Lagus; Cappadocia to Eumenes; Pamphylia to Antigonus;
Phrygia to Leonatus; Caria to Cassander, the son of Anti-
pater; Armenia to Neoptolemus; Mesopotamia to Arcesilas;
Babylonia to Seleucus; Media to Atropates, the father-in-law
of Perdiccas; Persia to Peucettes; Thrace to Lysimachus;
Macedon and Greece to Antipater and Craterus; besides
several of the Asiatic provinces which were left under the go-
vernment of their native princes. We may date this partition,
B.C. 323.

Two years after, Perdiccas was slain unjustly invading
Egypt, B.C. 321, and Antipater was appointed guardian; but he dying two years after, appointed the unworthy Polysperchon, the eldest of Alexander’s captains, to succeed him in the regency, B.C. 319, in preference to his own son, Cassander, whose ambition he dreaded might tempt him to betray that sacred trust. Nor was he mistaken.

On Antipater’s death, the turbulent and intriguing Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great, returned from Epirus, to which she had fled, and contrived to get possession of the government of Macedon; when she put to death Philip Aridaeus, after a nominal reign of six years and six months, and wreaked her vengeance on the family and adherents of Antipater, B.C. 317. But her cruelties were soon retaliated on herself. Cassander, who had a powerful party in Macedon, came that same year with an army, besieged Olympias in Pydna, took the city, and put her to death. He then confined the young king, Alexander Ægus, and his mother Roxana, in the castle of Amphipolis, for some years. But after the second partition of the provinces, in the year B.C. 310, when it was agreed that Cassander should hold Macedon; Lysimachus, Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt; and Antigonus, all Asia, in trust for Alexander Ægus; Cassander, to make sure of the crown of Macedon for himself, privately murdered the young prince in his confinement, and his mother Roxana; the just reward of her wickedness, in putting to death Statira, the daughter of Darius, the wife of Alexander, shortly after his decease, for fear she might be with child, and bear a son that might exclude her son Ægus; and also her sister Drypetis, the widow of Hephæstion, with the connivance of Perdiccas the regent.

Polysperchon loudly exclaimed against the treason of Cassander, and sending for Hercules, the remaining son of Alexander, by Barsine, the widow of Memnon, the Rhodian, from Pergamus, where they had resided in privacy, proposed him as king to the Macedonians. This so alarmed Cassander, that he came to a compromise with the base Polysperchon, to share the government between them, and so seduced him to destroy Hercules and his mother, the ensuing year, B.C. 309. On the death of Hercules, “the generals put on crowns.”

Thus was “the posterity of Alexander” all extirpated in the course of fourteen years from his death, and “his kingdom plucked up, and given to others;” by a righteous retaliation,
that he whose sword had made many parents childless, should leave his children and all his family "to perish by the sword!"

SELEUCUS NICATOR.

Although Seleucus was excluded by the second partition treaty, B.C. 310, from the government of Babylonia, allotted to him by the first, in B.C. 323, and Antigonus, his competitor, elected in his room, yet his reign is dated by the oriental historians two years before, from B.C. 312, when he retook Babylon from Antigonus, and established his interest there upon such a solid foundation, that it could no more be shaken. It was not, however, till the celebrated battle of Ipsus, B.C. 301, in which Antigonus was slain by the other confederate generals, that his title was acknowledged, on the third and final partition of the empire, when Ptolemy was established in Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Coele Syria, and Palestine; Cassander in Macedon and Greece; Lysimachus in Thrace, Bithynia, and the adjacent districts on the Hellespont and Bosporus; and Seleucus in Syria, Babylonia, and the eastern provinces. To this last partition, Daniel's prophecies of the division of Alexander's empire among his four generals, seem to have alluded, Dan. viii. 8, xi. 4.

Seleucus was reckoned by Appian, "the greatest king after Alexander," B. VII. § 22, and is so represented in prophecy; Dan. xi. 5. See Vol. II. p. 537, of this work. He first conquered Antigonus, and seized his provinces of Syria and Asia Minor; he at last conquered Lysimachus, king of Thrace, who had previously annexed Macedon to his dominions; so that he united three of the kingdoms into which Alexander's empire was split, and was thence styled Nicator, "Conqueror," while Ptolemy, the wisest, retained the fourth, Egypt and its dependencies.

Seleucus built Antioch, the capital of Syria, on the river Orontes; and three other cities of note, Seleucia, Apamia, and Laodicea, in the same province; which in his time was divided into three parts, Upper Syria, Coele Syria, and Palestine Syria. The maritime coast of the two latter, was called Phœnicia. Afterwards he built Seleucia, about forty miles above Babylon, on the western side of the Tigris, opposite to the modern city of Bagdad, and made it the capital of the eastern provinces. He
built a great number of cities besides, and adopted Alexander's policy of planting the Jews in many of them, with ample privileges. He was beloved by his subjects for his justice and mildness, and remarkably fond of his children; of which he gave a signal proof, in resigning his favourite queen Stratonice to his son Antiochus, who was desperately in love with her, to save his life, and with her the provinces of Upper Asia, of which they were crowned king and queen. Appian, Plutarch, and Valerius Maximus.

Seleucus did not long enjoy his victory over Lysimachus; seven months after, as he was marching into Macedon, to take possession of that kingdom, he was treacherously murdered by Ptolemy Keraunos, a refugee from Egypt, on whom he had conferred innumerable favours, and intended to have restored to his father's kingdom, who had disinherited him in favour of Ptolemy Philadelphus, his younger son.

ANTIOCHUS SOTER.

This prince succeeded his father Seleucus, and after he had secured the eastern provinces, endeavoured to reduce the western, but was defeated in Bithynia. He entered into a war with Antigonus, the son of Demetrius, to whom he at length ceded Macedon. And the family of Antigonus reigned there till the time of Perseus, the last king, who was conquered by the Romans.

Antiochus left his throne to Antiochus, surnamed Theos, his son by Stratonice, his mother-in-law, and from this incestuous offspring were descended the succeeding kings of Syria, who so miserably oppressed and harassed the Jews.

ANTIOCHUS THEOS.

In the beginning of this king's reign lived Berosus, the famous Chaldean historian, who dedicated his history to him. Pliny observes, that it contained astronomical observations for 480 years; from the accession of Antiochus, B.C. 261, reaching back to B.C. 741, shortly after the commencement of the Nabonassarean era. By the help of these, it is probable Ptolomy of Alexandria constructed his scientific Canon.

In the third year of his reign, a long and bloody war broke
out between him and Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, during which great commotions took place in the eastern provinces of the empire, which he had not leisure to suppress. Arsaces revolted in Parthia, Theodotus in Bactria, and the northern provinces, Pontus, Bithynia, &c. following their example, expelled the Macedonians, and chose governors of their own. Justin dates the Parthian revolt in the consulate of Manlius Vulso and Attilius Regulus, B.C. 250, which year is adopted by Usher and Petarius. Eusebius dates it three years earlier than the 133d Olympiad, or B.C. 251; and Mirkhond reckoned that Arsaces, or Chapour, began his reign 72 years after Alexander's death, or B.C. 252. We may therefore adopt the mean date, B.C. 251, as the most correct; and from this some date the commencement of the Parthian empire. It was not, however, fully established till the ensuing reign.

SELEUCUS CALLINICUS.

This prince, notwithstanding his sounding title, "glorious victor," was uniformly unfortunate in his wars. The ambition of his mother Laodicea, who poisoned Antiochus Theos, to secure him the throne, involved him in a long and bloody war with Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt, who stripthim of Cilicia, Syria, and Phœnia. Afterwards he carried on a war against his own brother Antiochus, surnamed Hierax, "the hawk," from his rapacity. Upon his brother's death, he attempted to recover the eastern provinces that had revolted, but was defeated, in a decisive battle by Arsaces, and taken prisoner in the 17th year of his reign, B.C. 229, and died in captivity. From this epoch the Parthians reckoned the recovery of their liberty, Arsaces assumed the title of king, and hence we date the actual commencement of the powerful Parthian empire.
SECTION IX.

PARTHIAN DYNASTY. 454 YEARS.

ASCHKANIAN KINGS.

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The chronology of this period is exceedingly perplexed and embarrassed, owing to the loss of the original writers on Parthian affairs, Apollodorus, Artemisius, Creperius, Calpurnianus, Quadratus, Seleucus Emisenus, &c. who are cited by Strabo, Athenæus, Justin, Suidas, &c. and to the great discordance of
their remaining fragments, with the accounts of the Persian historians, Khondemir, &c. Hence, the learned writers of the Universal History, in their History of Parthia, Vol. IV. chap. 12, p. 129, fol. though they have collected the fullest account of the history, yet totally omit the chronology, as desperate and irretrievable; they are even incorrect in the total amount of it, 475 years; p. 291, 323, (for this does not correspond with their own dates, B.C. 300 + A.D. 230 = 530 years; in the margins, p. 291 and p. 324;) this, however, of 475 years, corresponds with the true amount, from the date of the Parthian revolt, B.C. 251, to the defeat of Artabanus IV. and restoration of the Persian dominion, A.D. 225. See U. H. 372, note.

From careful comparison of the fragments that remain of the Roman historians with the Persian, and from the imperfect dates of the reigns of most of the Parthian kings, in Playfair's Biographical Index, corrected by those of the contemporary Syrian kings, and Roman prætors, consuls, and emperors, noticed in the course of the history, the foregoing table is constructed. It is given only as an approximation to the truth, in its detail. The whole period may be considered as sufficiently defined in its length of 454 years.

The Parthian names are added from Khondemir's scanty abstract, Un. Hist. Vol. IV. p. 372, (note A.) and from Herbelot.

ARSACES, or ASCHEK.

Arsaces, according to some Oriental writers, was of the royal Persian race of the Achemenidae, and a descendant of Darius Codomannus. Arsaces, as we have seen, was the family name of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Strabo says, that he was the king of the Dahae before the revolt of Parthia. After he assumed the crown of Parthia, he reduced Hyrcania and some other neighbouring provinces, and was slain at last, after seven years' reign, according to Khondemir, in a battle with Ariathres IV. king of Cappadocia.

Hence this dynasty is called the Aschkanian by the Oriental writers. Some of them divide it into two parts, of twelve kings, whom they distinguish by the name of Aschkanians; and of eight more, by that of Aschyanides. But Khondemir judiciously unites them, as only forming one intermediate dynasty, between
the Macedo-Grecian and the fourth dynasty of Persian kings, called Sassanian, or Khosronian. In reality, this may be considered as a Persian dynasty, and the third; because Persia and Parthia were contiguous provinces of the empire, and are usually confounded by the Greek and Latin historians and poets; as Media and Persia were by them, and by the Oriental writers themselves, in the second or Kaianian dynasty.

His son, Arsaces II. carried on a war with Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, who at length relinquished to him the provinces of Parthia and Hyrcania, on the condition of assisting him to recover the rest.

Priapatius, his son, succeeded him, and left his crown to his eldest son Phraates, who reduced the Mardi, and other Median tribes.

MITHRIDATES, OR FIROUZ,

Was the brother of the last king, to whom he left the crown, on account of his extraordinary merit, in preference to his own children. He reduced the Bactrians, Persians, Medes, Elamites, and extended his dominions into India, even beyond Alexander's conquests. He defeated and took prisoner, Demetrius Nicator, king of Syria, B.C. 144, and got possession of Mesopotamia and Babylonia. So that he was master of all the provinces between the Euphrates and the Ganges. His reign is usually considered as the summit of Parthian grandeur; and he excelled not less as a statesman and legislator, than as a warrior. Diodor. Excerpt. Valesii, p. 361.

Phraates II. succeeded him, and was invaded immediately after, by Antiochus Sidetes, under pretence of delivering his brother Demetrius from captivity. Sidetes was at first successful, and stripped Phraates of all the conquests in the late reign, and confined him to the narrow limits of the first Parthian kingdom; but he surprized the Syrians, and destroyed their whole army, B.C. 130. Afterwards, in a war with his Scythian auxiliaries, he was deserted by the Greek mercenaries of Sidetes, whom he had ill treated, but released and taken into his service, and slain.

His uncle Artabanus took possession of the crown, but was slain also, not many days after, by a Scythian tribe of the Thogarians. Justin.
Succeeded his father Artabanus. He first of all the Parthian kings made overtures of friendship and alliance to the Romans, by an embassy to Sylla, then only Praetor, about B.C. 93, who had been sent by the Roman Senate to reinstate Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, after he had been dethroned by Tigranes, king of Armenia. Sylla, assuming the middle seat of honour at the audience, placed Ariobarzanes on his right hand, and the Parthian ambassador on his left. This compliance on the part of the Parthian, so offended Pacorus, that he beheaded the ambassador, on his return home, for degrading the majesty of the Parthian monarch to a Roman praetor. However, he renewed the alliance with Lucullus, B.C. 69.

He was succeeded by his son Phraates III. who at first espoused the cause of Tigranes, son of Tigranes the Great, against his father; but upon the approach of Pompey, about B.C. 66, he thought proper to renew with him the alliance which his father had made at first with Sylla, and afterwards with Lucullus. He was murdered by his own sons, Orodes and Mithridates.

ORODES

First took possession of the throne as the elder brother, but was driven out by his younger. But Mithridates, for his cruelties, was driven out, and Orodes restored, who besieged his brother in Seleucia, and having forced him to surrender, cruelly put him to death, and was himself an eye-witness of his execution.

Soon after he was invaded, unexpectedly, in a time of profound peace, by the Roman pro-consul Crassus, B.C. 54, through motives of the most sordid avarice. When Crassus landed in Galatia, he found Dejotarus, the king, who was advanced in years, employed in building a new city; and he sarcastically remarked, King, you begin full late to build a city, at the twelfth hour of the day; Dejotarus retorted, And you, general, are not too early in your expedition against the Parthians. Whose equestrian warfare required all the vigour and agility of youth. Plutarch.
After plundering the temple of Jerusalem, which Pompey had spared, of upwards of ten thousand talents, or above two millions sterling, in violation of his solemn promise, he marched through Syria to invade Mesopotamia. There he was met by ambassadors from Orodes, complaining of his unprovoked aggression. Crassus, without alledging any excuse, said that they should have his answer at Seleucia. But the chief of the embassy said, You shall sooner see hair growing here, shewing the palm of his hand, than be master of Seleucia! Florus.

The issue of this unjust war was most disastrous. In the next campaign, B.C. 53, Crassus, his son, and the greatest part of his army, were destroyed at Carrhae, in Mesopotamia, by the policy of the Surenas, or generalissimo of the Parthian troops. And Dion Cassius, an experienced soldier himself, as well as judicious historian, observes, that the Roman army were either ignorant of what ought to be done, or unable to execute it; adding, that "they seemed to be blinded and persecuted by some Divinity, who disabled them from using either their understandings or their bodies." This Divinity was unquestionably the TRUE GOD, though unknown to Dion, who thus revenged the sacrilegious plunder and profanation of his holy temple.

Orodes, soon after, most ungratefully, put to death the Surenas who had gained him this great victory, thinking he was become too powerful; for which he was punished in turn. He invaded Syria unsuccessfully, which was saved by the bravery of Cassius, who escaped the slaughter at Carrhae, with a remnant of the Romans; and by the consummate generalship of Ventidius, the lieutenant of Anthony, who in B.C. 38, entirely defeated the Parthian army, slew Pacorus, the king's son, and fully revenged the death of Crassus and the Roman army, fourteen years before, and on the same day of the year. Orodes, not long after, was barbarously murdered by Phraates, the eldest, and most wicked of his sons, with whom he shared the regal power; but who stifled his father in his bed, and dispatched all his brothers, thirty in number, and cruelly destroyed the nobility, not sparing even his own eldest son, for fear the discontented Parthians should place him on the throne!
ANALYSIS OF

PHRAATES IV. OR KHOSRU.

This monster of cruelty was contemporary with Herod the Great, whom he resembled in this trait of his character. He had given an asylum at Seleucia to the venerable and unfortunate Hyrcanus, king of Judea, in his exile; and when Herod sent an embassy to Phraates, to permit Hyrcanus to return to Jerusalem, the Parthian king dissuaded Hyrcanus from going home, but in vain; where he was sacrificed some time after, to the wicked policy of the Idumaean. See Vol. II. p. 597, of this work. The author of the Lebtarikh notices that Jesus Christ was born in his reign, which was thus eminently signalized by such cruel tyrants.

Phraates was successful against the Romans, and defeated Anthony on the borders of Armenia, B.C. 35, with a loss little inferior to that of Crassus. After this battle, Phraates reduced all Media and Armenia.

The Parthian nobility conspiring against this merciless tyrant, set up Tiridates, one of their own body, against him. But the next year, Phraates, returning into Parthia, defeated his rival, and drove him to take refuge in Syria, where Augustus found him, after Anthony's death, B.C. 30. In order to prevent the Romans from supporting his rival, Phraates agreed to surrender and restore the Roman ensigns and prisoners that had been taken from Crassus and Anthony; and he gave also four of his sons to Augustus, as hostages for the performance of the conditions required, through dread of his subjects deserting him in a fresh Roman war, as Tacitus justly remarks, rather than through terror of the name of Augustus, as Justin and Horace report. But vengeance pursued and overtook Phraates in his own family. His illegitimate son Phraatices, by an Italian concubine, Thermusa, was placed on the throne by his ambitious mother, after poisoning the old king. But the Parthians drove him into exile immediately after.

The ensuing reigns of Orodes II. Vonones, Artabanus, Tiridates, Gotarzes, Meherdates, Vonones II. during 44 years, present a tissue of treasons, conspiracies and civil wars, by which Parthia was harassed and torn in pieces, which were fomented by Tiberius and Nero, for their own interest.

The succeeding prince, Vologeses, humbled himself to Nero,
and consented to receive the crown of Parthia from his hand, about A.D. 50. And he afterwards made an offer of assisting Vespasian in the Jewish war, with an army of forty thousand Parthian horse, about A.D. 68, which the Roman emperor declined. His son Artabanus III. seems to have retrieved and left the empire in a flourishing condition, which was improved during the long and peaceful reign of his successor, Pacorus II. who kept up a strict friendship with the Romans.

CHOSROES, or KHOSRU.

This prince carried on a long and bloody war with Trajan and Adrian, which ended in Adrian’s relinquishing all Trajan’s conquests beyond the Euphrates, as too chargeable and precarious to be retained, and concluded a peace, which Chosroes faithfully observed during the remainder of his long reign.

His son Vologeses II. broke the peace, and invaded Syria in the reign of Antoninus Pius, but at length concluded a treaty with him, in which he agreed to acknowledge the sovereignty of Rome, on condition of not being molested in the eastern provinces beyond the common boundary of the two empires.

Vologeses III. his nephew, carried on a long war with the emperor Severus, whom he had opposed by espousing the cause of his rival Niger, and afterwards with his brother Artabanus, but died before he could bring it to a conclusion.

ARTABANUS IV.

This prince seized the throne on his brother’s death; and not long after, he was drawn into a war with the Romans, by the treachery of Caracalla, about A.D. 211, who sent an embassy to desire his daughter in marriage; pleased with the alliance, Artabanus readily agreed, and went to meet him with the flower of his nobility and best troops, in splendid dresses, and all unarmed. But Caracalla perfidiously fell upon the peaceable multitude, and massacred and took prisoners many of them. Artabanus, in revenge, raised a prodigious army, and carried war and devastation into Syria, where he was met by Macrinus, A.D. 217, after the assassination of Caracalla, with a mighty army also. They engaged with great fury for two days,
ANALYSIS OF

without any decisive advantage on either side; at length when Artabanus, on the third day, was going to renew the battle, declaring he would continue it till the Parthians or Romans were cut to pieces, Macrinus sent a herald to inform him, that the object of his indignation, Caracalla, was dead, and to propose a peace, which the Parthian king readily agreed to, on the restoration of the prisoners so treacherously taken, and repayment of his expences in the war.

But in this ruinous battle, the flower of the Parthian army being destroyed, Artaxerxes, a gallant Persian, encouraged his countrymen to seize this opportunity of shaking off the yoke, which they did in a bloody battle of three days' continuance, when the enemy were defeated, and Artabanus taken, and put to death.

SECTION X.

IV. PERSIAN DYNASTY. 411 YEARS.

SASSANIAN KINGS.

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<td>1</td>
<td>Artaxares, or Ardschir ben Babek</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>225</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Sapor, or Schabour</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td>240</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Hormisdas, or Hormouz</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>271</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Vararanes, or Baharam</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>272</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Vararanes II. or Baharam II.</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>275</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Narses, or Narsi</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>292</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Misdates, or Hormouz</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Sapor II. or Schabour doulaktav</td>
<td>70</td>
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<td>307</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Artaxerxes, or Ardschir</td>
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<td>377</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Sapor III. or Schabour ben Schabour</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>381</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Vararanes IV. or Kerman Schah</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>386</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Isdegerdes, or Jezdegerd al Athim</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>397</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Vararanes V. or Baharam Gour</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td>418</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Vararanes VI. or Jezdegerd ben Baharam</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>441</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Peroz, or Firouz</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Valens, or Balasch ben Firouz</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>479</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Cavad, or Kobad</td>
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<td>Zambad</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Cavad</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>502</td>
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This table is constructed by combining together the two tables in the *Universal History*, Vol. IV. p. 324, and p. 373, folio. The former, containing the names and reigns of the Persian kings, according to the Byzantine historians, *Procopius, Agathias*, &c., the latter, according to the Persian historians, *Mirkhond*, &c. "which," Gibbon remarks, "are preposterously separated." Vol. IV. p. 283. To this is added a correct chronology of the period. The discordant number of reigns in both tables is harmonized, by retrenching two reigns in the former, namely, *Vararanes III.* of only four days, and *Bornarim,* of seven months, which have no correspondences in the latter; and likewise five reigns in the latter, that have no correspondences in the former. The redundant chronology of the latter is by this means reduced to an equality with that of the former, by a few slight corrections.

The commencement of the dynasty is critically determined, on the joint authority of *Abulfaragi* and *Agathias*. *Abulfaragi* (p. 80) reckons that *Artaxares* defeated the Parthians three years after the accession of the Roman emperor, *Alexander Severus*. But *A.D. 222 + 3 = A.D. 225*. *Agathias* also (B. II. p. 63,) dates it in the 538th year* of the era of *Seleucus*. But *537 – A.D. 312 = A.D. 225*, as before.

The end of the dynasty is reckoned from the decisive battle of *Cadessia*, A.D. 636, in which *Jezdegerd* was defeated by the *Saracens*. The correct amount therefore of the whole period is 411 years †.

* Instead of the 538th year, the present text of *Abulfaragi* dates it in the 542d year. And this error is adopted by the *Universal History*, reckoning the commencement *A.D. 230*, as observed before. Such is the carelessness of the Oriental writers, that *Eutychius* dates it as high as the tenth year of *Commodus*, A.D. 190; and *Moses Chorenensis* so low as the reign of *Philip*, A.D. 243. And *Ammianus Marcellinus* represents the *Arsacidae* as still reigning in the middle of the fourth century, A.D. 350!

† It is incorrectly reckoned 418 years in the present text of *Abulfaragi*. 
ARTAXARES, OR ARDSCHIR BEN BABEK, OR BABEGAN.

The Oriental and Byzantine historians differ widely in their account of the family of Artaxares; the former represent him as the grandson of Sassan, brother of a Persian queen during the Parthian dominion; and by his mother's side, the grandson of Babek, who was governor of Persia proper. Hence, he assumed the title of Babegan, and the dynasty, that of Sassanian. This is much more credible than the latter, that he was the offspring of an illegitimate commerce of a soldier, Sassan, with a shoemaker Babek's wife, whence both claimed him as their son! The Byzantine historians in general are rather prejudiced against the Persian kings, on account of the continual warfare almost subsisting between them and the Roman or Constantinopolitan emperors, under whose auspices these western historians wrote. They often require therefore to be corrected from the Oriental, who on their parts are too apt to exaggerate, and are to be corrected in turn, from the others.

Artaxares, on the death of his grandfather Babek, applied to be appointed his successor in the government; but was refused by Ardevan, jealous of his merit, and disturbed by an ominous dream, portending the loss of his life and crown. Offended at this, and apprehensive of the king's displeasure, Artaxares fled to Estachar, or Persepolis, and formed a strong party among the Persian nobility, and easily persuaded them to shake off the Parthian yoke, which was extremely grievous, and to recover their independence, which they effected after several engagements; in the last of these Ardevan was slain. Thereupon, Ardschir assumed the sounding title of Shah in Shah, "King of kings."

He was no sooner seated on the throne, than he sent a pompous embassy to Alexander Severus, the young Roman emperor, requiring him and the Romans to relinquish Syria and Asia Minor, and to restore all the provinces of the ancient Persian empire bounded by the Ægean and Euxine seas. This occasioned a war, which proved unfavourable to the Romans; in the course of which Artaxares recovered many of the provinces.

This refounder of the Persian monarchy was one of the best
and greatest of their kings. He wished to retrieve the ancient glory of the kingdom, by a steady adherence to the maxims of the Pischdadians and Kaianians, in politics and religion.

He composed a book for the use of his subjects of every degree, from the highest to the lowest station, entitled *Adab al Aisch*, "Rules for living well.*"

The following political maxims are truly excellent:

1. *When a king applies himself to render justice, the people are eager to render him obedience.*
2. *Of all princes, the worst is he whom the good fear, and from whom the bad hope.*
3. *All the branches of a community are inseparably connected with each other, and with the trunk; hence kings and subjects have reciprocal cares and duties; which, if neglected on either side, produce ruin and confusion to both.*
4. *He so abhorred adulation himself, that he appointed one of his courtiers to examine him every morning, as his confessor, and to require an account of all that he had said or done the preceding day.*
5. *The connexion between the several orders in the state was well expressed in the following: "The royal authority cannot be supported without troops; nor troops without taxes; nor taxes without culture of the lands; nor this culture without justice well administered, and a police well regulated."*
6. *By the assistance of a select council of seven sages, he abolished the idolatry and superstition that had been introduced under the Macedo-Grecian dynasty, or crept in under the Parthian; and he revived the reformed religion of Darius Hystaspes; and he proclaimed throughout the empire, that he had taken away the sword of Aristotle the philosopher, which had devoured the nation for five hundred years past; meaning the religious and civil innovations of Alexander, the pupil of Aristotle, which had been adopted by his successors.*

After a glorious and prosperous reign, he was succeeded by his son,

* See Herbelot *Art. Ardschir Babegan*, p. 116. These maxims are loosely and vaguely paraphrased in the *Universal History*, exhibiting nothing of the conciseness and terseness of Herbelot. This remark is true, in general, of its translations.
ANALYSIS OF

SHABOUR, OR SAPOR.

The fortunes of this prince were remarkable even in embryo. When Artaxares gained the crown by his sword, he with great clemency spared the family of his predecessor, and he married the eldest daughter of the late king, wishing to conciliate the family. But she, looking on him with aversion, as an usurper, soon attempted to poison him, in order to put the tiara on her brother's head. She was detected, however, and sentenced to die. But the Vizier, who was appointed to see the sentence executed, finding she was with child, humanely concealed her, until her delivery, and called her child, Shah-bour, or bar, "the king's son." A long time after, he disclosed the matter to the king, not without apprehensions of incurring his displeasure; but the king, on the contrary, commended his minister's prudence, blamed his own rashness, received the young prince with the utmost tenderness, and as he had no other son, declared him his heir, and instructed him in the principles of government.

Shabour was distinguished for his bodily strength, mental abilities, and cultivated understanding. He never forgot his obligations to his guardian and uncle, Ardschir, who refused the crown when offered to him by the Persian nobility, on account of the nonage of the prince at his father's death, and gave up the government to his nephew as soon as he was fit for it. Whenever, therefore, Sapor went to any distant province, or on any foreign expedition, he left his uncle in full possession of the royal authority in his absence. Hence some reckoned Ardschir among the kings of this dynasty.

He was a martial prince, and carried on a long warfare with the Romans, from the reign of the emperor Gordian, till he took the emperor Valerian prisoner in A.D. 268. According to the Byzantine historians, he treated his unfortunate prisoners with the greatest cruelty, and the aged emperor himself, when past seventy years of age, with the most shameful indignity, mounting on horseback, from his neck, as a footstool; and to crown all, after a long imprisonment, he flayed him alive!——Not a syllable of this, however, is to be found in the Persian writers. Nothing indeed can be more discordant than these different historians, respecting the character of Sapor. From comparing
both, we may collect that he possessed great virtues as well as great vices; he was cruel and implacable to his enemies, but liberal and munificent to his friends, attentive to the welfare of his subjects and the improvement of his kingdom, in constructing great public works, cities, aqueducts, &c. Mirkhond relates, that his rigorous administration of justice so alarmed some of his rapacious courtiers, that they murdered him and his attendants, and then set fire to the royal tent, that it might be thought to have been occasioned by lightning.

The best historians of both classes agree, that he reigned 31 years. In his reign flourished the famous Mani, or Manes, the founder of the Manichaean heresy *

* MANICHÆISM.

The founder of this sect or heresy of the Manichaens, which spread so widely over the eastern and western Churches, towards the close of the third century, was a Persian, named Mani, or Manes, born A.D. 240, according to the Chronicle of Edessa.

Mani, we learn from Abulfaragi, p. 82, was at first a Christian priest at Ehwazi, who preached and explained the Scriptures, and disputed against Jews, Magi and Pagans. Attempting to reconcile his philosophy with Christianity, he framed a new system out of both, which he hoped to propagate among Infidels and Christians. But his personal success was small; he was excommunicated by the Christians, and persecuted by Sapor, for innovating in the national religion, and obliged to fly the country; he was patronised, however, by Hormous, or Hormisdas, during the next reign; and was afterwards cruelly put to death by Varanes II. at the instigation of the Magi, about A.D. 275. But his heresy survived him, and spread itself through Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, Greece, and Spain; and especially Africa.

The Manichaens fell into great errors, and strangely corrupted the Christian faith; but they were much misrepresented, and cruelly treated by their adversaries. Christians of every sect and denomination, Eastern Pagans, Mahometans, and Jews, all agreed in hating the Manichaens for their arrogance and lofty pretensions.

Mani pretended to be an Apostle * of Jesus Christ, and a prophet illuminated by the Holy Spirit, to reform all religions, and to reveal those truths which our Saviour had not thought proper to communicate to his first disciples. This was his imposture or enthusiasm; and in this, he was imitated by his successor Mahomet.

By virtue of his divine mission, he chose twelve Apostles and seventy disciples, whom he sent forth into all parts, to preach his doctrines. He boasted of a perfect knowledge of all things, and of having banished mysteries from religion. And the celebrated Augustine, who had been seduced into this heresy in his youth, but opposed it strenuously in his age, confesses that his chief motive for adopting it, was the hope of understanding everything by demonstration, and of knowing God by the sole light of reason.—"But the world by wisdom knew not God." 1 Cor. i. 21.

Hence, Mani rejected the Old, and professed to reform the New Testament. He

* Mani began his epistles thus: Mani, an Apostle of Jesus Christ, and all the Saints with me, unto Marcellus, my dear son, grace, mercy and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ"—like another Paul.
ANALYSIS OF HORMOUZ, or HORMISDAS.

This prince succeeded his father. He was called *al horri,* "the liberal;" and he seemed to deserve the appellation from denied the inspiration of the Hebrew prophets, and opposed to them other prophets, (Zoroaster, &c.) whose books the eastern nations pretended to have preserved. He affirmed, that every nation had been favoured with prophets, and that the Christian Church, being chiefly composed of Gentiles, ought to be guided by those illuminated Gentile teachers, and not by Hebrew instructors; grounding his argument on Heb. i. 1.

He impeached the authenticity of the Gospels, pretending that they were not the works of the Apostles and apostolical men, whose names they bear; or that if they were, they had been early adulterated by Judaizing Christians, either by omissions, interpolations, or alterations of the original text. And this groundless and untenable notion, has been adopted by some modern Unitarians, and exemplified in their recent improved Version of the New Testament; the most daringly disimproved that ever was published by any sect professing Christianity; for it does not appear that Mani or his followers took upon them to curtail or interpolate the New Testament, though they charged it with dissonances and mistakes.

He admitted, however, the authority of apocryphal books, composed to maintain the heresies of the Gnostics, Docetae and Encratites, whose motions he adopted; with the two first, he held the proper divinity of Christ, that he had only the appearance of a man, not the reality, and that he was neither born of the Virgin, nor crucified by the Jews; and with the last, he enjoined celibacy to his elect and his clergy, and abstinence from flesh and wine; that, like our Lord, they should embrace celibacy, voluntary poverty, and not meddle in secular affairs; but he did not impose those restrictions upon the laity.

I. His theological notions were a heterogeneous compound of Christianity, magism, and Oriental philosophy.

He held a consubstantial Trinity, of three distinct persons in the Godhead. Faustus, a Manichæan Bishop, in his controversy with Augustine, states it thus:

"We worship one and the same Deity (numen) under the three-fold appellation of God Almighty, the Father, and Christ His Son, and the Holy Ghost. But we believe that the Father himself inhabits the supreme and primæval light, which Paul calls 'inaccessible;' (1 Tim. vi. 16) that the Son dwells in this secondary and visible light, [as the Lord of Glory, 1 Cor. ii. 8] who, since he is two-fold himself, as the same Apostle acknowledges, calling him the power of God, and the wisdom of God, (1 Cor. i. 24) we believe that his power resides in the sun, and his wisdom in the moon; and that the third majesty, the Holy Spirit, has the air for his seat and residence." There, they are supposed to remain, to execute the orders of the Father, till the consummation of the world, which shall be destroyed by fire.—In the latter part of this system, which is pure magism, and not remote from the Egyptian theology, we have a curious specimen of their mode of wresting Scripture (1 Cor. i. 24) to favour their philosophy, from its proper sense of the grand mystery of "Christ crucified, to Jews a stumbling block, to Pagans (Greek or Persian) foolishness;" but to believers in the atonement, "the power of God and the wisdom of God, unto salvation." 1 Cor. i. 21—25; Rom. i. 16; Coloss. ii. 2, 3.

To account for the origin of evil, without ascribing it to God, the Persians, Chaldeans, Indians, and the early Christian heretic, Basilides, who first introduced it into the Chris-
the following anecdote: Having built the city of Hormouz, or Ormus, on the Persian gulf, the governor purchased for him a

tian Church, about the beginning of the second century, and from them, Mani, held the existence of two eternal and independent principles, a good and an evil. The evil power, Mani called matter, philosophically, darkness, mystically, and the Devil in popular style; who, he said, was confined, by the living spirit in the air, where he and his demons cause thunder, lightning, tempests, and pestilent disorders.

Mani ascribed to mankind two souls, a good and a bad; the good proceeding from the admixture of matter in the human composition. Flesh being composed of matter, it followed thence, that the Son of God had not the real nature, but only assumed the figure of a man. Mani therefore denied the incarnation of Christ; that he used food for his sustenance; that he had a soul susceptible of the innocent affections; that he suffered, died, and rose again. He acknowledged indeed, that all this was done in appearance, but not in reality. He also denied the resurrection of the body, since that would tend to perpetuate those evils of which flesh is the cause. These fundamental errors, he and his followers weakly endeavoured to support by detached texts of Scripture; 1 John v. 19; Matt. vii. 18; Rom. vii. 23—25; Phil. ii. 6—8; 1 Cor. xv. 50, &c. without taking into account others, the most explicit; that God is the supreme author and arbiter of all good and evil; Isa. xlv. 7; Amos iii. 6; Jam. i. 13—17; that ‘Greater is he presiding in us, than he in the world;’ 1 John iv. 4; that ‘if we resist the Devil, he will flee from us, when thoroughly armed with the divine panoply,’ Jam. iv. 7; Ephes. vi. 10—17. That whatever inequalities may be found in the dispensations of his providence, in this probationary and preparatory state, will be all redressed and rectified in the future, when ‘He will judge the world in righteousness by that man for whom he ordained the judgment; whereof He hath given assurance to all, by raising him from the dead, bodily.’ Acts xvii. 31; Job xix. 25; Ps. l. 1; Matt. xiii. 24—30; John v. 22—29; Matt. xxv. 31—46; 1 Cor. i. 42—44.

Mani held a transmigration of souls after death; that they passed successively through different bodies; that such as were not sufficiently purged, in a certain number of these revolutions, were delivered to the demons of the air, to be tormented and tamed by them; that after this severe discipline, they traversed the regions of matter, and entered into the watery element of the moon, and contribute to her increase of light, by their luminous nature, when coming; and that the moon when filled with these bright spirits, at her full, transmits them to the sun, and thereby occasion her decrease, or wane, till the new, by their departure: and that the sun, by his purifying fire, sends them refined to heaven, which the Manichaeans called the pillar of glory. Mani was not the inventor of these absurd and fantastical notions; which are attributed to him by Augustine, Arche-laus, Titus of Bostra, and others, who attest their prevalence among his sect.

II. The religious worship and morality of these heretics, however, was better, by far, than their theology and physiology.

When Augustine reproached the Manichaeans with being no other than Pagan schismatics, who had separated themselves from the body of the Gentiles, but still retained their idolatry and superstitions: Faustus, his opponent, replied,

‘The Pagans think that God is to be served by altars, temples, images, and victims: I differ widely from them, in this respect also; for I think that I am myself, (if I be found worthy) a reasonable temple of God: I receive Christ his Son as a living image of the living God; I consider his altar, a mind imbued with good dispositions and discipline; the honours and sacrifices acceptable to the Deity, as consisting in prayers alone, prayers pure and simple. How then can I be deemed a Pagan schismatic?’

This, indeed, affords an advantageous specimen of Manichean worship, in the true,
lot of diamonds for 100,000 gold dinars; informing him, that if he did not chuse to keep them, he might sell them at double the cost, or in the mercantile phrase, gain cent. per cent. profit. But this wise and disinterested prince replied, To me a hundred or a thousand per cent. is nothing. But if I meddle in merchant-dize, who will undertake the functions of the king? and what will become of the merchants?

One of his sayings was this; Princes are like fire: which burns those that approach too near; but greatly serves those that keep at a proper distance. Its spirit is well expressed by the wise son of Sirach,

"Intrude not on a great man, lest thou be repulsed: withdraw not, lest thou be forgotten." Ecclus. xiii. 10.

The Manichaeans observed the Christian sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and like the Orientals in general, were great fasters; but with the Guebres, or ancient Persians, they justly considered fasting as inferior to abstinence or continence.

"When others keep a fast, the meaning is, that they eat nothing before dinner: our fast consists in endeavouring to restrain the organs of our body, our hands, our eyes, our tongues from all sin. It is better to abstain from concupiscence and vice, than from food."—This indeed is the fast recommended by the prophets; but it is the least ostentatious, and the most difficult, and not at all calculated to please hypocrites of any Church or sect.

From this sketch of their tenets, selected from Jortin, Vol. I. p. 388—411, and the copious collections of Lardiner, Vol. III. p. 368—545, it is no wonder that the Manichaeans were hated and persecuted by all other sects. So late as A.D. 1022, the Waldenses and Albigenses were persecuted by the See of Rome, and massacred under the pretence of being Manichaeans! See their tenets, Vol. III. p. 355, note, of this work.

They seem indeed to have been an inoffensive and harmless people, in their religious and moral conduct, more sinned against than sinning; though wild in their theological speculations, and miserable expounders of Scripture mysteries, "receiving the words of the sacred writers, when they could wrest them to their own purpose; and rejecting them, when they could not," says Jortin. In which blasphemous and fraudulent practice they were by no means singular.
A fine saying of the next prince Baharam is recorded: "Humanity cannot be defined, because it comprehends all the virtues." Persian humanity, therefore, was equivalent to Christian charity. These were the princes whom the arrogance of the Greeks and Romans called Barbarians!

**VARANES II. OR BAHARAM II.**

This prince acted with so much haughtiness and cruelty at first, that he was surnamed Khalet, "unjust," and he would have been dethroned, had not the Magi undertaken his reformation; which, by their sage admonitions, they effected, and he became an excellent prince. With Mirkhond, I have omitted the reign of his son Varanes III. of only four months, following Agathias, and who did nothing worthy of notice, by the consent of the Oriental historians.

His successor, Narses, or Narsi, was engaged in a long war with the Romans during the reign of Diocletian. At first, he defeated Galerius, one of the Caesars; but was afterwards defeated by him in turn, and forced to surrender the five provinces west of the Tigris, and his sister, concubines, and nobles were taken prisoners, and led in triumph at Rome. These disasters broke his heart.

Misdates, or Hormouz, succeeded his father Narses, and was eminent for his justice. When he saw that the rich oppressed the poor, he established a court of justice for the redress of the latter: and he often presided therein himself, to keep the judges in awe. When he was dying, the nobility elected the infant of whom the queen was pregnant, his successor; the Magi having foretold that it would be a son, who therefore was called Schabour doulaktaf, "the king's son on the shoulder," or upon "whose shoulder the government devolved before his birth*. This was a title of the Messiah. Isa. ix. 6.

**SAPOR II. OR SCHABOUR DOULAKTAF.**

When this great prince came of age, he resolved to revenge the injuries of the Arabs during his nonage, and put their king to

* Others say, that he got this title from breaking the shoulder or collar bones of the inhabitants of Yemen, to prevent them from bearing arms. But so singular a punishment may well be questioned. It is unexampled, we believe, in history.
death, and treated the inhabitants of Yemen with great cruelty; having been advised by his astrologers, that some one of their nation would, in future, subvert the Persian empire. But Malek ben Nasser, an ancestor of Mahomet, their ambassador, remonstrated with Sapor, either that the prediction might be false, and should not be minded, or that, if true, his cruelties would only provoke the Arabs to retaliate. Reflecting on this, the king altered his conduct, and treated the Arabs so kindly, that they called him Doulaknaf, "on the wings;" or their Protector; from the eagles carrying their young on their wings. This also was a title of the tutelar God of Israel, Exod. xix. 4; Deut. xxxii. 11; and of Jesus Christ, Matt. xxiii. 37.

Sapor was at continual variance with the Romans; but during the reign of Constantine the Great, durst not wage open war with them. He opposed them, however, underhand, and more effectually, by stirring up the barbarian tribes, residing on their frontiers, to ravage and harass the Roman provinces. Wishing to learn the true state of the Roman affairs, he went himself in the disguise of an ambassador to Constantinople, but was suspected, and imprisoned there. At length he escaped by the assistance of a lady of the court, whom he had corrupted, and fled, disguised, through Media, where he was hospitably entertained at a hermitage, thence called Schabouran; and afterwards built a city near the hermitage, called Cazvin, or Casbin, to be a barrier of the empire on that side, against the neighbouring nations; and he reduced the Delemites who opposed the building. He then extended his dominions eastward and northward; increased his revenues by encouraging trade and commerce; disciplined his troops; and above all things, affected a profound veneration for the civil and religious institutions of his country.

At the instigation of the Magi, he persecuted both the Jews and the Christians; the former as bad subjects, and avowed enemies of their religion; the latter, as attached to Constantine the Great, after his profession of Christianity. Hence Constantine interceded for them with Sapor, in an excellent letter, given entire by Eusebius in his life of Constantine; wherein the emperor first gives a short account of his own faith, then of his successes, which he ascribes to God's blessing thereon; he reprobates the folly of idolatry, and represents in pathetic terms, the miseries that attended persecutors, particularly Valerian,
who prospered till he persecuted the Christians; and he warmly recommends the Persian Christians to Sapor's protection, and beseeches Sapor, for his sake, to consider them as good and faithful subjects. This letter probably produced a good effect, for Sapor afterwards treated the Christians with less severity.

Upon the death of Constantine, the Persian monarch taking advantage of the dissensions that ensued in the Roman empire, under Constantius, renewed the war, with various successes and reverses of fortune: in several pitched battles, and in the defence of fortresses, the Romans had usually the advantage, but in rapid marches, equestrian skirmishes, and surprizes, the Persians. At length, he destroyed the emperor Julian and his army, by drawing them too far into his country, and concluded a peace on advantageous terms with the Romans, by which the five provinces in dispute were for ever ceded to the Persians, and the strong fortress of Nisibis, in Mesopotamia, which had been so long the bulwark of the eastern boundary of the Roman empire, A.D. 363.

This restless and ambitious monarch ended his long reign and life of 70, or 72 years, in the beginning of the reign of Gratian, which began A.D. 375, on the latter supposition; or two years before, on the former; according to the varying accounts of the Byzantine and Persian historians. The latter date its commencement in the 26th year of Diocletian, who began to reign A.D. 284, or two years later than the table. See Herbelot, p. 749.

The three following princes did nothing remarkable.

ISDEGERTE, or JEZDEGERD.

Nothing can be more opposite than the character of this king, as described by the Byzantine and Persian historians. The former represent him as a monarch deservedly renowned for his many virtues; the latter call him Al Athim, "the wicked," and the oppressor of his subjects. Both accounts are overcharged; and we may ascribe both to his partiality for the Christians, whom he first of all the Persian monarchs favoured and protected.

Procopius relates, that the emperor Arcadius, from the high reputation of Isdegertes for wisdom and probity, with whom he lived not only in peace, but on terms of friendship, declared
him guardian of his son Theodosius II. and protector of the Roman empire; and that the will of Arcadius to this effect was sent to Isdegertes, who accepted the trust, and maintained the peace of the Roman empire during the minority of the young prince. Cedrenus relates the same, with the additional circumstance, that Arcadius, in his will, bequeathed the Persian king a great sum of money for his trouble. And all the Greek writers own that Isdegertes during his reign for 21 years, lived in the utmost harmony with Theodosius. These positive testimonies greatly outweigh the doubts of Agathias as to the fact of the guardianship, who lived in an age when it was fashionable to hate the Persians; and they fully vindicate the character of this illustrious prince from the calumnies of the Persian priesthood, who practised several pious frauds upon the king, for which he ordered the Magi to be decimated, allowed the Christians to build churches throughout his dominions, and repealed the penal laws enacted against them by his predecessors, as we learn from Socrates in his Ecclesiastical History, Lib. VII. c. 8.

The Persian historians relate, that Jezdegerd was killed by the kick of a vicious horse; and that the Magi, through hatred to him, set up Kesra, a nobleman, in opposition to his son Baharam Gour, who was then abroad, educating by an Arab prince.

VARANES V. OR BAHARAM GOUR, OR JUR.

This young prince, (who derived his surname from his fondness for hunting the jur, or "wild ass," ) by the assistance of the Arabs, raised an army to recover his crown; while the Persian nobility, persisting in their rebellion, resolved to support the king they had chosen. To prevent the effusion of blood, a proposal was made by Baharam, that the crown of Persia should be placed on a cushion between two hungry lions, shut up in a particular place, and that the prince who should take it away should wear it. Which being done, Baharam said to his competitor: Kesra, advance courageously, and take away the crown. Kesra replied: I am already in possession of the throne; it is your business, who pretend thereto, to fetch the crown from the place where it is. Baharam, without reply or hesitation, instantly flung himself, though unarmed, upon the lions, with the fury and impetuosity of a tiger; killed them both with his own
hands; and tearing the crown, as it were, from their fangs, put it upon his head, and appeared thus before the lords, who flocked from all quarters to see so extraordinary a spectacle. Kesra himself was the first to embrace him, and to adjudge him worthy of the crown which he had now gained by his valour.

Soon after his election, Baharam was invaded by the Kha-can, or Kaikhan, "the great king" of Turan, or Turkistan, with an immense army. Baharam, unable to oppose the enemy in the field, appointed his brother, Narsi, regent in his absence, and retired with a chosen troop, of only a thousand horse, into Armenia: so that the Turks, thinking that he had abdicated the crown, advanced in disorder, and without discipline, to the sure conquest, as they thought, of the whole country. But Baharam, fetching a compass round by the coast of the Caspian Sea, gained the important pass of Khuaresme, in the rear of the Turks; fell upon them unawares at night, without guards, buried in wine and sleep, destroyed their army, and killed the Khan in his tent; and pursued the fugitives to the river Gihon, the boundary of the two empires; and after so complete a victory, returned triumphant into his own dominions.

The roving disposition of Baharam, which he had contracted from his education among the Arabs, led him to the romantic project of quitting his kingdom, now in full peace, and seeking adventures as a private knight, in India; where he offered his services to a king of that country. His first exploit was the killing a wild elephant, which had done prodigious mischief, and destroyed all the hunters sent against him. But Baharam pierced him with an arrow, in the head, which entered up to the feathers, and slew him. He next defeated a neighbouring prince, who had rebelled against the king; for which service, the king made him his prime vizier, and gave him his daughter in marriage, with an immense dower.

Finding, however, that his father-in-law, jealous of his high reputation, altered his behaviour toward him, he disclosed his rank to him, and returned with his wife and his wealth to his own dominions, after an absence of two years.

After his return, he reduced the kingdom of Yemen, or Arabia, and all its dependencies; and he renewed the persecution against the Christians, provoked at the unwarrantable zeal of Abdas, the Persian prelate, who burned a fire temple to the ground; and when gently reproved by the king, who had a
great personal respect for him, refused to rebuild it, according to his command. At the instigation of the Magi, the king put Abdas to death, and demolished the churches, and confiscated the estates of the nobility who would not recant.

This brought on a war with Theodosius; for multitudes of the Christians in Persia sought refuge in the Roman dominions, where they were hospitably received; and Varanes had refused to send back some miners lent by Theodosius, to his father Isdegertes, to work anew some neglected gold and silver mines in Persia. After various reverses of fortune on both sides, a peace was concluded, and Varanes not only desisted from persecuting the Christians, but treated them favourably; struck with the generosity of Acases, the bishop of Amida, and his clergy, who sold all their consecrated plate of gold and silver vessels, to maintain seven thousand Persian prisoners, taken early in the war by the Romans; and sent them all home at the conclusion of the war, with money to defray their expences on the road. Thus, by heaping coals of fire upon the head of this high-minded prince, did these Christian miners melt his heart to mutual compassion and kindness; verifying St. Paul's precept. After this, Varanes lived in peace, and died beloved and honoured by his subjects, and respected by his neighbours; with the character of the bravest, most generous, and one of the most fortunate princes, that ever swayed the Persian sceptre. Khondemir, Mirkhond, &c.

VARANES VI. OR JEZDEGERD BEN BAHARAM.

This wise prince succeeded his father, having received an excellent education from his uncle Narsi. He followed his father's example in placing his uncle at the head of all his councils, while he carefully attended himself to business. He was peculiarly strict in the administration of equal and impartial justice; he restored the ancient regulations that had fallen into disuse, and framed new laws by the advice of his council. And he attended to their execution himself. He kept up discipline in his army without severity; and never punished but with reluctance, whence he was called Sipahdost, "lover of his soldiers."

The only military expedition noticed in his reign, was to recover some arrears due by the Constantinopolitan emperors;
for which purpose he marched an army into their territories; but treated the inhabitants with the greatest civility, paying for all they got, and not as enemies. Afraid of his subjects being seduced by this kindness, their emperor, *Theodosius* the younger, immediately paid the arrears, which he had refused before; and the Persian returned home, without committing the smallest disorder, by which noble retreat, he gained more reputation than his predecessors by their conquests. He is blackened, however, by some of the *Persian* writers, as unchaste, avaricious, and cruel. They style him *Aitam*, which includes violation, pillage, and massacre. The Persian priests indeed detested him for countenancing Christianity; which, by the preaching of *Manetha*, bishop of *Diarbekir*, in *Mesopotamia*, and his assistants, made great progress.

**PEROSES, or FIROUZ.**

The late king had two sons, *Firouz* and *Hormouz*. The younger, and the most deserving, he wished to appoint his successor; and with that view, sent away his elder son to be governor of *Nimrouz*, including *Sigistan* and *Makran*. Upon his father's death, *Hormouz* assumed the throne, supported by the nobility in general. But his brother, *Firouz*, engaged the *Haia-thelites*, an *Indo-Scythian* tribe, who bordered on his provinces, to assist him in the recovery of his right, promising their king the whole of his province, as a recompence.

With these auxiliaries, and such of the Persians as espoused his cause, he invaded *Persia*, defeated his brother *Hormouz*, after he had reigned for a year, and put him to death.

After a long drought of six years' continuance, and the restoration of plenty in the seventh, the first act of *Firouz*, after this national scourge for national offences, was to invade the country of the *Haia-thelites*, his benefactors, to their utter astonishment, at his ingratitude. Their king, however, contrived to draw him into an ambuscade, by a mutilated deserrter, like another *Zopyrurus*, and compelled him to surrender, with the shattered remains of his army. But he kindly liberated the *Persians*, and sent them home, after taking an oath not to invade his territories any more.

No sooner was *Firouz* extricated, than, in violation of his
oath, he invaded the Haiathelites again, with a more numerous army; but was entrapped again, by another stratagem. The enemy having timely notice of his intention, employed several months in digging a great dyke in the midst of a plain, of considerable length and breadth, leaving only a narrow neck of land, in the middle of its extent, for a pass across. The dyke they covered with hurdles, which they strewn with earth and concealed with sods of grass, so as to appear like the rest of the plain. On the approach of Peroses, they drew up their army in front of the dyke; and when pressed by the Persian cavalry, they retreated in close order across the pass; while the Persians pursuing, with great fury, fell, and pushed each other into the dyke; when they were all taken or destroyed. Among the rest, fell Peroses himself, and thirty of his sons.

This extraordinary and successful stratagem, strongly resembled the fable told by his Roman friend Eusebius, to Peroses, when he was drawn into the former ambuscade. "A lion once saw a kid tied at some distance; and springing at it, fell into a pit, that had been prepared to catch him; from which he was unable to extricate himself." The drift of this was to shew Peroses, the aggressor, that he was at the mercy of his enemy, and must submit to any conditions, however hard or humiliating, that might be imposed on him. The Haiathelites, perhaps, availed themselves literally of this same fable, in the second expedition, to catch the lion; who met there the just reward of his complicated ingratitude and perfidy. This curious fact is attested both by the eastern and western historians.

The king of the Haiathelites, whose generosity was equal to his policy, thinking the death of Firouz a sufficient security, not only made peace with the Persians, whom he considered as compelled to follow their sovereign to the field; but also dismissed all the prisoners he had taken, without ransom. Such interesting traits of benevolence and charity, as well as of wisdom and sagacity, tend to enliven the gloomy pages of Universal History, in which deceit and fraud, rapine and violence, wars and tumults, abound. They tend also to raise our opinion of the moral and intellectual character of ancient and foreign nations, unjustly reputed savage and barbarian. Such anecdotes furnish the true pith, or marrow of history; the rest, but the bark.
The faithless Firouz was succeeded by his brother, or rather his son, Valens, or Balasch; who, during his short reign, submitted quietly to the dominion of the Haiathelites.

CAVADES, OR COBAD.

This prince succeeded his brother Valens, and was of a martial and enterprising disposition; but rather superstitious. In the tenth year of his reign, appeared Mazdek, an impositor, in the desert, who set up for a prophet, and pretended to introduce a purer religion than had hitherto been revealed to mankind, like Mani. But he relaxed from the austerity and self-denial of his predecessor; and, to gain popularity, inculcated a community of women, and of property, and gave Cobad, who patronized him, a dispensation to marry his own sister, a woman of exquisite beauty; and license to plunder his nobility, and debauch their wives and daughters! This naturally produced an insurrection, in which the Persian nobles dethroned and imprisoned Cobad, and appointed Zambad, or Giamasp, a person of great wisdom and integrity, king in his stead. But some time after, Cobad contrived to escape from prison, to the king of the Haiathelites, who assisted him with an army to recover his kingdom; when he deposed Zambad, and put out his eyes.

He then embarked in a war with the Romans, to repay the king of the Haiathelites large sums of money, which he had borrowed, and for the charges of the expedition to restore him. The Roman historians inconsistently represent Cobad as having made war on the Haiathelites, and subdued them, in the beginning of his reign; and yet, as if more apprehensive of incurring their resentment, by not complying with their demands, than of provoking a war with the Romans. They have therefore ante-

* Cobad, according to Persian romance, once besieged a castle near India, called Trudador, filled with immense treasures, but garrisoned by wicked demons, who were proof against all mortal arms. Cobad, therefore, had recourse to spiritual. He employed his Persian priests, the Magi, first to exorcise them; next, the Jewish Rabbis, and others, but to no purpose: the demons still held out. At last, he applied to a Christian bishop, who undertook it, exorcised and expelled the infernal garrison, and delivered up the castle, with all its treasures, to the king; who thenceforth gave the Christian bishop, as was reasonable, a decided preference above all other exorcists.
dated his war with the *Haiathelites*, which followed the *Roman* war during the reigns of *Anastasius*, *Justin*, and *Justinian*, with various success.

The learned authors of the *Universal History* have well accounted for the frequency of the wars between the *Romans* and *Persians* at this period, from the subsidies paid by the *Roman* emperors to the *Persian* kings, though not acknowledged by the *Roman* historians. As often as the former were pacific, or the empire in confusion, the subsidies were paid; but when the emperors were martial, and the empire flourishing, the subsidies were stopped, and then the *Persians* renewed their incursions, until they were either beaten or bought off by the *Romans*. At other times, ambitious and turbulent *Persian* princes, who wanted money, like *Cobad*, began a war without grounds, and as soon as the *Romans* would come up to his price, he sold them a peace; well knowing that the emperors could not well support the immense expence of keeping up a great army on the frontiers of *Persia* for any length of time. This is a more rational solution than that of the *Roman* historians; that these wars were owing to the little respect of the *Persians*, whom they affect to consider as *Barbarians*, for oaths and treaties. The *Persians*, on the contrary, at this time, were not only numerous and warlike, but an intelligent and polished people: and *Christianity* appears to have made considerable progress among them, even before the rise of the *Manichæan* heresy. For *heresies* are not apt to spring up, till a religion gains some establishment. Certainly Christianity was less persecuted in the *Persian*, than in the *Roman* empire; a sure proof that their religion was less corrupt, and their princes, in general, men of more worth and talents than the *Roman*; which must be attributed to a better education; and their government was less disturbed, owing to a better administration of justice, and more respect for the laws and constitutions of the country.

This last circumstance was evinced on the death of *Cobad*. By his will, he left the crown of *Persia* to his youngest son, *Chosroes*, as the most worthy, in exclusion of his two elder sons *Caoses* and *Zames*; and an assembly of the nobles set aside the claim of *Caoses*, confirmed the will, and elected *Chosroes* king.
CHOSROES, OR NOUSCHIRVAN.

This illustrious prince was surnamed Nouschirvan, or Nouschi Revan, "a soul candied in honey;" intimating his uncommon sweetness of disposition. He was by far the greatest prince of this dynasty, and, in the opinion of the Persian writers, Sadi, Haftiz, Giami, Megidi, &c. the most glorious monarch that ever reigned in Persia. He approached, indeed, the nearest to Cyrus the Great, or Kai Khosru. He was happy in his genius and talents, and still more so in their cultivation. The dawn of his government disclosed an auspicious presage of an excellent reign; whose long meridian splendour increased the prosperity of his kingdom.

Though naturally of the mildest disposition, he began his reign with an act of severity. He caused Mazdek, that licentious and lawless false prophet, to be apprehended, and sentenced him to death; declaring his determined resolution to extirpate the followers of this pestilent heresy, for the good of the state. The impostor pleaded against the sentence: "PROVIDENCE, O king, ordained thee to rule over us, to protect, not to destroy." "True, thou son of corruption," said Nouschirvan, "but rememberest thou not, how thou once didst impudently demand permission of Cobad, my father, to lie with my mother? and how thy followers have plundered my subjects! I seek not therefore to destroy thee and thine, but to preserve myself, and to protect the people committed by Providence to my care." After the execution of their chief, the king published a decree, that his followers should either restore their plunder to the owners, or be capitally punished, as robbers. They willingly accepted the alternative, to save their lives: and thus, by this wise and temperate procedure, the peace and properties of the people were secured against the outrages of these profligate fanatics, with little bloodshed.

Nouschirvan next disgraced the public officers who had been obnoxious to the people in the last reign. One of these was reduced to poverty; and notwithstanding the king's prohibition, that they should not appear at court on the king's birth day, he slipped in among the crowd, waited at the royal table, and stole a gold plate, which he hid in his bosom, unperceived by all but the king. When the plate was missing, the chief butler made
a great stir about it; but the king stopped him, saying, *The thief will not restore it again; and the person who saw him will not inform against him.* On the next birthday, the officer appeared again at court, dressed in a new habit. The king observing it, called him, and, whispering, asked: "*Whether he had bought the habit with the money he got for the plate?*" "Yes, Sir," replied the officer, without being disconcerted, "and these buskins too," lifting up the skirt of his robe, to shew them. The naiveté of this reply made the good king laugh; and finding that the theft was occasioned by downright necessity, he gave the officer a further sum of money.

Noschirvan was as great a statesman and politician, as warrior; equally skilful in the cabinet, as in the field. He kept up a warfare, at intervals, with the Roman emperors, Justinian and Tiberius, throughout the whole course almost of his long reign, in which he was generally successful, overreaching the Romans as much by his address in negociation, as by his valour and activity in war. He encouraged the Saracens and Goths to invade the Roman territories, and when Justinian remonstrated, with loud complaints, Chosroes replied, "that his brother, the Roman emperor, had no right to complain, since it could be proved, by his own letters, that he had practised with the Saracens and the Huns to invade Persia."

His usual policy was to levy great contributions in the Roman territories, and to dismantle their cities, and plunder the rich offerings in the churches*. After he had taken and burnt Antioch, and transplanted the inhabitants into Persia, aiming to depopulate the Roman provinces, and encrease his own population, ambassadors came from Justinian to expostulate upon this breach of the first peace. The wily Persian received them with great civility and seeming attention; with tears in his eyes, he deprecated the miseries of this war, into which he was reluctantly driven by the Persian nobility, he said, to resist the ambition and aggressions of Justinian, stirring up enemies against them on every side, and tampering with his Christian subjects to shake off their allegiance. Intimating, however, that he might be induced, by a considerable sum of money paid in hand, and an annual subsidy, to return home, and make a lasting peace. The ambassadors were confounded by his impassioned

* See an instance of this in the next reign.
harangue; confessing, that his eloquence was more formidable than his arms. And nothing more strongly excited the envy of the Roman historians, Procopius, in his history of Justinian, and Agathias, his continuator, or induced them to represent this great prince in an unfavourable light, than that a barbarian prince should be admired as a philosopher and a man of letters; but the splendour of his talents burst through the vail of their misrepresentations; while the amplifications of the Persian historians run into the opposite extreme.

Chosroes extended and improved his empire on every side. It reached from Syria, and the Mediterranean sea, to the river Indus, eastwards; and from the Sihon and Jaxartes, to the frontiers of Egypt, southwards. He built his splendid capital city of Madain, on the Tigris, about a day's journey from Bagdat; and adorned it with a stately and sumptuous palace, called Thak Khosrou, "the dome of Khosru," from its magnificent cupola; in the vault of which he deposited his immense treasures. So solid and durable was its construction, that when the Caliph Almanzor ordered it to be pulled down, in order to employ the materials in building the citadel of Bagdat, he was forced to abandon the attempt, on account of the greatness of the expence and labour, and to leave most part of the palace undemolished. Upon which, a Persian poet wrote the following distich.

"See here the reward of an excellent work;
All consuming Time still spares the palace of Chosru."

He completed also the famous wall of Gog and Magog, to prevent the irruptions of the Scythian and Tartar tribes into Iran, begun by an ancient prince, called Askander.

For the better and speedier administration of justice, throughout his vast dominions, he divided the empire into four districts. The first included the frontier provinces toward Tartary and India; the second, Parthia, and the provinces bordering on the Caspian Sea; the third, Persia, and the provinces between it and the Persian Gulf; and the fourth, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Syria, and Arabia. Over each district, he appointed one of the

* Instead of the simplicity of this elegant distich, thus closely translated from Herbelot, the Universal History gives the following inflated paraphrase, Vol. IV. p. 393, fol.

"Thy works, like thee, eternity enjoy:
Nor rage, nor time, can thy designs destroy!"

"See here the reward of an excellent work;
All consuming Time still spares the palace of Chosru."
royal family, to act as chief justice; and to decide in ordinary cases without appeal; but in capital causes, they could not punish, without receiving instructions from court. Thus reserving to himself the royal prerogative of mercy, to temper the rigour of justice.

And for the general instruction of his people, he circulated the admirable rules for living well, written by Ardzhir, the founder of this dynasty; and obliged every family in Persia to have a copy of it. For his own instruction also, he procured from India, a work of the famous Pilpay, entitled Homaioun Nameh, "The Royal Manual," or fables on the art of governing, which he had translated into Persic. And so scrupulous was he to set a good example himself, that when his attendants had taken a quantity of salt from a neighbouring village, to season some venison which he had taken in hunting, he ordered them to pay for it immediately, observing to his vizir, This is a small matter in itself, but great, as it regards me; a king ought always to be just, because he is a pattern for his subjects; and if he swerves in trifles, they will become dissolute. If I cannot make my people just in the smallest things, I can at least shew them that it is possible to be so. Hence his justice became proverbial. Mahomet himself boasted, that he was born in the reign of Malek al adel, "the just king."

The wisdom of his prime vizir, called Buzurge mihir, "the well beloved," is also celebrated by the Persian writers. One day in council, when others had spoken much, Nouschirvan asked, why he remained silent? "Because," said he, "a statesman ought to give advice, as a physician medicines, only when there is occasion." Another time, at one of the assemblies of the sages, the king proposed as a subject of debate, "What is misery in the extreme?" A Greek philosopher answered, "Poverty in old age;" an Indian, "Great pain, with dejection of mind;" but Buzurge answered, "A late repentance, at the close of life;" which was immediately acceded to by the rest, as the best and truest answer. Buzurge was privately a Christian.

Nouschirvan, notwithstanding his goodness, was exposed to domestic troubles. He had a favourite son by a Christian wife, Nouschizad, whom his mother bred a Christian. This displeased his father, who supported the established religion in his dominions; and he confined the prince, for his obstinate adhe-
rence to Christianity, but without any further ill treatment. *Nouschizad*, however, found means to escape, and excite a rebellion against his father; who sent an army to quell it, with directions to the general, like *Cyrus*, or *Kai Chosru*, *not to spare his son, if he resisted; but if they took him alive, not to treat him with any indignity, nor even to reproach him with his undutifulness; for that his own conscience would inflict sufficient punishment*. But the prince obstinately refusing to submit, was mortally wounded in battle, and made his dying request, that *he might be interred at the feet of the disciples of the Messiah*, or among the *Christians*;—whose principles he disgraced by his practice.

The last instructions of this illustrious prince to his unworthy son and successor, were admirable for *patriarchal* wisdom and piety; resembling those of *Cyrus* to his children.

"I, *Nouschirvan*, sovereign of Persia and India, address these, my last words, to *Hormoz*, my son, that they may serve him as a lantern in the day of darkness, a path in his journey though the wilderness, a pole star in his navigation through the tempestuous ocean of this world.

"Let him remember, in the midst of his greatness, that *kings rule, not for themselves, but for their people*; respecting whom, they are like the heavens to the earth. How can the earth be fruitful, unless it be watered, unless it be fostered by the heavens? My son, let your subjects all feel your beneficence; the nearest to you first, and so on by degrees, to the remotest. If I durst, I would propose to you my own example; but I chuse rather to remind you of that glorious luminary, which has been an example to me. Behold the *Sun*! It visits all parts of the world; and if sometimes visible, at other times withdrawn from view, it is because the universe is successively gilded and cherished by its splendid beams. Enter not into any province, but with a prospect of doing good to the inhabitants; quit it not, but with the intention of doing good elsewhere. Bad men must needs be punished; to them, the sun of majesty is necessarily eclipsed; but the good deserve encouragement, and require to be cheered with its beams.

"*My son, often present thyself before Heaven, to implore* 

* Prima est hæc ultio quod, se
  *Juive, nemo nocens absolvitur.*

*Juve. Sat. xiii. 2.*
ANALYSIS OF

its aid; but approach not with an impure mind. Do thy dogs enter the temple?—If thou carefully observe this rule, thy prayers shall be heard, thy enemies shall be confounded, thy friends shall be faithful. Thou shalt be a delight to thy subjects, and shalt have cause to delight in them. Do justice, abase the proud, comfort the distressed, love your children, protect learning, be advised by your ancient counsellors, suffer not the young to meddle in state affairs, and let your peoples' good be your sole and supreme object.

"Farewell, I leave you a mighty empire; you will keep it, if you follow my counsels; but it will be impossible for you to keep it, if you follow others."

How closely he copied Cyrus, indeed, we may further collect, from the similar inscription on his tiara, (see p. 98.)

"What is long life, or what a glorious reign,
If our successors close upon us tread?
My fathers left this crown, and I, in turn,
Shall leave it too, and mingle with the dust!"

This great king was too fond of war, in which he was generally successful, by his arts, or his arms. His last war, however, at the advanced age of fourscore, against the emperor Tiberius, proved disastrous. He was defeated in a pitched battle, and forced to fly, mounted on an elephant, across the Euphrates, with great risque of being drowned; and soon after, died of fatigue and chagrin, at the loss of the sacred fire, which was captured by the enemy in the battle, and the murmurs of the Persians at his ill success in a war, which he had provoked. He made peace with the Romans before his death, and enacted a decree, that none of his successors should risque their persons in a general engagement; conveying a tacit censure of his own rashness.

HORMISDAS II. OR HORMOUZ BEN NOUSCHIRVAN.

This prince was naturally indolent, luxurious, haughty, and cruel. To correct by education the faults of his disposition, his anxious father appointed the wise and virtuous Buzurge, to be his preceptor, who endeavoured faithfully to fulfil that arduous trust. Wearied with the repeated remonstrances of his preceptor, and troublesome morning visits, the young prince employed some of his idle companions to waylay Buzurge one
morning, who robbed him, and left him quite naked. Hormisdas then bantering him on his disaster, said, You see the mischief of early rising! This occasioned your being robbed and stripped thus. You mistake, prince, said he, the robbers rose earlier than I, and therefore they succeeded. Ah! my dear prince, vigilance is a copy of the divine activity [which neither slumbers nor sleeps], the source of virtue and true pleasure, and the key to victory in all things.

Rise then betimes, that the sun of fortune may shed his early beams upon your head, and the fresh morning air [brace your body and] dispose your mind to receive those celestial influences which may render you a blessing to the world.

In the beginning of his reign, while Hormisdas was guided by his excellent tutor, whom he appointed prime vizier, he promised to surpass even Nouschirvan himself. He treated Buzurge with so much deference, that he would not wear the tiara in his presence: and when the adulation of some of his courtiers thought this extraordinary, more than was due even to a father, "You say right, my friends," answered the young king, "I owe more to him than to my father: the life and kingdom I received from Nouschirvan, will expire in a few years; but the fame I shall acquire by following the instructions of Buzurge, will survive to the latest ages."

But three years after, when age and infirmities had induced the venerable vizier to retire from public business and from the court, Hormisdas, alas! fell a prey to the adulation and sycophancy of younger and false counsellors, neglecting his wise father's admonitions; and he involved himself and his empire in the greatest calamities. He grew superstitious, suspicious, and cruel. By the instigation of soothsayers and diviners, who got an ascendancy over him, he banished his most faithful judges and counsellors, and put to death multitudes of his best subjects for imputed disaffection or treason; and even his faithful preceptor himself! he affronted the Roman emperor Tiberius, who sent ambassadors to renew the last peace made with his father, treated them disdainfully, and required a sum of money as a tribute for granting it, which involved him in a war with the

* What a fine paraphrase is this of the homely proverb—

"Early to bed, and early to rise,
Will make a man healthy, wealthy, and wise."
Romans westward; while the frontier provinces of India eastward, and Arabia southward, threw off the Persian yoke, and set up princes of their own. We may date this general revolt, A.D. 584; and to crown all, the Kaikhan of Turkistan northward, invaded Persia with a mighty army. Now, for the first time, the Turks were noticed by the Roman historians, about A.D. 585.

When his general, Varamus, or Baharam, had defeated the Turks, by stratagem, with great slaughter, he was employed next against the Romans; but being worsted, Hormisdas sent him a woman's garment, in contempt, and threatened to decimate his troops, which so provoked both, that they revolted, imprisoned him, and elected his son Chosroes king, although Hormisdas made a long and vehement speech to dissuade the nobles in council from electing Chosroes, who was prone to vice of every kind, and regardless of the public good; and as he predicted, would perpetuate that tyranny which they were so anxious to avoid, recommending to them his younger son Hormisdas, as fitter to reign over them. But his remonstrances were vain; their leaders massacred the unhappy prince, whom he preferred, in his presence; blinded the old king himself with a hot iron, that he might never resume the throne, and soon after he was murdered either by his unnatural son and successor, or by his own brothers.

CHOSROES II. OR CHOSRU PARVIZ.

This prince early in his reign gave a remarkable instance of superstitious credulity, in a letter to Gregory, Bishop of Antioch, preserved by Theophylact, Lib. IV. cap. 6.

"I, Chosroes, son of Hormisdas, king of kings, &c. having heard that the famous martyr Sergius, granted to every one who sought his aid, their petitions, did, on the seventh day of January, in the first year of my reign, invoke him to grant me victory against Zadespras; promising that if that rebel was either killed or taken by my troops, that I would give to his church a golden cross enriched with jewels: and accordingly on the ninth day of February, the head of Zadespras was brought to me by a party of horse, which I dispatched against him.

"To give, therefore, the most public testimony of my gratitude and thankfulness to the saint, for granting my petition,
I send to his church that cross, and also another, formerly given by the emperor Justinian, and taken away by my grandfather Chosroes, the son of Cavades, which I found deposited among my treasures."

The writers of the Universal History, in relating this anecdote, accuse him of hypocrisy, because he afterwards persecuted the Christians. But the letter carries with it such internal marks of sincerity, at that time, both by his public acknowledgement and his offerings, that it cannot reasonably be impeached by any subsequent change of conduct, owing to change of circumstances. It proves unquestionably, that the profession of Christianity was then become popular in the Persian dominions, otherwise the king would neither have made, nor performed openly, such a vow to a Christian saint. Among the Magi themselves, we can well conceive, that there were many believers, from the accomplishment of the prophecies concerning Christ, of their great Archimagus Daniel, and from the spread of Manicheism in the east, which was confessedly a Christian heresy.

After his accession Chosroes endeavoured to conciliate Varamus, and offered to make him the second man in the kingdom, if he would support his throne. But Varamus haughtily rejecting his overtures with insolence, a civil war broke out, in which Chosroes, for his early cruelty in putting to death some of the nobility whom he suspected, was deserted by his troops, and forced to fly for refuge to the Roman emperor Maurice, who received him kindly, espoused his cause against Varamus, and sent an army to restore him to his dominions; by whose assistance he defeated the rebels, and recovered his throne, and greatly extended his dominions afterwards. From the rapidity of his conquests he was surnamed Parviz, "impetuous."

He married a Christian, called by the Roman writers, Irene, and by the Persian, Schirin, "soft" or "agreeable;" the latter represent her as the daughter of the emperor Maurice his protector, who honoured him with the title of his own son, (as the Byzantine writers themselves allow) and therefore made him his son-in-law. This is much more probable than the Roman account, that she was a music girl, or a public dancer. For her sake, he for a long time treated the Christians kindly, but growing jealous of her, or to court the Magi, he conceived an implacable hatred against, and persecuted them. And when the
ANALYSIS OF

emperor Maurice was murdered by Phocas, A.D. 602, Chosroes, who long wished to invade the Roman territories, and was only deterred by his respect for his protector and father-in-law, while he lived, under pretext of avenging his murder, and punishing the assassin, marched a powerful army into the Roman frontiers, in his sixteenth year, A.D. 603; defeated the Romans, and laid the country under contribution. Next year, continuing the war, he reduced several fortresses, and recovered others that he had given to the emperor Maurice, in gratitude for his assistance. In his eighteenth year he plundered all Mesopotamia and Syria, and carried off immense riches; in the next year he ravaged Palestine and Phoenicia, with fire and sword; in his twentieth year his generals wasted Armenia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Paphlagonia, as far as Chalcedon, burning cities and destroying the inhabitants, without respect to age or sex. Nor did his devastation of the Roman provinces cease with the death of the usurper Phocas, and accession of Heraclius, A.D. 610, fully evincing the falsehood of his pretext, and his monstrous ingratitude to the Romans. The next year he took Apamea and Edessa, and blockaded Antioch, and so totally defeated the Roman army which came to its relief, that scarcely a man was left to mourn the death of his companions. The year following he took Cesarea, and carried away myriads of people into captivity: he conquered Judea, took Jerusalem, which he plundered, and carried off the cross on which CHRIST suffered, and sold ninety thousand Christians for slaves to the Jews in his dominions, who, if we can credit the Byzantine historians, cut all their throats!!

In his twenty-seventh year*, A.D. 614, he invaded Egypt,

* In this year, the zenith of his power and arrogance, Mirkhond relates a very remarkable dream of this prince, in which he saw his capital city surrounded with a strong wall, and defended by eleven stately towers; which, while he was looking on, fell down one after another, and left the city open and defenceless. In the morning, he consulted the Magi, about the interpretation of this dream. They answered, that the fortified city represented the kingdom of Persia, the towers his successors, and their fall the subversion of the empire.

But the dream was better interpreted by the event. The eleven towers denoted the eleven remaining years of his reign, in which his power was gradually declining, during his last disastrous warfare; and after their fall, his own dethronement and destruction.

Such an ominous dream, resembling that of the proud and haughty Nebuchadnessar, in the height of his grandeur and prosperity, is credible. But he wanted a Daniel to expound it, because he was unworthy and infatuated, obstinately bent on his own destruction.
took *Alexandria*, reduced both the lower and the upper *Egypt*, to the frontiers of *Libya* and *Abyssinia*; adding this kingdom to his dominions, which none of his predecessors, from the days of *Artaxerxes*, had been able to effect. When the emperor *Heraclius*, greatly afflicted at those horrible cruelties, which he was unable to prevent, sent to implore peace, upon any conditions, *Chosroes* arrogantly replied, that he would never grant him or his subjects peace, till they abjured their crucified God, and embraced the *Persian* religion.

In his thirty-first year, elated with his mighty conquests, he meditated nothing less than the utter destruction of the *Roman* empire, while *Heraclius* was embarrassed with his barbarian enemies in *Europe*. The emperor, therefore, making peace with the Barbarians on their own terms, resolved to make a last and desperate effort, and to put all to the hazard of a pitched battle, in which he out-generalled and defeated the *Persian* army with great slaughter. On this success he made fresh overtures for peace, which the haughty Persian rejected with indignation and contempt, but met with his deserved and long-delayed chastisement, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, when he was totally defeated in a bloody battle, in which no less than fifty thousand prisoners were taken, whom *Heraclius*, not being able to maintain, generously restored to their liberty, by a striking contrast with the cruelty of his implacable enemy, which gained him great reputation and applause in *Persia*, and contributed not a little to the ruthless tyrant's downfall.

*Chosroes* made prodigious efforts to retrieve his affairs. He plundered the Christian churches, and throughout his dominions he drained the provinces to raise fresh armies to oppose *Heraclius*, who in no wise elated by success, but preserving the strictest discipline, and the full confidence of his troops, defeated them as soon as they appeared in the field, and proceeded so rapidly in his conquests, that the haughty and cruel tyrant was forced to fly to *Ctesiphon* first, and then to *Seleucia*, with his wives and concubines, leaving his magnificent and superb palace, in the hundred vaults of which he had deposited his ill-gotten treasures, and amassed more riches than any of his predecessors. On one of these vaults was an inscription, "*Windfalls,*" containing the treasures, jewels, &c. of his benefactor the emperor *Maurice*'s family, which in their distress they had put on board two or three vessels, to take them to a place of secu-
ANALYSIS OF

rity; but the vessels being driven by contrary winds on the coast of Persia, he seized and confiscated them to his own use! in his inscription adding mockery to guilt.

At length, wearied out with the suspicious cruelty of Chosroes, his chief officers and nobility seized, imprisoned, and deposed him, and raised his eldest son Siroes, whom he wished to have excluded, to the throne; who treated him with the greatest severity; and after he had reproached him with all his cruelties and oppressions, put him to death, saying, you cannot think this unnatural in me, since, for a less cause, you pronounced the same judgment on your own father. Siroes, however, did not long survive this parricide, and the murder of seventeen of his brothers; he died after he had reigned seven months, according to the oriental, or little more than a year, according to the Roman historians.

His son Ardesthir, a child of seven years old, was then appointed king, but was deposed and murdered by the commander of the forces, Sarbarazas, or Scheheriah, shortly after; who usurped the throne; but for his own cruelties, and for a civil war kindled by other pretenders, was put to death by the nobility: they next placed on the throne a grandson of Chosroes, by one of his sons, and the only surviving branch of the royal family.

HORMISDAS, or JEZDEGERD BEN SCHEHERIAH.

This prince was elected in his seventeenth year, and because it was with the free consent of the nation, the Persians date the era of Jezdegerd from his election, June 16, 632. But his reign was short and disastrous; the kingdom was so weakened and exhausted by the incessant wars of his grandfather, Chosrou Parviz, in which all the flower of their armies were slain, and by the ensuing civil wars, which deluged the land with blood, that in three years Persia became a prey to the ambition of the Saracens; and their Caliph Omar sent a detachment of his army to invade it, under the command of Sad. The Persians opposed him, however weakened, with spirit, and avoiding a general engagement, harassed his army for some time. At length he brought them to a pitched battle, near the city of Cadessia, A.D. 636, which was fought with great fury for three days,
and at length ended in the total defeat of the Persians, by which the capital, with the greatest part of the Persian dominions, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

Jezdegerd, on the loss of this decisive battle, retired into Khorasan, and by the help of the two other eastern provinces of Kerman, or Carmania, and Segestan, which adhered to him, kept up a desultory warfare with the Saracens as long as he lived, they not being at leisure to pursue him into those remote parts. But at length, after he had possessed the royal title nineteen years, in an attempt to recover one of his few remaining fortresses, Merou, on the river Oxus, or Gihon, which had revolted to the Turks, he was defeated by the rebels; and endeavouring to pass the river in a fisherman's boat, to whom he offered a bracelet of jewels for ferrying him over, the stupid boatman refused to take more or less than his stated fare, five farthings, and while they were disputing, a party of the rebel horse coming up, and knowing Jezdegerd, killed him, A.D. 652.

So rapid a declension as this, in the space of twenty years, from A.D. 614, when the Persian empire was at its height, and larger than it had been since the days of Alexander the Great, to A.D. 636, appears astonishing at first sight, and is quite unexampled in history*. But Chosrou Parviz, by his rapacity and his cruelties, alienated the affections of his generals from his family, while his rage for war had drained the country of its ablest defenders, and left it wasted and distracted, an easy prey to the ferocious and needy Saracens.

SECTION XI.

SARACEN DYNASTY. 636 YEARS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Heg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Mahomet's Hegira, or flight</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>622</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CALIPHS.

| 2. Abubeker | 2 | 632 | 11 |
| 3. Omar | 9 | 634 | 13 |
| 4. Othman | 12 | 643 | 23 |
| 5. Ali | 5 | 655 | 35 |
| 6. Al Hasan | | | 5m. |

* The kingdom of Israel arrived to its greatest splendour, in the reign of Jeroboam II. It declined rapidly from thence, and was destroyed in 74 years.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Heg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Moawiyah, or Moavias</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Yazid, or Jesid</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>679</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Moavias II</td>
<td></td>
<td>20d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Merwan</td>
<td></td>
<td>683</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Abdalmelek</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Al Walid, or Valid</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>705</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Soliman</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Omar II</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Yazid or Jesid II</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>101</td>
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<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Heshain</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>105</td>
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<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Al Walid or Valid II</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Yazid or Jesid III</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>743</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Ibrahim</td>
<td></td>
<td>70d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Merwan II</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>743</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Abul Abbas or Al Saffah</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Al Mansur, or Abu Jaafar</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>137</td>
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<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Al Mohdi</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>774</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Al Hadi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>785</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Harun, or Aaron Al Raschid</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Al Amin</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>808</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Al Mamun</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>813</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Al Motasem</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Al Wathek, or Vathek</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Al Motawakkel</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>846</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Al Montaser</td>
<td></td>
<td>6m.</td>
<td>656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Al Mostain</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>862</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Al Motaz</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>866</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Al Mohtadi</td>
<td></td>
<td>11m.</td>
<td>669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Al Motamed</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Al Motaded</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>279</td>
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<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Al Mocthaphi</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>901</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Al Mostader</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>907</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Al Kaher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>932</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Al Radi</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>933</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Al Mottaki</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Al Mostakphi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>944</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Al Moti</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>945</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Al Tai</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>973</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Al Kader</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>991</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Al Kayen</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1031</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Al Moktadi</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1074</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>Al Mostader</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1094</td>
<td>487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>Al Mostarshed</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1118</td>
<td>512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>Al Rashid</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1134</td>
<td>529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>Al Moktafi</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1135</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Heg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>52. Al Mostanjed</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. Al Mostadi</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. Al Naser</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. Al Daher</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. Al Mostander</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. Al Mostasem</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of the dynasty</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>1258</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The chronology of this period is collected from Abulfaragi's accurate annals of the ninth dynasty; which he reckons by the Lunar years of the Hegira, or celebrated era of Mahomet's flight from Mecca to Medina, commencing July 16, A.D. 622, the second day of the new moon, when she became visible (See Abulfeda's life of Mahomet, p. 53.) and reduced from Lunar to Solar calendar years.

The use of the Lunar year in computation was appointed by Mahomet, rejecting intercalations. He alludes thereto in the Koran, sur. 10. ver. 6. "God made the sun for brightness and the moon for light; and He disposed them into stations, that ye might know the number of the years." These "stations" are the twelve solar constellations of the Zodiac, and the 28 Lunar, called anua, "the mansion of the moon," because the moon every night of her period, is in one of these constellations. This latter is a classification of the zodiacal stars peculiar to the Arabs. Costard in his astronomy, has given from Ulug Beigh, a description of the stars composing each, p. 19.

A complete lunation, or synodical month, consisting of $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, the Arabs composed their months of 29 and 30 days alternately, thus,

1. Muharram ........... 30 30 7. Rajan................ 30 207
2. Saphar ............. 29 59 8. Shaaban ............. 29 236
3. Rabia I. ........... 30 89 9. Ramadan ............. 30 266
4. Rabia II............ 29 118 10. Shawal ............ 29 293

This Lunar year of 354 days falling short 11 days of the

* The reigns of the Caliphs, in Abulfaragi, are computed according to the years of the Hegira, and their amounts necessarily differ from the amounts in this table, which are accommodated to the Calendar years. We have followed the chronology of Abulfaragi, in preference to that of Eutychius in his annals.
Solar or Calendar year of 365 days, is moveable, or runs through all the seasons, in \( \frac{365}{11} = 33 \frac{2}{11} \) years, or 33 years, and sixty-six days over. So that a cycle of 33 Lunar years, gains an entire year upon the calendar, and contains only 32 solar years; and three cycles gaining three years, we may reckon 100 lunar years equal to 97 solar. Hence is derived the following easy rule for reducing the current years of the Hegira to solar or calendar years of the Christian era.

Multiply the centuries in the proposed year by 3; and to the product add 1, for each additional cycle; subtract the amount from the proposed year; and add 621 to the remainder; the sum will give the calendar year required.

Thus, in the year of the Hegira 295, the centuries 200 give 6, and the surplus 95 years in the third cycle, 3 more, or 9 in all; this subtracted from 295, leaves 286; which added to 621, gives A.D. 907. And thus, the year of the Hegira, 512 gives 15; this subtracted, leaves 497, which added to 621, gives A.D. 1118.

But where two lunar years fall within the same calendar year, this rule will give the result a year short. Thus the last year of the foregoing dynasty, 656, gives 18 + 2 = 20, which subtracted, leaves 636; to which, adding 621, the result is A.D. 1257, instead of A.D. 1258.

Beveridge in his chronology, Lib. I. cap. 17. has given accurate rules for reducing not only the years, but the months, days, and feriae, or week days of the current years of the Hegira, to calendar time; by the help of which was constructed a large useful table, in Playfair's Chronology *, p. 304—309.

The use of this table of the years, &c. of the Hegira, may be thus illustrated.

Al Januabi, an Arab historian, relates that Mahomet Khan took Constantinople, in the 857th year of the Hegira, on the 20th day of Joma I. the third day of the week, or Tuesday. See Pococke's Supplement to his Latin translation of Abulfaragi, p. 47. But by Playfair's table, this year of the Hegira began A.D. 1453, Jan. 12, on the sixth day of the week, or Friday. And by the foregoing table of Arabian months, the

* Playfair, in his biographical index of the Khalifs, follows Eutychius, who is usually a year later than Abulfagari in the dates of their reigns.
20th of Jomad I. was 137 days complete, from the first day of the first month Muharram; or 12 + 137 = 149 days, counted from the first of January A.D. 1453; which corresponds to May 29, according to the table of Julian days, p. 54. Vol. I. of this work; and it fell on the third day of the week, or Tuesday; according to the rule for computing the feria, or days of the week, in Beveridge, p. 125. And how critically this calculation corresponds to the fact, appears from the patriarchal history of Crusius, thus dating the capture of the city, Ἦσαν χρόνοι απὸ Χριστοῦ γενεσεως χιλιοι τετρακοσιοι πεντηκοντα τρεις, μαυρ εικοστη εννατη, ἡμερα τριτη. "It was 1453 years from Christ's nativity, on the 29th of May, the third day of the week."

Such a minute coincidence between the Mahometan and Christian historians, respecting this important date, is highly gratifying; and affords an instance of the great ingenuity and accuracy of the chronological rules and tables in question; which is more level to ordinary capacities, than the long and complicated calculation, by which Beveridge comes to the same conclusion, p. 119–127.

MAHOMET, or MOHAMMED *.

This famous founder of Islamism †, and of the Saracen dynasty, was born at Mecca, in the 881st year of the era of Alexander, or Seleucus ‡; 881—B.C. 312 = A.D. 569; and 53 years before the era of the Hegira, A.D. 622 — 53 = A.D. 569. Vid. Abulfed. Vita Mohammed. p. 2, 50. The concurrence of these computations with Abulfaragi, p. 103, dating his death

* The life of Mahomet has been written by Prideaux, and by the authors of the Modern Universal History, in their history of the Arabs, Vol. I. 8vo. at considerable length. Savary, to his French translation of the Koran, has prefixed an abridgment of the life of Mahomet, collected principally from Abulfeda, his best Arabian historian, Gagnier's edition, published with learned notes, 1723. Oxford: folio. According to Savary, (who resided a good while in Egypt and Arabia), this word is pronounced by the Arabs, Mahammed; it signifies "celebrated or glorious," like its Hebrew root, מַהֲמָד, Mahmad, rendered, εὐδοξος, by the Septuagint, Isa. lxiv. 11.

† The word Islamism comes from the Arabic root Islam, or Eslam, and signifies simply, "consecration," or "dedication to God." It is usually appropriated to the Mahometan religion, and its professors are called Mussulinans, from the Arabic Meslemoun, "consecrated." Savary.

‡ Instead of the correct number 881, given by Abulfeda, we read erroneously, in the present text of Abulfagari, 892, p. 101. and in Eutychius' annals, 933, p. 227, tom. II. who misdates the Hegira, A.D. 614.
ten years after the Hegira, A.D. 632, when he was 63 years old, gives his birth as before, A.D. 632—63 = A.D. 569; and leaves not a doubt, that this was the precise year of his birth *. His father Abdallah died about the time he was born, or shortly before, and left him in his grandfather’s care, Abdal Motalleb, a prince of the Koreishites, the most noble tribe among the Arabs, and high priest of the temple of Mecca. On the seventh day after his birth, his grandfather named him Mohammed; (signifying “celebrated, or glorious,”) and when his assembled friends observed, that none of his family was called by that name, “I wish,” said the old man, “that God may glorify him in heaven, whom he hath created upon earth.” Abulfeda, p. 2.

When Mahomet was eight years old, his grandfather died, and consigned him to the care of Abu Taleb, his eldest son; who bred him a merchant, and took him at twelve or thirteen years of age into Syria, on a commercial journey to Bosra. There they were entertained at a Christian monastery, by a Nestorian monk, called Boheira, and by the Christians Sergius, who told Abu Taleb, that his nephew would prove a very extraordinary person.

Mahomet at the age of five-and-twenty, A.D. 594, married Khadijah, a rich and noble widow, who had been twice married, of his own tribe, in whose service he had been employed as a factor to conduct her mercantile concerns, which she had considerably improved by commerce. And he so recommended himself by his fine person, address, and diligence in her service, that she married him, and gave him the disposal of her fortune. This match gave him affluence and influence†. Abulfaragi and Abulfeda reckon that Khadijah was forty years old at the time of this marriage; but Mahomet was passionately fond of her, and they had eight children, nor did he take any other wife during her life-time. It is unlikely, therefore, that she was so old, as probably to be past child-bearing in that warm climate, where women are sooner ripe. The account of Maracci indeed is more probable, that she died twenty-four years after, in her

† After Khadijah’s death, Mahomet married Ayesha, the daughter of Abubeker, with whom he got a large fortune; and still a larger with the widow Hafsa, daughter of Omar. This increase of wealth increased his influence.
49th year; and therefore was only five and twenty at her marriage, the same age as Mahomet.

The long chasm in Mahomet's history, of twelve years, from his marriage, till he began to fabricate his imposture, in A.D. 606, in a cave at mount Hara, about three miles from Mecca, to which he usually retired during the month of Ramadan, may consistently be filled up by the pursuit of his mercantile concerns, and successive journeys to Syria, and in informing himself in the Jewish and Christian tenets, and sects or heresies that then divided the eastern and western world.

MAHOMET'S MISSION.

At length, in A.D. 609, when he was full forty years old, like Moses, he disclosed his prophetic mission at first to a favourable hearer, his own wife, Khadijah, and told her how the angel Gabriel, or the Holy Spirit, had appeared to him in glory, and declared that God sent him as an Apostle to reform the world, and gave him the Koran* as a divine law, to complete all antecedent revelations. The night of this revelation, near the end of Ramadan, was called Al Kadr, "the divine decree," and is celebrated in the Koran, chap. 97.

Although the Koran was supposed to be given or shewn entire to Mahomet on this night, he most artfully communicated it, by piecemeal, to his followers occasionally, and as best suited his purposes.

Before this night, Mahomet pretended to be illiterate, not knowing how to read, and that he was then miraculously instructed: when Gabriel gave him the book, and said "Read;"

* The word Koran signifies, with the prefix at, "the," "The reading, or the book," by way of eminence, from the verb Kara, "to read," and contains the Mahometan law. The best edition of it was published by Maracci, with a rugged Latin translation, and learned notes and refutations. 2 Vols. fol. 1698. Patav.

Sale published a literal English translation of the Koran, with explanatory notes, and a learned preliminary discourse. Lond. 1724. Quarto. But the Translation is paraphrastic and obscure.

Savary published a French Translation, with notes, 2 Vols. 8vo. Paris, 1782: the best that has hitherto appeared, for concisely and elegantly expressing the spirit of the original.

Both Sale and Savary are partial to Mahomet and his doctrines. The latter was a downright Mussulman, and a panegyrist of Mahomet; who is blackened by Maracci and Prideaux on the other side. Nulla falsa doctrina est, quae non aliquid veri permisceat. Augustine. This is a just description of the Koran, which blends truth with falsehood.
Mahomet answered, "I know not how;" Gabriel replied, according to Savary's translation:

"Read in the name of God the Creator,
Who formed man, and joined the sexes;
Read in the name of the adorable God,
Who taught man the use of the pen,
Who infused into his soul the ray of science." Chap. 96.

Khadijah gained her husband an important proselyte in her uncle Waraka, a Christian, and well read in the Old and New Testament. He not only agreed with her, that "Mahomet would be the prophet of his own people," but swore that "he was the great prophet foretold by Moses, the son of Amram." He was a more probable assistant to Mahomet, in com-

*Mahomet is frequently styled in the Koran, "the illiterate prophet;" but it is a mistake to suppose that he pretended to be illiterate, after the revelation of this night. That would be absurd; and it is strange that Professor White, among others, could countenance it. Sermons, p. 189. Mahomet only meant, that he had been illiterate, before that time: as proved by the very instances adduced by the professor in his notes, p. xxviii—xxx. He introduces God, saying to him: "Before the Koran, thou couldst not read any book. It was not written with thy hand, [but with the finger of God]: otherwise, the gainsayers would doubt of its truth." Chap. xxix. And Al Bochari relates, that in his treaty with the Meccans, when they objected to the diplomatic language of "Mahomet, the Apostle of God," Mahomet desired that title to be erased by the scribe; but Ali refusing, with an oath, Mahomet took the pen himself, and complaisantly wrote; "Mahomet, the son of Abdallah, agrees to these conditions," &c.

Abulfeda also relates, that in his last sickness, "he called for pen and ink, to write them a book that would keep them from error after his death, for ever."—The Arabian historians indeed both pretend, that he forgot his feigned ignorance, or that he raved. But it is unnecessary to suppose Mahomet a greater impostor than he really was. This is a justice we owe to his character. Folly did not enter into his composition. He frequently disputed with the Jews on the laws of Moses, and the religion of Abraham, and was too many for them in the Hebrew Scriptures. See Vol. III. p. 616.

The Koran was first written in the character called Kufic, and without points or vowels. A fragment of it, written on vellum, was brought from Egypt, by Mr. Greaves, which is still preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford.

The several suras, or chapters of which it consists, were written originally on palm leaves, or pieces of parchment, as they were pretended to be revealed. After Mahomet's death, these were collected into a volume, by his successor Abubeker; but without any attention to the order of time in which they came out, or to their subjects. The longest chapters were placed at the head of the volume, and the shortest at the end; although the shortest were usually the first written, and the longest, the last. Thus the first chapter actually published by Mahomet, was the foregoing invitation of Gabriel to "read," though now the 96th chapter, near the end of the Koran. The present fifth chapter was written after his farewell pilgrimage to Mecca, the year before his death; and the last chapter he published was the ninth.

This want of vowel points, and this dislocation of chapters, occasioned the necessity of mokras, or readers, and produced many various readings, and much embarrassment among the Mahometan doctors, to determine the meaning of many obscure passages.
posing his Koran, than Boheira, or Sergius the monk, or any other person, in a matter of such trust and delicacy.

He next gained over Abubeker, a rich and respectable citizen of Mecca, and, by his means, others of the first rank. This encouraged him to a more open profession of his mission. Having collected a numerous party of his relations of the Koreish tribe to an entertainment, he offered them the joys of this world, and the happiness of heaven, as his followers, in the name of God, and asked which of them would become his vizir, or prime minister? Which of them would become his brother, his deputy, and his Khalif, or successor? The rest of the guests remained silent, in surprize, when young Ali, that “son of thunder,” then a boy about thirteen or fourteen years old, started up with indignation, and said, “I will be thy vizir, O prophet of God; I will break the teeth, pluck out the eyes, rip up the belly, cut off the legs of thine enemies!*

This impetuosity of zeal did not displease Mahomet. He embraced Ali, and said in presence of his relations: “See here is my brother, my deputy, and my Khalif. Hearken to, and obey him!” The whole assembly, at this, burst into a fit of laughter, and turning their eyes toward Abu Talib, the father of Ali, exclaimed, “You are bound to receive orders from your son, and to obey him in future!”

This, however, did not discourage Mahomet; he proceeded with firmness in the execution of his schemes. He declaimed against Idolatry, and exhorted incessantly his relations and friends to embrace Islamism. This occasioned an alarm among the chiefs of the Koreishites; they requested Abu Talib to repress the fanatical zeal of his nephew, and threatened to take up arms against him, in defence of their established religion. This threat alarmed Abu Talib, and he endeavoured to prevail on Mahomet to desist; but he answered, steady to his purpose, “My uncle, though the Koreishites should arm against me the sun and the moon, the one on my right hand, the other on my left, I would not be shaken the more in my resolution.” Abulfeda, p. 21.

Though the credit of Abu Talib screened his nephew in some measure, it could not prevent a public decree for the banish-

* This was an apt and an early specimen, “what manner of spirit, Mahomet and his beloved disciple, were of,” who thus sought to destroy men’s lives; so different from HIM who came to save!
ment of his followers, many of whom fled into Abyssinia, in the fifth year of his Mission, A.D. 613, and Mahomet himself retired to a castle on mount Safa. Here he gained two remarkable converts, Hamza, another of his uncles, a man of great bravery, and the ferocious Omar, who went with a resolution to kill Mahomet, but was converted by reading a chapter of the Koran, shewn him by his own sister, and became one of his most zealous partizans.

After this persecution had subsisted a good while, Mahomet sustained a great loss in the tenth year of his Mission, A.D. 618, by the deaths of his venerable protector Abu Talib, who died at fourscore, without embracing Islamism *, and his wife and first convert, Khadijah.

To support his drooping cause †, Mahomet fabricated a new and more extraordinary revelation in the twelfth year of his Mission, A.D. 620.

THE NIGHT JOURNEY TO HEAVEN.

Moses had two conferences with God on Mount Sinai, and Paul was taken up, in ecstatic vision, into Paradise, and into the third heaven; outdoing both, Mahomet related to his friends a miraculous journey, in which he was taken from Mecca to Jerusalem, and from thence to the throne of God, above the seventh heaven, and brought back to Mecca, all in the course of one night. The simplest and most authentic account of it is given by his best historian, Abulfeda, from the prophet’s recital. The others have larded it with the most extravagant fictions; as

* When Abu Talib was dying, Mahomet pressed him to repeat the Mussulman Creed: "There is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet;" but the old man declined, lest his memory should be dishonoured, and the Koreishites think, that the weakness of death had rendered him a Mussulman.

† After the death of his venerable protector, Abu Talib, the prophet was deserted by his friends Abulahab, Elkahim, and Okba, and surrounded by a host of enemies, who insulted and persecuted him; as he thus complains in the Koran, chap. xcvi. ver. 9.

"What think you of him who troubles

The servant of God, when he prays,
When he fulfils the decree of Heaven,
When he recommends piety!"

Here, Mahomet appeared "like a lamb, with the two horns" of his temporal and spiritual power only budding: but he soon "spoke like a dragon," when his horns were grown; and he assumed the "stout looks" of his western compeer, the Pope. Rev. xiii. 11, 12; Dan. vii. 20.
may be seen in the long account of the *Modern Universal Hist.* Vol. I. p. 65–78. 8vo.

The following is an abridgment of Abulfeda’s account:

“While I was in the Caaba *, or temple of Mecca, reclining on the [sacred] stone, [like Jacob, Gen. xxviii. 11—13,] a certain saint, Gabriel, came to me, attended by another. And I heard him speaking; and he opened my breast, from the breastbone to the groin, and took out my heart, and washed it in a golden basin, full of the water of Faith, and then restored it to its place. Afterwards a white beast was brought to me, less than a mule, and larger than an ass, called Al Borak †, [the lightning,] so swift, that he finished his course in the twinkling of an eye; upon which I was borne.

“Then Gabriel proceeded with me to the first heaven, and knocked at the door. He was asked, ‘Who is there?’ he answered, ‘Gabriel.’ ‘Who is that with you?’ he answered, ‘Mahomet.’ ‘Is he now sent as an Apostle?’ he answered, ‘Yes.’ ‘Success attend him, he is welcome;’ and then the door was opened. When I entered, lo, there was Adam. Gabriel said to me, ‘This is Adam, thy father, salute him.’ So I saluted him, and he returned the salute, saying, ‘Success attend thee, my best son and best prophet.’

“Then he ascended to the second heaven, and knocked at the door. And after the same questions and salutations, he saw there Yahia and Isa; John Baptist and Jesus; who also saluted him, as ‘best brother and best prophet.’

“Then he ascended to the third heaven, where he saw the Patriarch Joseph, who saluted him in the same manner.

“Then he ascended to the fourth heaven, and saw Edris, Enoch, who saluted him in the same manner.

“Then he ascended to the fifth heaven, and saw Aaron, who saluted him in the same manner.

“Then he ascended to the sixth heaven, and saw Musa (Moses), who saluted him in the same manner. But when Mahomet approached him, Moses wept, saying: ‘A child is sent

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* The Caaba was supposed to have been first built by Ishmael, 2793 years before the Hegira, or B.C. 3415. Abulfeda.

† This Al Borak was evidently compounded of Abraham’s ass, Gen. xxii. 3, and the Simurgh, of Persian romance. Some of the commentators represent, that the ass was restive, (like Balaam’s ass) and kicked, and would not let Mahomet mount, until he had promised, *this day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*!
after me, of whose nation more will enter Paradise, than of my nation!"

"Then he ascended to the seventh heaven, and saw Ibrahim *(Abraham), who saluted him, as best son, and best prophet.

"Thence he was carried up to Sedrat, the Lotus tree, (corresponding to the tree of life, Gen. ii. 9,) where were the sources of the four rivers of Paradise; two inner, and the two outer, the Nile and Euphrates.

"Then he was taken to Al Mamur (the house of visitation), where seventy thousand angels daily assemble. There, three vessels of wine, milk, and honey, were brought to him; but he chose the milk, and was commended by Gabriel, for making the best choice for himself and for his nation.

At last he came to the throne of God, when he was enjoined to repeat fifty prayers every day. On his descent, Moses asked him: "What command he had received?" he answered: "To repeat fifty prayers a day." But Moses objected to such a burdensome number, and sent him back to pray for a diminution; which God therefore reduced, on the prophet's intercession, to forty: and at length, after repeated intercessions, by Moses' desire, to five. And when Moses still thought five too much, and wanted Mahomet to go back again; he declined, saying, that he had interceded so often, that he was ashamed to trouble God any more. So he bade farewell to Abraham, and prayed for his salvation. (This is evidently a parody of Abraham's intercession for Sodom, Gen. xviii. 23—33.)

And when he proceeded further, [or returned to the Caaba] the crier called him [to prayers]. "Thus," concluded Mahomet, "did I bring with me the prescribed number of prayers; and lessened the burden for my nation." Abulfeda, chap. 19. —These are at the dawn of day, noon, first afternoon, sunset, and two hours after.

This night journey is recorded in the Koran, chap. 17, with the following thanksgiving: "Praise be to Him who transported his servant by night, from the holy temple of Mecca, to the temple of Jerusalem."—The artful impostor stopped short at Jerusalem, on earth; not venturing to publish the particulars

* Some of the commentators, to please the Christians, by a pious fraud, substituted Jesus Christ for Abraham, in the seventh heaven, and say, that Mahomet commended himself to his prayers. But this is contrary to the whole tenor of the vision, which sets Mahomet above Christ and all preceding prophets.
of his journey to heaven, in the Koran itself; but he alludes thereto in the sequel, reciting the objections of the Koreishites, that he had no voucher but his own word for it, and requiring him to prove his revelation by miracles; either by causing a fountain of water to spring out of the ground, [like Moses], or letting them see God and his angels visibly; or mounting himself by a ladder to heaven, and bringing down a book that they could read, &c.

With great address, in the same chapter, he parried these demands of open miracles, as unnecessary for a Preacher, like himself. That even those of Moses did not work the conviction of Pharaoh, who treated him as an impostor, and the Jews also Jesus. That miracles had failed to convert the world, from the beginning, as in the days of the Patriarch Selah, the Themudeans; that miracles were designed rather to strike terror, and to punish, than to convince. And he warned them, that the vision of the night journey, with which God had favoured him, should be to them a subject of dispute and offence, by doubting thereof; like the accursed tree Zacoun, (described chap. 37.) growing in the bottom of hell, and bearing bitter fruit*; which should only increase the errors and the condemnation of the Infidels, who doubted, how shall this tree bear fruit in the flames of hell*? See Savary, Tom. I. p. 42; and Tom. II. p. 32, note.

When Mahomet told his journey to heaven, in a public meeting, he appealed to his father-in-law, Abubeker, to vouch it: and the credulous Abubeker declared, that if Mahomet affirmed it to be true, he verily believed the whole. Whence Mahomet honoured him with the title of Al Saddik, “the faithful witness.”

While the more intelligent people of Mecca were disputing about the vision, he made a rapid progress at Medina. Twelve of the citizens swore allegiance and obedience to the prophet of God, whence they were styled, Al Ansar, “the defenders or auxiliaries.” Hence the year A.D. 620, was styled the accepted year. And from “this most remarkable year” of the public mission of the false prophet, and his acceptance at Medina, may we date the commencement of the woeful period of persecution

* The deeply-learned Milton has transplanted this tree into his Pandemonium. Paradise Lost, B. I.
of the *faithful witnesses*, in the east, for 1260 years, foretold in *Daniel* and the *Apocalypse*. See Vol. II. p. 521, Vol. III. p. 616, of this work.

Next year, A.D. 621, the thirteenth of his mission, and second of his acceptance, his uncle, *Al Abbas*, was converted; and *Mahomet* tendered the oath of allegiance to seventy-three proselytes from *Medina*, at the mountain *Al Akaba*, "to defend him from all insult, as they defended their own wives and children." Then said they to the Apostle of God, "if we be slain in thy cause, what shall be our reward?" He answered, "Paradise." Then said they: "Stretch forth thy right hand;" and he did so; and they took the oath of obedience, promising rather to die than be perjured to God and his Apostle. *Abulfeda*, ch. 21.

This was confirmed to them in the *Koran*.

"The reward of them that die for the faith shall not perish. *God* shall be their guide; he shall approve their intention, and bring them into the garden of delights, of which he hath given them the description." Chap. 47, ver. 5.

"*God* hath secured the life and goods of the faithful. *Paradise* is their reward.——Rejoice in your covenant, it is the seal of your happiness." Chap. 9, ver. 112.

He now established twelve apostles of *Islamism*, vested with the same powers to discipline the people, as the apostles of *Jesus*; himself being the prime instructor, and chief of all the true believers; and he then sent away the auxiliaries, his followers, and his family, to *Medina*, for security; and remained behind himself at *Mecca*, attended only by *Abubeker* and *Ali*.

Hitherto, *Mahomet* had propagated his tenets by persuasion and argument, by patience and perseverance under insults and opposition. He now found himself strong enough to alter his measures, and turn persecutor himself; and accordingly began from this year to manufacture revelations in the *Koran*, empowering him to make war against all opposers.

"*God* hath permitted all who have received injuries, to resist; and he is powerful to defend them." Chap. xxii. ver. 9. This, according to the commentators, is the first passage in which *God* permitted *Mahomet* to take up arms in his defence, and was followed by others:

"O prophet, fight against the *Incredulous* and the *Infidels*;
treat them with severity. Hell shall be their frightful abode *." Chap. ix. ver. 74.

"Fight against them, till there be no more schism, and till the holy religion triumph universally." Chap. viii. ver. 42.

The Faithful are promised, moreover, the protection of the Holy Angels, and required not to fly in battle.

"God said to his Angels, I will be with you; encourage the believers; I will terrify the impious. Strike (ye believers) with your arms upon their heads; smite them on the feet and hands; spare none of them. Let them be punished for their schism against God and the prophet. Whoever shall separate himself from God and the prophet, shall find him terrible in his vengeance. Let them suffer the torment of fire prepared for the Infidels.

"O believers, when ye encounter the army of the enemy marching in order, betake not yourselves to flight. Whoever shall turn his back in the day of battle, unless it be to fight again, or to rally, shall incur the wrath of God, and shall have his abode in hell, the mansion of misery." Chap. viii.

THE HEGIRA, OR FLIGHT.

The establishment of Islamism at Medina, alarmed the unbelievers at Mecca. They held a council, in which they agreed to send a party of assassins, chosen out of all their tribes, to kill Mahomet in his house. But the prophet had early intelligence of their conspiracy, and prevented its execution, by a timely flight, at night, with Abubeker, leaving Ali behind, to personate Mahomet, wrapped up in his green cloak. The conspirators not having a commission to kill Ali, let him depart, when they found out their mistake. According to Abulfeda, chap. xxiv. when they surrounded the house, Mahomet sprinkled dust on their heads, and smote them with blindness, (as the Angels, the people of Sodom, Gen. xix. 11.) and passed through the midst of them, reciting the beginning of the 36th chapter of the Koran,—"We covered them [with dust] so that they could not

* Sale, who seldom fails to palliate the errors of the Koran, thus renders this verse:
"O, Prophet, attack the infidels with arms, and the hypocrites with arguments."—There is nothing like "arguments" in the original; and surely, hypocrites are unworthy of such. Mahomet consigned them to the seventh or lowest hell.
ANALYSIS OF

see," ver. 9. And the following passage of the Koran plainly alludes thereto: "While the infidels spread snares for thee, while they wished to seize thee, to put thee to death, or to expel thee, God, whose vigilance exceeds that of the plotter, counteracted their plots." Chap. viii.

To baffle pursuit, Mahomet avoided the direct road to Medina, and turned aside to a cave in Mount Tor, southward of Mecca, where he remained three days; on the fourth, he set out for Medina, along the coast of the Red Sea, with all speed, but was overtaken on the way by a select party of horse, headed by his enemy Soraka. "O Apostle of God," exclaimed Abubeker, "behold our persecutor! Fear not," said he, "God is with us!"

Then turning suddenly about, he shouted, Soraka! The horse, startled at this, or at his camel, stumbled, fell, and threw his rider, who was stunned by the fall, and instantly converted, by this prodigy, as he deemed it, so as to ask pardon, and interreat the Apostle of the Faithful to intercede with God for him. Mahomet kindly pardoned him, interceded for him, and dismissed him with a prophecy, if we believe Abulfeda; "O Soraka, how wilt thou behave when thou shalt put on the bracelets of Khosru Parviz!"—Which prophecy was accomplished, according to Jannabi, in the fifteenth year of the Hegira, A.D. 636, after the decisive battle of Kadeshia, in which Izdegird, the last king of Persia, was defeated, and his bracelet, belt, and diadem, which had belonged to Khosru Parviz, brought to the Caliph Omar, who rewarded Soraka therewith, for his valour, as a good Mussulman.

Mahomet owed this escape to his undaunted firmness and presence of mind, and confidence in his prophetic character, which were all likely to strike with awe a superstitious young man and his troop. Whether the donative to Soraka originated from the prophecy, (which could scarcely be unknown to Omar,) or the prophecy from the donative, coined after the event, does not appear. Be this as it may, Mahomet proceeded without further interruption to Medina, and entered that city in triumph. When the Ansars disputed the honour of lodging and entertaining the prophet, and took hold of the bridle of his camel, Mahomet desired them to let her take her own way, for she was a stubborn animal. Which she took accordingly, and stopped at the stable of two rich orphans, Sahali and Sohaili; where she bent her knee for the prophet to dismount. This spot he pur-
chased from the orphans*; after he had refused their offer to
bestow it, (like David the offer of Araunah the Jebusite, 2 Sam.
xxiv. 24,) and Abubeker paid the money. He then erected
thereon a mosque, and a habitation for himself, at which he
laboured with his own hands.

He now consummated his marriage with Aiesha, the daugh-
ter of the faithful and trusty Abubeker, when she was nine years
old, whom he had espoused after Khadijah's death.

To prevent schism between the two parties of his followers,
the Ansarians or auxiliaries of Medina, and the Mohagrians or
refugees of Mecca, he instituted an armed fraternity, or brother-
hood, which should cordially unite both under his dominion, in
the prosecution of his wars. He chose Ali as his own brother
in arms, and coupled the Ansarian and Mohagrian chieftains
in pairs: Abubeker with Hareja, Omar with Otban, &c. and he
cemented this military association by a verse of the Koran, chap.
iii. "Embrace the divine religion in all its extent. Form no
schism. Remember the blessings which heaven has showered
upon you. Ye were enemies; God has put concord in your
hearts. Ye are become brothers, render thanks to him for his
goodness."

This was the most politic of all his institutions; it extin-
guished the rising jealousies and contests for superiority, be-
tween his old and his new followers, that would otherwise have
ruined his plans. The leaders of the French revolution, who
were disciples of Savary, and, of course, "true Mussulmen," (as
Buonaparte boasted in his Mahometan manifesto, see Vol. III.
p. 621, of this work,) tendered the offer of their fraternity to
the revolutionists of other countries, copying Mahomet; and,
unhappily for the peace of Christendom, have been too suc-
cessful.

The artifices of Mahomet were more powerful than his arms.
We date the institution of this fraternity in the second year of
the Hegira, A.D. 623, with Abulfeda, p. 54.

In this year also, he appointed the anniversary fast, in the
seventh month Ramadan, signifying "burning," because in the
fixed solar year, which the Arabs ancietly used, it is the hottest

* Gagnier in his notes upon Abulfeda, and Savary, are anxious to vindicate Mahomet
from the calumny of Prideaux, that he robbed the orphans of this ground. This, indeed,
would neither have been consonant to justice nor sound policy, at the beginning of his
reign; nor to the example of his predecessor, David, the royal prophet.
month of the year. This was only the revival of the Mosaic
institution of the fast in the seventh month, before the great day
of atonement. The Mahometans date the commencement of
Mahomet's reign from the year of the Hegira, A.D. 622.

THE BATTLE OF BEDER.

In this remarkable battle, fought on the 17th day of Ramada
Dan, the same year, Mahomet with 313 foot, 2 horse, and 70
camels, defeated a body of a thousand Koreishites, escorting a
caravan of a thousand camels richly laden from Syria, and took
the whole. In this great victory, Mahomet lost only fourteen
soldiers, whom he directly dubbed martyrs; and, indeed, he
had the address to persuade his troops, that, at his intercession,
God had sent to their aid, in this battle, three thousand invis
ble angels. So that nothing could resist their enthusiasm.

This was soon confirmed by a revelation in the Koran. "On
the day of Beder, when thou (Mahomet) saidst to the believ
ers, Is it not sufficient that God should send you a succour of three
thousand angels? Doubtless, this number was sufficient; but
if ye had perseverance and piety, he would have caused five
thousand angels to fly to your aid." Chap. iii. and viii.

In the heat of the battle, when Mahomet saw the enemy
giving way, he took a handful of dust, and cast it toward them,
saying, Let their faces be confounded. He then exclaimed,
Charge the enemy!—Immediately they charged, with fresh
vigour, and the enemy fled. Ali, singly, slew seven idolaters
with his own hand.

This stratagem Mahomet repeated in the battle of Honain,
six years after, the most desperate he ever fought, when he and
his army were surrounded, in a narrow defile, by the enemy, and
with equal success. When he flung a handful of dust in the
faces of the idolaters, they were instantly put to flight. Abulfeda,
p. 58—115.

In such critical cases, Mahomet himself must have felt that
enthusiasm which he inspired. We cannot impute it wholly to
hypocrisy. His imagination was heated by his zeal against
idolatry, and we may conceive that he was ready, in this emer
gency, to draw a parallel between himself and the prophet
Elisha, when surrounded by a troop of Syrians sent to take
him, who was miraculously defended by chariots of fire and
horsemen of fire, or a host of angels invisible to mortal sight, and who prayed that God would blind the eyes of the enemy, so that he led them into the midst of Samaria, into the power of the king of Israel, 2 Kings vi. 14—22. He might also have compared himself to Christ, who, when surrounded by the officers of the high-priest sent to take him at Gethsemane, could have prayed the Father to send more than twelve legions of angels to his succour, Matt. xxvi. 53, but did not. There the comparison failed. Mahomet, indeed, like Simon Magus, after boasting that he was some great one, to the Arabs, might, at length, have persuaded himself that he was such, and deceived himself, while he deceived others. This is perfectly consistent with the deceitfulness of the human heart.

Mahomet treated the principal prisoners taken at Beder with severity. And he remained three days on the field of battle, to divide the spoils among his followers. A fifth part he reserved for himself.

To reward the valiant and faithful Ali for his services, Mahomet gave him in marriage his favourite daughter, Fatima, then fifteen. He ranked her among the four celebrated women, the wife of Pharaoh, the virgin Mary, his first wife Khadijah, and Fatima.

**BATTLE OF AHAD.**

Watchful, gradually to extend his dominions, Mahomet reduced several of the neighbouring Arab tribes, both Jewish and Pagan, by the secrecy and rapidity of his motions, attacking them separately and unprepared. He met, however, sometimes, a determined resistance. He was defeated by the Koreishites of Mecca, at Mount Ahad, through the insubordination of a reserve of archers, whom he had ordered not to quit their post. In this battle he was wounded himself in the mouth, and his front teeth broken, and his uncle Hamza was slain. He preserved, however, his usual presence of mind: "How can that people," said he, "prosper, who have stained with blood the face of their prophet?" And he manufactured a revelation from the angel Gabriel, on the spot, informing him, that "Hamza was written among the inhabitants of the seventh heaven, and honoured with the title of the lion of God, and the lion of his prophet." Abulfeda, p. 64—68.

13
In one of these expeditions, Mahomet, being fatigued, was sitting down to rest himself, at some distance from his army. A bold Gatfanite undertook to rid his country of this common enemy. He approached Mahomet, unarmed, and civilly asked permission to look at the prophet's rich sabre, which lay beside him. Having received it from his hands, he immediately unsheathed it, and was going to smite him. But, most fortunately for the prophet, as Abulfeda relates, God threw him down on the ground. Converted by this fall, and representing his attempt as only a feint to try his courage, he asked Mahomet, Were not you afraid of me? Who answered, Why should I be afraid of you! The intended assassin returned him his sabre. Then it was soon revealed from heaven: "O ye believers, render thanks to God, when the enemy meditated to stretch forth his hand against you. But God restrained his hands from you." Koran, chap. v. ver. 12.

Here Mahomet artfully exalted a natural occurrence into a divine interposition. The intended assassin might have been daunted by the composure of Mahomet, and might easily have stumbled and fallen, in his hurry and confusion; but considering this as an unlucky omen, he desisted from his purpose. At all events, it demonstrates the cool intrepidity of Mahomet.

**BESIEGED IN MEDINA.**

His ambitious views were early disclosed. A general confederacy of Jewish and Pagan tribes, assembled to besiege their common enemy, Mahomet, in Medina, who was not strong enough to face them in the field. He therefore determined to fortify the town with a deep trench, to stop their approach, and he laboured himself at the work. Having struck fire three times, with his hammer, against a rock, which he was endeavouring to remove, he was asked by Salman, a Persian friend, what these sparks portended? The first, says he, that God will reduce, by my arms, Arabia Felix; the second, Syria, and the west; and the third, the east." Abulfeda, p. 76.

**SENDS EMBASSIES TO FOREIGN STATES.**

Accordingly, Mahomet having subdued a great part of the idolatrous Arab tribes, and annihilated the Jewish, at length, in
the seventh year of the Hegira, A.D. 628, took upon him the state of a sovereign prince, and sent ambassadors to the neighbouring princes, Khosrou Parviz, Heraclius, &c. &c., exhorting them to embrace Islamism; not, indeed, with any prospect of success, but merely to seek a ground of quarrel from their refusal.

The haughty Persian monarch treated his embassy with contempt, and tore his letter, saying, *How dare my servant write to me?* When this was reported to Mahomet, he said, *God shall tear his kingdom.* Chosrou was not long after dethroned and put to death by his own son. There is no occasion, however, to erect this into a prophecy. The distracted state of Persia at this time might have suggested it.—The Roman emperor treated his letter with more respect. He read it and laid it upon his cushion.

His letter to the king of Abyssinia was remarkable for the declaration of his sentiments respecting Christ and the Virgin Mary, as recorded by Abd Elbahi.

*In the name of God, gracious and merciful:*

*Mahomet, Apostle of God,* to Naiashi Ashama, emperor of Abyssinia, Health.

*Glory be to God, the only God, holy, pacific, faithful, and the protector.*

I testify, that Jesus, the son of Mary, is the spirit of God, and his oracle; which God caused to descend into Mary, the blessed and immaculate virgin, and she conceived. He created Jesus of his spirit, and animated him with his breath; as he animated Adam. (Gen. ii. 7.)

"I call thee, on my part, to the worship of the only God; of God who has no equal, and who commands the powers of heaven and earth. Trust in my mission, follow me, be in the number of my disciples, I am the Apostle of God."

"I have sent into thy states my cousin Jafar, with some Mussulmans. Take them under thy protection, and prevent their wants. Lay aside the pride of a throne. I invite thee and thy legions to embrace the worship of the Supreme Being. My ministry is discharged; I have exhorted thee. Heaven grant that my councils may be salutary. Peace be with him who marches by the torch of the true faith."

The king of Abyssinia having received this letter, applied it
to his eyes, descended from the throne, seated himself upon the ground, pronounced the profession of Mussulman faith, and answered in this manner:

In the name of God, gracious and merciful.

To Mahomet, Apostle of God, Elnaiashi Ashama, Health.

Peace be with thee, Apostle of God! May he cover thee with his mercy, may he load thee with his blessings! There is no God, but he who led me to Islamism. O prophet, I have read the letter which thou hast sent me. What thou sayest of Jesus is the true belief. He himself added no more. I thereto call to witness the Sovereign of heaven and earth.

"I have attended to thy recommendation. Thy cousin and his companions have been received with honour in my estates. They have enjoyed therein the rites of hospitality. I testify that thou art the Apostle of God, true and real. I have taken the oath to thee, between the hands of Jafar; I have professed Islamism in his presence. I have devoted myself to the worship of the God of the Worlds. O prophet, I have sent unto thee my son Ariha: if thou commandest, I will go myself to render homage to the divinity of thy apostleship. I testify that thy words are truth."

The apostacy of this Christian prince was most highly gratifying to Mahomet.

* His extraordinary success in Abyssinia, produced a revelation in the Koran, favourable to the Christians, as contrasted with the Jews.

"The incredulous Jews have been cursed by the mouth of David, and of Jesus, son of Mary. Always rebellious and impious, they sought not to turn from their crimes. Confusion to their works! —

"Ye see them flock in crowds to join the Infidel party. Confusion to their crimes! God in his wrath will plunge them for ever into horrible torments! If they had believed in God, the Prophet and the Koran, they would not have sought their alliance: but the greatest part of them are perverted.

"Ye shall find the Jews and Idolaters the most violent enemies of the faithful; but among the Christians ye shall find men that are humane, and attached to the believers, because they have priests, and religious orders, devoted to humility. When they shall hear the reading of the Koran, ye shall see them weep for joy, of having known the truth: Lord, they will say, we believe. Write us in the number of those who bear witness! Why should not we believe in God, and in the truth which he hath revealed? Why should not we desire to have a place among the just?

"God hath heard their voice. He will give them for an everlasting habitation, the gardens of delights, watered with rivers. Such shall be the reward of the deserving; but the Infidels, and they who accuse our doctrine of lies, shall be plunged headlong into hell." Chap. v.
Haret, a prince of Arabia Petraea, whose dominions extended to the confines of Syria, did not send so favourable an answer to his requisition. "Return, said he to the ambassador, to thy master; I will carry my answer to him, shortly, myself." "May his kingdom perish," exclaimed Mahomet.—Such now, was the haughtiness and arrogance of this Pontifical Potentate in the east, strongly resembling that of his brother in the west, at this period, both equally antichristian in their principles and in their practices!

INVASION OF SYRIA.

A pretext for the invasion of Syria offered the eighth year, A.D. 629. Elharet, an ambassador whom he had sent to the sovereign of Bosra, in order to persuade him to embrace Islamism, was assassinated on the way, at Mouta, a town of Syria, near the head of the river Jordan, by Amrou, governor of the town under the emperor Heraclius. This little spark kindled a vast conflagration, that ravaged the east for eight hundred years, till the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. Mahomet instantly sent an army of three thousand men to Mouta, with orders for the inhabitants to embrace Islamism, or, on their refusal, to waste their territory with fire and sword. They were opposed by a hundred thousand men; but after a most obstinate and bloody engagement, in which the three generals appointed by Mahomet were successively slain, Zaid, Jafar, and Abdallah, the heroism of the fourth, Khaled, who then assumed the command, won the day. During the engagement, he broke no less than nine swords! and the generals who fell, equally signalized their valour. They counted fifty wounds, of the sword or lance, on the body of Jafar, all received in front. Such was the irresistible impetuosity of fanatics, whose watchword was "victory or martyrdom!"

When Mahomet received the account of this great victory, he assembled the people and said, "Zaid (his adopted son) who bore the standard of Islamism, at the head of the army, is fallen; Jafar, who then took it, is fallen; Abdallah, who succeeded, has suffered the same fate." At these words, the believers burst into tears. He was softened himself, but resuming his firmness, he added, "At length, a warrior, the sword of the swords of God, having seized the standard, forced victory to
declare for the Mussulmans."—"Weep no more," said he, "for Jafar; his lot is worthy of envy. God has given him a pair of wings, and he is making use of them to traverse the immense extent of the heavens, everywhere open to his wishes." Jan-nabi, Libokar.

THE CAPTURE OF MECCA.

Mahomet had long wished for an opportunity of reducing this refractory city under his dominion; but a ten years' peace, which he could not refuse them, some time before, restrained him. He therefore gladly seized the pretext of some violence offered by the Koreishites to his allies the Chozaites, in which some of the latter were slain, to invade that city so suddenly, with an army of ten thousand men, that he was at their gates before they had learned his departure from Medina. There was no choice, but of immediate surrender, or utter destruction. The Koreishites chose the former, and submitted to the stronger religion of Islamism. His hostile uncle, Abu Sofian, at their head, pronounced the double profession of faith, in the one God, and his prophet. Mahomet entered the city in triumph, repeating with a loud voice the following passage of the Koran:

"We have granted thee a signal victory. God hath pardoned thy sins, he hath completed his favours, and he will conduct thee in the path of justice. His protection is thy powerful shield," &c. Chap. xlviii.

He marched straightway to the temple, and his first care, (in imitation of Christ purging the temple of Jerusalem) was to throw down 360 idols, placed around its walls. He struck them with his cane, and said, "The truth hath appeared, falsehood is going to disappear, and shall shew itself no more"—"it is dispersed as a thin vapour." Koran, chap. xxxiv.

He then went in procession seven times round the temple, and he touched respectfully the black stone; entered the temple itself, and repeated the formulary, God is great, &c. and made his prayer, with two inclinations; went to the holy well Zem-zen, said to be discovered by the angel to Hagar, drank there of the holy water, and performed the ablution required.

After these religious ceremonies, he assembled the trembling Koreishites, and thus addressed them:

"There is but one God; he hath accomplished his promises,
and succoured his servant. He alone hath overthrown the enemies' battalions. He hath given me the dominion over you, and hath made use of my ministry to make you abjure idolatry. You must pay no more sacrilegious worship to our fathers, Abraham and Ishmael, who are men like us.”

Then turning to the citizens, who dreaded death or captivity, he said, What do you expect from me? How think ye that I will treat you? They answered, “Kindly, as a generous brother, as the son of a generous brother.” “Go then, said he, you are liberated, resume your freedom.” All the citizens came to take the oath of obedience to him. His inauguration took place on the hill Elsafa, where he was seated on an eminence, surrounded by his officers. Omar received from the men the oath of allegiance, that they would be faithful and obedient unto death; while the politic Mahomet himself took the oath of the women also, well knowing their powerful influence in every revolution, especially in Arabia.

However, he exempted from the general pardon, and proscribed, ten of the most obnoxious of his opposers, six men and four women, most of whom, notwithstanding, he graciously pardoned; among them, Henda, the wife of his uncle, Abu Sofian, who, with a cannibal brutality, after the battle of Ahad, had torn out and devoured the heart of the fallen Hamza, her brother in law! When he discovered her in disguise, she threw herself at his feet, saying, “I am Henda, forget the past; pardon me.” He pardoned her. Hobar, another of the proscribed, who had insulted Mahomet and his daughter, was pardoned, on turning Mussulman. “Islamism,” said he, “effaces all sins committed in the time of ignorance.” But he beheaded Al Nadhr, who had ridiculed the Koran, and said, “What else does Mahomet produce to you, but the fables of the ancients?” This was the blasphemy against the prophet, not to be forgiven.

Thus, by tempering the rigour of conquest with some popular acts of mercy, did this crafty reformer steal away the hearts of his high minded and impetuous countrymen: to whom he nominally granted freedom, because unused to bear the yoke, while he rivetted their chains, by the most imposing of all authorities, the sanctions of religion and superstition.

After a short absence of only nineteen days, he returned from the conquest of Mecca, to Medina, which he made the seat of his government: not chusing to trust himself at Mecca, which
had so long been hostile and disaffected; nor to give umbrage to his faithful and attached city of Medina, which formerly had been called Yathreb, but now Medina al nabi, “the city of the prophet,” or simply Medina. Abulseda, p. 60.

Mahomet employed the rest of this year in sending forth his armed missionaries to convert the remaining idolatrous tribes of Arabia in his neighbourhood, on the terms of Islamism, or slavery. Most chose the former. And the ninth year, A.D. 630, he received, most graciously, deputations from the remoter tribes, who had awaited the issue, and were intimidated by his successes, and especially by the capture of Mecca, and reduction of the Korishites; offering to submit to his government and embrace Islamism. Mahomet had prophesied this in the Koran; “When God shall send his succour and victory, you shall see the people eager to embrace Islamism.” Chap. cx. This wily reformer well knew how to work upon the ruling passions of mankind, their hopes and their fears.

SYRIAN CAMPAIGN.

He now resolved to put in execution his plans of distant conquest, beginning with Syria, that rich and powerful province; and he made preparations suitable to the greatness of the undertaking. His friends contributed largely thereto. Abubeker gave all his wealth to this holy war; Omar, half; El Abbas, large sums of money; Othman, a thousand crowns of gold, three hundred camels, for provisions, and a promise of maintaining three battalions during the campaign. Mahomet, therefore, set out, at the head of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horse, on the expedition, in the heat of summer; during which, they suffered extremely from thirst, in passing the burning sands. When they came to Hegr, a valley furnished with water, which had originally belonged to the Themudians, an ancient tribe, who were destroyed by God for their infidelity, he would not taste himself, nor allow his army to taste of the accursed waters; but covered his face with his mantle, and galloped through the valley, to shew the conformity of his own conduct to his doctrine, and to prove his ascendancy over his troops.

In the course of this campaign, he accepted the submission of the Christian states on the confines of Syria, and did not insist on their embracing Islamism. He only imposed on them a tri-
bute. This was sound policy. His first object was to detach them from the Roman emperor, without wounding their religious prejudices. They were not yet ripe for Islamism *.

But on his return to Medina, he encreased his severity against the Idolaters, and absolutely prohibited all such from making the pilgrimage to Mecca, or any stranger from entering the Caaba, on pain of death. This pilgrimage was enjoined to Mussulmans, in the Koran, "Perform the pilgrimage of Mecca, and visit the temple, in honour of God." Chap. ii.

These were regulations of profound policy. He retained the pilgrimage to Mecca, which had been of ancient standing, among the descendants of Abraham and Ishmael; and though he destroyed their images at Mecca, as objects of idolatrous worship, he carefully retained the holy relics of the black stone, and the impression of Abraham's foot. While the privilege of visiting these was, for the future, exclusively confined to the Mussulmans, by a decree of the Koran—"O ye believers! the idolaters are impure, let them no more approach the temple of Mecca, after this year." Chap. ix. This, we may be assured, contributed to propagate Islamism among the superstitious, not less than his arms among the timorous. The petty princes of Arabia Felix now followed his example; they pulled down the altars of their gods, destroyed their idols, and professed their submission to the true religion, and their zeal against idolatry. He then wisely sent two legates, or lieutenants, to preside in that rich province; Abu Musa, whom he appointed to reside at Aden, and his intimate friend, Moadh, at Jaad. When the latter was departing, Mahomet, to do him honour, helped him to mount his mule, and attended him a considerable way on foot. Moadh, confused at this condescension, wished to alight, but the prophet prevented him: "Think not," said he, "that I degrade my dignity; I accomplish the decree of Heaven, and gratify myself. He that is invested with authority ought to be honoured. Alas!" said he, sighing, "this is the last time I shall converse with you; we shall meet no more till the day of the resurrection." They shed tears at parting, and for the last time.

Jannabi, p. 273.

* His policy in this case, appears from the Koran. "We have accepted the alliance of Christians; but they have forgotten a part of our commandments. We have sown among them discord and hatred, which shall not be extinguished till the day of the resurrection. Soon God will shew them what they have done." Chap. v.
Mahomet's health had been on the decline, for three years past, ever since he was poisoned at the castle of Khaibar, by Zainah, a Jewess, in some roast mutton, to revenge the death of her brother, and the capture of the place; though he instantly spit out the meat, saying, *This sheep tells me she was poisoned!* Abulfeda, p. 92. He now set out from Medina, in the tenth year of the Hegira, A.D. 631, on a most solemn and pompous pilgrimage to Mecca, attended by all his wives *, and an immense multitude of pilgrims, ninety thousand, according to some writers, 114,000, according to others. There, he scrupulously performed all the prescribed rites and ceremonies, and did not forget to kiss the *black stone* twice, at the beginning and end of his seven processions round the temple. He sacrificed, with his own hands, sixty-three victims, and liberated sixty-three slaves, in thanksgiving for each year of his life; and he shaved his head, and scattered his hair among the people, which was eagerly caught and preserved as a relic. *Khaled*, the warrior, collected a portion of it, which he fixed in his turban; and attributed to *this blessed turban* his ensuing victories. Abulfeda, p. 131. Though an enemy to idolatry, *Mahomet* artfully countenanced superstition. He closed the solemnity with the following declaration, as if from Heaven, which formed the conclusion of the whole Koran. *"Henceforth, wretched and miserable shall they be, who deny your religion. Fear not them; but fear Me: This day, I have perfected your religion, and completed my grace toward you. I have willed that Islamism be your religion."* Chap. v. ver. 4. He now established the lunar moveable year of 354 days, and forbad its reduction to the solar, by intercalary months. He also prohibited any alteration of the *four sacred* months, the first, seventh, eleventh and twelfth, during which it was not lawful to *make war*, which it had been customary among the *Arabs* to evade by changing. He allowed them, however, to *resist* the *Infidels* at all times, when attacked. Chap. ix.

* After Khadijah's death, *Mahomet* married fifteen wives, of whom nine survived him. He had eight children by Khadijah, four sons and four daughters, who all died before him, except Fatima. He had not any children by the rest, except a son, Ibrahim, by a concubine, Mary the Copt, who died shortly before him.
When the whole solemnity was over, Mahomet, as supreme Pontiff, or Iman, dismissed the people with a farewell, the last, he foretold, that he should give them. Whence this derived its name of the Farewell Pilgrimage. Abulfeda, p. 132.

THE DEATH OF MAHOMET.

Early in the eleventh year of the Hegira, A.D. 632, Mahomet fell sick, and lingered for thirteen days, according to Eutychius, during which he kept up the part he had acted through life, with perfect consistency. Notwithstanding the violence of his fever, and the sharpness of his pains, he planned another expedition into Syria, which he consigned to the command of Ocama, the son of Zaid, who had been slain in the former. And when he put the standard of Islamism into his hands, he said, "Take arms for the cause of God; fight valiantly the holy war; put the Idolaters to the edge of the sword."

When his only surviving daughter Fatima came to visit him, he made her sit down beside him, and whispered in her ear, "Gabriel usually appeared to me once a year before; but he has visited me twice this year. I shall see him no more till the moment of my departure from this world: That time is not far off; and I am rejoiced to go before you." Fatima melted into tears. Seeing this, he endeavoured to console her: "My daughter, why do you abandon yourself to sorrow? Ought you not rather to rejoice at being the Princess of the Faithful, the first of your nation?" Fatima smiled. She did not long survive her father. Abulfeda, p. 134.

The same day, notwithstanding his malady, he went to the mosque, leaning on the arms of Fadl and his son-in-law Ali; and there, like Moses, (Numb. xvi. 16) made public protestation, after prayer, of his innocence, to the people. "If I have scourged any man's back [unjustly] to, here is my back; let him inflict thereon an equal number of stripes. If I have injured any man's character, by reproach or calumny, let him injure mine likewise. If I have taken any man's money unjustly, here is my purse, let him take as much. Let none be afraid of incurring my hatred or enmity; for this is contrary to my disposition and character."—Here, a man claimed a debt of three drachms, as due to him. Mahomet immediately paid it, with interest, saying: "The disgrace of this world is easier to be
 borne, than the disgrace of the next.—**God gave one of his servants the choice of this world or of heaven. He chose heaven.**” Then said Abubekr, weeping, “We have given thee all authority over our souls!” Abulfeda, p. 135.

His last mandates were delivered to the Ansars of Medina.
1. **Expel the idolaters from the Peninsula of Arabia.**
2. **Permit proselytes to enjoy the same privileges as yourselves.**
3. **Be constant in prayer.**
He ended with a curse against the Jews, recorded by Aiesha.
4. **God curse the Jews; for they converted the sepulchres of their prophets into temples.** (Matt. xxiii. 29.) Aiesha added: “If he had not prohibited it under a curse, his own tomb would have scarcely escaped from being converted into a temple, in imitation of theirs.”

He went regularly to public prayers at the mosque during his illness, till the last three days; then he directed that Abubekr should act as Iman, and perform prayer to the people. Abulf. p. 136.

To Aiesha, his favourite wife, (to whose house he desired to be removed, and who attended him during his sickness,) he complained of the fatal effects of the poison administered to him at Khaibar; which probably contributed to encrease his hatred to the Jews, and to produce the preceding inveterate curse. According to her account, in his last moments, he put his hand into a basin of water that stood beside his bed, and sprinkled his face, and said: “**O God, pardon me, and pity me, and admit me into the society of heaven.**”

When he expired, the people without could not believe it. **The prophet, said they, is not dead, but is translated like Jesus.** And the ferocious Omar, blinded and transported by his zeal, joined them; he exclaimed, **Mahomet, the prophet of God, is not dead, as the infidels declare, but is gone to his Lord; like Moses, the son of Amram, who was absent from his people forty days, and then returned to them again.** And he threatened to cut off the hands and feet of any man that should say he was dead!

However, when his belly began to swell, and symptoms of putrefaction appeared, **Al Abbas, his uncle, came forth to the multitude, and declared, By the only God, Mahomet, the Apostle of God, has most certainly tasted death.**
He was wrapped in perfumes, and buried on the fourth day, according to his own directions, in a grave made under the place where he lay. *Abulfeda, p. 141.*

Thus lived, and thus died, the most extraordinary and consummate deceiver that ever appeared, perhaps, on the stage of the world; who acted his part throughout uniformly and consistently, from first to last, steady to his principles; and, though he lived not the life of the righteous, seemed to die the death of the righteous, in the serenity and composure with which he departed. His acknowledged celebrity, and the wide spread of the religion which he founded, not inferior to that of Christianity *at the present day, demand a candid and critical sketch of his character and doctrines, equally removed from the partialities of Mahometan, and the prejudices of Christian historians.*

**CHARACTER OF MAHOMET.**

*Mahomet* was endued, by nature and education, with all the talents and attainments requisite to frame and to conduct a deep-laid and comprehensive scheme of political religion. To a fine person, insinuating address, captivating eloquence, skill in the most polished dialect of the Arabic language, the Koreish, and extensive information, derived from his travels and his studies, he joined an ardent spirit, a bold, intrepid, enterprising disposition, and promptness of decision, that led him to undertake the most daring attempts; a coolness and steadiness, patience and perseverance, to carry him through, not to be baffled or deterred from his purpose by insult and opposition, difficulty and danger; a thorough knowledge of mankind, and an astonishing ascendancy over his fiery and superstitious countrymen, the Arabs, whom he moulded to his will, by humouring their leading passions, and by forging the most audacious revelations from heaven, to support his imposture.

Other impostors, before *Mahomet*, and after him, equally assumed the Apostolical character, as prophets sent from God, to reform the world, but not with equal success. *Mani* and Mazdek had preceded him in Persia, and gained proselytes, but *Mahomet* was a profounder politician than either. The doc-

*Brerewood, p. 79, computes, that if the habitable world be divided into thirty equal parts, the Christians will be found in possession of five parts, the Mahometans of six, and the Idolaters of nineteen.*
trines of *Mani* were too philosophical and mystical for ordinary capacities, and too severe and rigid for popular reception; the principles and practices of *Mazdek* too licentious and levelling to gain the approbation of the upper ranks in society, who had property to lose. While *Mani* arrogantly denied the authority of the Old Testament entirely, and impeached the authenticity of the New, by accusing it of adulteration, either by interpolations, or by omissions, *Mahomet*, more cunningly, professed to reverence both, to introduce no new religion, but to restore the primitive religion of *Abraham*, and to reform the corruptions that had crept into the *Mosaical* and *Christian*. This was a specious lure to gain over *Pagans*, *Jews*, and *Christians*, by persuasion.

The age and country in which *Mahomet* broached his imposition, were both peculiarly favourable to its propagation.

*Arabia*, at this time, had shaken off the *Persian* yoke, and was a populous and flourishing country. Its numerous and independent tribes were in that early state of progressive civilization, when they are perhaps most powerful, brave, hardy, and untainted by luxury, and they were split into a variety of religions and sects. Among the native *Arab* tribes, the most prevalent was the *Zabian* Idolatry, from the days of *Job*. The *Magian* superstition was imported from *Persia*; there were also considerable colonies of *Jews* settled in Arabia, who had debased the Law of *Moses* by their vain traditions and Talmudic legends; and *Christianity* got an early footing there, even from the day of *Pentecost*, in which "*Arabians*" are noticed among the first-fruits of the Church; but it was corrupted, likewise, by the influx of *Christian* refugees from the persecutions of the *Roman* emperors and *Persian* kings, bringing with them their several heresies, among which, the *Jacobite*, introduced by *Jacob*, a *Syrian*, about the close of the sixth century, was the most prevalent. The *Jacobites* held the *single nature* of *Jesus Christ*, and denied the double, the divine, and human, as subsisting in his person.

Such an unconnected and divided state of the country, in respect of government and of religion, was highly favourable to *Mahomet*'s innovations in both. Had the several powerful and independent tribes of that extensive peninsula been united and consolidated under one commonwealth, or monarchy, his daring project would have been crushed in embryo, by the vigorous arm
of the state; unlike Christianity, which had to contend with the united opposition of thrones and potentates, able and willing alike to persecute. Or had one common system of national faith prevailed in Arabia, the mass of the people would have joined the more intelligent Koreishites of Mecca, in resisting the subversion of their established religion.

This was clearly evinced by the fate of his competitors, who set up for prophets likewise. Al Aswad, Mosailama, and Taliha. The first, nicknamed Aihala, "the fickle," who apostatized from Islamism, in the space of four months, reduced great part of Yemen to his principles, and to his obedience; but was assassinated, by Mahomet's contrivance, on the very day he died himself. The second, whom he nicknamed "the liar," collected very numerous followers; but was defeated, the year after, by Khaled, in the first year of Abubekr's Caliphat, and the false prophet himself, and ten thousand of his troops, were slain in the field. And the third, having raised a considerable party, was routed by Khaled likewise; but renounced his errors, and returned to his allegiance, in the reign of Omar, the second Kaliph. Elmacin. Hist. Sar. p. 16.

These are curious and important facts. They tend to lessen our wonder at Mahomet's success, by shewing how ripe the Arabs, at that time, were for innovations in religion and government, and how zealously they abettred other daring impostors, who wanted the profound policy and the advantageous opportunities of Mahomet.

The rest of the world was also in a situation equally favourable for his ambitious views of universal dominion, which he so early formed, and avowed to his confidential Persian friend.

The mighty Persian and Roman empires, which, at an earlier period, would singly and jointly have opposed his impudent invitations to embrace Islamism, and have crushed his armed missionaries, were both on the decline, and verging fast to ruin: the former, distracted and convulsed by intestine divisions; the latter, harassed and inundated by fierce barbarian hords; and both, weakened and exhausted by their incessant and bloody wars, and incursions into each other's dominions, which drained them of men and money, lay panting and defenceless, an easy prey to the irresistible fury and impetuosity of "the swords of God," when wielded by such able generals, and such ferocious armies, as those of Khaled, Omar, and their successors, who
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overran the eastern, and part of the western world, with a rapidity altogether astonishing.

With all these singular advantages, the rapid conquests of Mahomet and the Khalifs, and the speedy progress of Islamism, are by no means surprising, nor should they irrelevantly or invidiously be drawn into comparison with the rejection of Christ by the Jews, and the slow progress of Christianity: Mahomet's kingdom was of this world, and his servants fought strenuously to advance it; Christ's kingdom was not of this world, and his followers forsook, or betrayed Him!

Light and darkness, indeed, were not more opposite than Christ and Mahomet. It is no wonder, therefore, that a sensual and corrupt world loved darkness more than light, because their deeds were evil; more congenial to the Koran of Mahomet, than to the Gospel of Christ. The pure and holy Jesus, who did no sin, nor was guile found in his mouth, who went about doing good to the souls and bodies of men, by his beneficent miracles, and still more salutary doctrines, nobly and boldly challenged his enemies to impeach his moral character if they could, Which of you convicteth me of sin? And even his betrayer and his persecutors bore testimony to "the innocent blood" of "the Son of God," "the righteous Son of Man."

On the contrary, boundless ambition, and unbridled lust, cloaked under the most consummate and presumptuous hypocrisy, possessed, like fiends, the heart of Mahomet. He was indeed a true son of Belial. "None but great souls can be completely wicked:" little souls want the ability to contrive, and to execute splendid mischief, upon a great scale.

Mahomet wore the mask of sanctity and mortification, while he was preparing his imposture, and establishing his reputation as an Apostle of God, and a reformer of the world. But when his mission was acknowledged by some of the principal citizens of Mecca, and by the Ansars of Medina; and when his lying journey to heaven was vouched by the credulous Abubekr, that "faithful witness," and his deluded followers became disposed to swallow the greatest impieties and absurdities, implicitly surrendering to him all authority over their souls, their senses, and their understandings; he quickly threw off the mask, and broke through all the restraints that Prudence and Policy had hitherto laid on his impetuous passions, and went about as a raging and
roaring lion, seeking whom he might devour, among men, by his wide and wasting ambition; among women, by his unbridled lust. And with the most matchless effrontery, and most daring impiety, he deliberately brought down pretended revelations from heaven, to sanction his lies, and pander to his vices!

Mahomet at first temporized with the Jews. To flatter them, he stopped at Jerusalem, in his pretended journey to heaven; he directed his votaries, at first, to pray with their faces toward Jerusalem, as the mother church; and he placed Moses in the sixth heaven, higher than Jesus, in the fourth; but when he found that they were neither to be seduced nor driven into Islamism, he resolved to extirpate them, and to plunder their great wealth, and seize their territories; in all which he succeeded, after many severe and bloody conflicts with that warlike and stubborn race.

The Koraidite Jews, in particular, possessed a strong fortress, and great substance. In the fifth year of the Hegira, therefore, A.D. 626, he counterfeited an order from Gabriel to invade them. After a siege of twenty days, they were unwisely induced by his emissaries to surrender at discretion. He artfully referred the decision of their fate to Saad, prince of the Ausites, their confederates, wishing to throw the blame of their massacre from off himself; and they unguardedly agreed to abide by his judgment, as a friend, from whom they might expect favour. But he, suborned by Mahomet, (we may be assured) cruelly and perfidiously sentenced the men to be slain, the women and children to be enslaved, and their goods to be confiscated. Instantly, Mahomet, with savage delight, exclaimed, Surely thou hast judged a judgment, come down from the top of the seven heavens, from the most high God himself! Accordingly, he sent off all the men to Medina, in chains, to be kept there until his return, confined in pits, which he ordered to be dug for their prisons, like wild beasts; and on his return, some time after, (not in the heat of battle, not exasperated by losses, for he lost but one man at the siege) he, with the most cool and deliberate malice and cruelty, sent his executioners, who beheaded seven hundred men in the pits; after he had divided the captive women, and children, and goods, among his followers, and reserved a fifth part of the spoils for his own use; and for his own bed, Rishana, the daughter of a chieftain, and the most beautiful of the Koraidites; whom he kept as his concubine, till his
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dead. After repeated refusals on her part, he prevailed on her, at length, to profess Islamism *

Can we then wonder at the righteous retaliation, when a Jewish heroine was found, at Khaíbar, to poison this miscreant!

To crown all, God himself is blasphemously introduced in the Koran, as commending this diabolical massacre.

"God compelled the Jews, who succoured the Idolaters, to come down from their citadel. He cast dismay into their souls. Ye killed a part of them [in cold blood], and ye carried the rest into captivity. He gave you their houses, their lands, and their riches, for a heritage. Ye possess a country, which your footsteps had not entered into before. The power of God is infinite." Chap. xxxii.

This is evidently a hypocritical parody of Moses' warning to the Israelites, after the extermination of the Canaanites, devoted by the divine decree. Deut. vi. 10—12, &c.

Indulging the sensuality of his countrymen, Mahomet licensed polygamy and concubinage, in the Koran: "Beware of being unjust to your wives. Marry two, three, or [at the utmost] four. Choose those you like. If you cannot render them their dues, take only one, or else confine yourself to your slaves [or concubines]. This prudential conduct will enable you to render them their dues, and to portion your wives more easily." Chap. iv.

But he assumed an unlimited indulgence for himself:

"O prophet, we have permitted thee to marry the women whom thou hast portioned; the captives, whom God hath put into thine hand; the daughters of thy uncles and aunts, by father's and mother's side, who fled with thee from Mecca; and any other faithful woman, who shall give thee her heart. This is a peculiar privilege which we grant thee!" Chap. xxxiii.

Not satisfied with this ample dispensation, he cast his incontinent eyes on Zeinab, the beautiful wife of Zaid, his freedman and adopted son, in the same year, A.D. 626; and exclaimed, in admiration of her charms, in her hearing, as she passed by, Praised be God, the changer of hearts!——This hint was suf-

* The learned and sensible Abulfedæa gives the outlines of this tragic tale, without comment or censure, p. 79. Savary palliates the cruelty of Mahomet, by representing the massacre of the Jews as immediately following the decision of their treacherous umpire, Tom. i. p. 107, 108; whereas it was some time after. He attributes Rishana's conversion to female vanity.
icient: Zaid complaisantly repudiated his wife; and after the legal time, the prophet took her to his bed, and made a most sumptuous marriage feast on the occasion.

This marriage, however, was looked on as incestuous, and gave great offence to several of the believers, which was removed by the following revelation, approving the deed:

"When thou (Mahomet) saidst to Zaid*, Take to thee thy wife, and fear God; thou didst conceal in thy mind, what God intended to manifest, [namely, thy love toward Zeinab.] And thou didst fear men, [or, to incur public scandal]; but thou shouldst rather fear God. When Zaid, therefore, divorced her, we (God) joined her to thee in marriage; in order that the Faithful might no longer scruple to marry the wives of their adopted sons, after their repudiation." Chap. xxxiii. ver. 36.

If ever there was a finished hypocrite, possessed of the most audacious and shameless effrontery, it surely was Mahomet, whose God was his belly, who gloried in his shame, who minded earthly things, under the garb of sanctity and religion!

The whole range indeed of sacred and profane history, does not exhibit such a gigantic rebel, from the days of Nimrod, as the Arabian, who, in allusion to his assumed title of the Prophet of God †, seems to be designated by that of "the false prophet," in the Apocalypse. Rev. xix. 20; xx. 10.

It has been alleged by his admirers, Gagnier, Sale, Savary, &c. that Mahomet made no pretensions to the power of working miracles; but this is not true. He aped both Moses and Christ, as far as he durst, in lying wonders, which could not easily be detected. He was too cunning indeed, to appeal to overt, or visible miracles, like them, as the test of his divine mission, for fear of exposing himself to disgrace and ridicule, by the absurd attempt; but he did delude his followers, with repeated assurances of the aid of invisible hosts of angels, in his battles, as we have seen; he blinded their eyes and their understandings, in throwing dust at his enemies for their discomfiture. He cured his son-in-law of a pretended ophthalmia, by anointing Ali's eyes with his spittle, in imitation of Christ:

* It has been remarked, that Zaid is the only one of Mahomet's disciples noticed in the Koran. His base resignation of his wife to the prophet's lust, entitled him to this ignominious distinction, immortalizing his infamy.

† "He said—I am a prophet also—and an angel spake to me by the Oracle of the Lord.—But he lied." 1 Kings xiii. 18.
and when his troops were distressed for water, near Mecca, he desired a man to strike a spear into the bottom of a dry well; upon which water gushed out in abundance; like Moses bringing water, by a stroke of his rod, from the rock at Massah and Meribah. These Abulfeda reckons among "the authentic miracles of Mahomet," p. 85, 89.

How thoroughly and completely he deceived others, his whole history evinces; how fatally he deceived himself, the calmness and composure of his death declares. He was indeed a frightful instance of the deceitfulness and desperate wickedness of the human heart, in the presumptuous and obdurate sinner, who is habituated to resist the warnings of conscience, and the means of grace; to grieve the Spirit, and to quench the Spirit. The conscience of such becomes at length seared, as with a hot iron; and, by a judicial infatuation, the most awful and tremendous, God at length blinds his understanding, and hardens his heart; by delivering him up to a reprobate (or undiscerning) mind, to work all uncleanness with greediness, and without remorse*; like Pharaoh and the Egyptians, Judas and the Jews.

THE SPIRIT OF ISLAMISM.

Islamism, as exhibited in the Koran, is a motley compound of Judaism and Christianity, Magism and Zabiism, collected at sundry times, and divers occasions, without any order or method, from the Old and New Testament, from the Talmudic Legends, and Apocryphal Gospels† then current in the east, and from the traditions and fables of oriental romance, which abounded in Arabia ‡.

The Koran is not seldom extolled for the sublimity of its doctrines, the goodness of its precepts, and its conformity with the primitive patriarchal religion, by its admirers both in the

* Stupet hic vitio, et fibris increvit opimum
Pingue—nec sit quid perdat, et alto
Demersus, summa rursus non bullit in undâ!

† Such as the histories of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Enoch and Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Ithmael, Moses and Pharaoh, Saul, David and Solomon, Ezra, Infancy of Christ, and Virgin Mary, &c.

‡ Such as the Seven Sleepers, the martyrs under Decius, the Persian romances, &c. whose Genies, &c. Mahomet has introduced into the Koran.
east and in the west. The Mussulmans represent it as a
miracle, or prodigy, affording internal evidence of its divine
origin, by the unrivalled excellence of its composition.

Lebid, a celebrated poet, affixed upon the gate of the temple
of Mecca, as a general challenge, against the next meeting of
the Ocadh assembly, a distich, or couplet of verses, which was
thought so sublime, that none would hazard a competition
therewith; till Mahomet, at length, placed beside it the open-
ing of the second chapter of the Koran. Lebid no sooner read
it, than conceiving it to be something more than human, or
inspired, he tore down his own verses; and from being a deter-
mined enemy to the new religion, became immediately one of
the prophet's firmest and most powerful friends. The second
chapter begins thus:

"There is no doubt respecting this book (the Koran)
It is the rule of them that fear the Lord,
Of them who believe its sublime truths,
Who do pray, and pour into the bosom of the poor
A portion of the goods we have given them;
Of them, who believe the doctrine sent thee from heaven,
And the Scriptures; who are firmly attached
To the hope of the life to come:
The Lord will be their guide, and happiness their lot."

The same chapter contains the following deservedly admired
description of the attributes of the Deity. The Mahometans
usually engrave it on the precious stones that ornament their
dress:

"God is the only God, the living, and the eternal;
Sleep approacheth Him not.
He possesseth all things in heaven and upon the earth,
Who can intercede with him without his will?
He knoweth what hath been before the world,
And what will be after.
Men know nothing of his supreme Majesty,
But what he is pleased to teach them.
His lofty throne encompasseth heaven and earth.
He supporteth them without labour.
He is the great God, the most high God."

This is evidently a tissue from the Scriptures.
The unity of the most high, or supreme God, is taught

* These advantageous specimens of the Koran, are given from Savary's French trans-
lation, Vol. I. p. 2—36. Sale's English is greatly inferior, in correctness and ele-
gance. Professor White should not have copied the latter in his Bampton Sermons,
p. 247.
in the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT, Gen. xiv. 22; Deut. vi. 4; Mark xii. 39; John xvii. 3. His creation of the heavens and earth, Gen. i. 1—3. Rev. iv. 11. His self-existence and eternity, Deut. v. 26; Ps. xc. 2; cii. 24—27; Dan. vii. 13; Rev. i. 4. His grant of redemption and intercession, Job xix. 25; Gen. vi. 8; Ezek. xiv. 14; 1 John ii. 1. His immensity, omnipotence, wisdom, and incomprehensibility, Job xi. 7—9; xxiii. 3—10; Ps. cxxxix. 1—11; 1 Kings viii. 27; Rom. xi. 33—36. His unremitting vigilance, Ps. cxxi. 3—4; Prov. xv. 3; Matt. vi. 4. And all these, described with infinitely greater sublimity and grandeur. The Koran, indeed, has no claim to originality. Whatever is good in it is derived from HOLY WRIT: Its tameness, tedious repetitions, and disgusting egotism, from Mahomet.

The Koran records the angel Gabriel's annunciation to the virgin Mary, and the miraculous conception of Jesus. It styles him, "the word of God," or oracle, "the Messiah," "great in this world, and in the world to come," "the Counselor of the Most High," Chap. 3. This is evidently taken from the prefaces of Luke's and John's gospels, and from Isaiah, vii. 14: ix. 6. But it is disgraced by absurd and lying additions, borrowed from the spurious gospel of the Infancy of Jesus: How, when his mother was taxed by her relations with incontinence, she appealed to Jesus, then lying in his cradle, to clear her innocence; when, to their great astonishment he said to them, "I am the servant of God. He hath given me the gospel, and ordained me a prophet. His blessing shall attend me everywhere.—Peace was given me on the day of my birth; and it shall attend my death and resurrection," chap. 3 and 19.

But the Koran elsewhere inconsistently denies his death.

"The Jews have said, We killed Jesus, the Messiah, the son of Mary, the ambassador from God. But they did not kill him, they did not crucify him. A phantom deceived their rage. They who dispute about it, have nothing but doubts; true knowledge enlighteneth them not. The (Jews) did not kill Jesus: God took him to himself, (like Enoch, Gen. v. 24,) because He is powerful and wise. All the Jews and Christians shall believe on him before their [second] death*: he shall witness against

* Maracci, in his edition of the Koran, and Sale in his English translation, p. 79, read and render, "before his death," ambiguously denoting either the death of Jesus, or the death of each Jew and Christian. The former opinion is untenable, as Mahomet
them at the day of resurrection.—Against the Jews for rejecting him as the Messiah; against the Christians, for calling him a God, and the Son of God.” Chap. 4. Mahomet followed the Gnostics and Docetae, and Manicheans, who denied the suffering of Christ.

But Mahomet expressly and repeatedly denied in the Koran that Jesus was a God, and the Son of God, like the Jews, John v. 18; x. 33.

“Jesus in the sight of the most High was a man like Adam. Adam was created from dust: God said, Be thou, and he was,” chap. 3.

“O ye (Christians) who have received the Scriptures, exceed not the bounds of faith: say nothing but the truth, of God. Christ is the son of Mary, the ambassador of the most High, and his oracle. He caused him to descend into Mary; he is his spirit. Believe in God and in his apostles. Say not that there is a Trinity of persons in God. He is one. This belief will be more serviceable to you [in the day of judgment.] Far from having a son, he alone ruleth heaven and earth. He is sufficient of himself;” [without any coadjutor.] chap. iv.

“They who say that Christ, the son of Mary, is a God, are Infidels:—they utter blasphemy. Did he not say himself, O children of Israel, worship God, my Lord, and your Lord! Whosoever shall give an equal to the most High, shall never enter the garden of delight, his abode shall be hell fire. The reproved shall have no further relief to expect.”—“Thus shall ye answer them, Who could stop the arm of the Lord if he chose to destroy the Messiah, Mary his mother, and all created beings?” chap. v.

“After the prophets, we sent Jesus, son of Mary, to confirm the Pentateuch. We gave him the Gospel, which is the torch of the faith, and sets the seal to the truth of the ancient Scriptures. This book enlightens and instructs those who fear the Lord,” chap. v.

Mahomet claimed the testimony of Moses to himself, as the prophet like Moses, Deut. xviii. 15—18. And the following of Christ.

“I am the apostle of God, said Jesus, the son of Mary, to supposed Jesus to have been translated to heaven; and the latter also, if referred to the natural death of each Jew and Christian. It can only be true of them after the general judgment; as in Rev. i. 7, after the first resurrection.
the Jews. I came to confirm the truth of the *Pentateuch*, which was before me; to announce unto you the propitious coming of a *prophet* who shall follow me: *Ahmed* * is his name," chap. lxi.

This spurious prophecy seems to have been taken from the *Apocryphal Gospel of Barnabas*, a work originally forged by some *heretical* Christians, and interpolated to support the pretensions of *Mahomet*.

In this Gospel *Jesus* is represented on his trial before the *Jewish* council, speaking thus to the high priest,

"I am *Jesus* of Nazareth, born of *Mary*, of the stock of *David*, a mortal man, who fear God, and seek his honour and glory.

"The high priest said, It is written in the book of *Moses*, that *God* is to send the *Messiah*, who will come and declare the truth, and bring mercy with him. Tell us therefore, *art thou the Messiah* whom we expect? Jesus said, It is true that God so promised, but *I am not he*, for he was created before me.

"The high priest said—Tell us how the *Messiah* will come? Jesus answered, As God liveth, *I am not that Messiah* which the tribes of the earth wait for; as God promised by our father *Abraham*, saying, *In thy family will I bless all tribes*; (Gen. xxii. 18). But when God shall take me out of the world, *Satan* will again promote this cursed apostacy, making the wicked believe that *I am the Son of God*. My words and my doctrine shall be corrupted, insomuch that *scarce thirty* faithful shall be found. But my consolation is in the coming of the *messenger of God*, who shall destroy all false opinions concerning me; and his law shall run through the whole world; for so God promised our father *Abraham*. And above all, my comfort is, that his faith shall have no end, but shall be inviolable, and preserved by God.

"The high priest said, *What shall the Messiah be called?* and *how shall his coming and manner of life be known?* Jesus answered, The name of the *Messenger of God* is very celebrated†. *Mahommed* is his blessed name. Then the multitude


† Instead of παρακαταργός, "the advocate," or *HOLY SPIRIT*, whom *Christ* promised to send to the *Apostles*, John xiv. 16; xvi. 7, these *heretics* substituted περικλαυτός, "*very* celebrated," which is synonymous with *Mahommed*. 
lift up their voices and said, Send us, O our God, thy messenger, come quickly, O Mahommed, for the salvation of the world!"

See the passage, at length, containing the xcviith and xcviith chapters. *White's* Bampton Sermons, notes and authorities, p. xxiii—xxxvii. first edit.

Hence, the Mahometan doctors maintain, that Mahomet, at the general resurrection, when God shall judge all mankind, will rise first, as the first-fruits himself, and will undertake the office of advocate or intercessor; after it shall have been declined by Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Jesus, who shall beg deliverance only for their own souls. *Sale's* Preliminary discourse, p. 87. And this, though not directly asserted, seems to be intimated in the Koran.

"We have brought thee (Mahomet) the seven verses which [compose the introduction of the Koran, and] serve for prayer [to the Mussulmans, at the five stated times in the day,] and the precious Koran. Look not to the good things which we have dispensed to the reprobate; afflict not thyself at their [prosperous] lot. Spread thy wings over the faithful; tell them "I am your true apostle," chap. 15. This seems to allude to our Lord's tutelar protection of the Israelites, and of Jerusalem, under the same imagery, Exod. xix. 4; Deut. xxxii. 11; Psalm xci. 4; Matt. xxiii. 37.

As Mahomet divided heaven into seven stories, or apartments, above each other, for the reception of the good, according to their merits; so he divided hell into the same number, for the reception of the wicked, according to their demerits; to which he assigns seven gates, chap. 15. The first Jehenna, for wicked Mussulmans; the second, Ladha, for the Jews; the third, Al Hotama, for the Christians; the fourth, Al Sair, for the Zabians; the fifth, Sakar, for the Magians; the sixth, Al Jahim, for the Idolaters; and the seventh, lowest and most dreadful of all, Al Hawyat, for the Hypocrites, who profess religion outwardly, but have none inwardly. These were conformable to ancient tradition before his time. *Mill de Mohammedismo* ante Moham. p. 412; Herbelot, p. 368, &c. *Sale*, Prel. Disc. p. 92.

It is to be remarked, however, that only the infidels are reserved for eternal damnation. According to his accommodating system, Mussulmans who have been guilty of heinous or mortal sins, but believe in the unity of God, and mission of
Mahomet, will be liberated from Jehenna, after they shall have expiated their crimes by their sufferings. Sale, p. 87. This strongly resembles the Popish purgatory.

But what are the rewards which Mahomet held forth to his faithful followers? A paradise of sensual gratifications; when, after a purgation in Jehenna, of not less than 900, nor more than 7000 years, they shall be liberated by the mercy of God, and the intercession of Mahomet; they shall then be baptized in one of the rivers of Paradise, called the river of life, which shall wash them whiter than pearls, and be admitted into the garden of Eden, or of delights, when they shall enjoy all manner of pleasures.

"They shall recline on couches adorned with gold, and jewels,
They shall view each other with good will;
They shall be served by youths in perpetual bloom,
Who shall present them with delicious wine in cups of various kinds,
Its fumes shall not mount up to their heads,
Nor shall it disturb their reason;
A wish shall supply the fruits they shall desire,
And the flesh of the rarest birds.
Beside them shall be the Houris, with fine black eyes,
The lustre of their complexion shall equal that of pearls.
Their favours shall be the meed of virtue.
Trifling discourses shall be banished from their sojourn,
Their heart shall not be inclined to evil.
There shall they hear only the salutation of Peace!
How great the felicity of the righteous!
They shall walk among trees of Nabk without thorns,
In the midst of Bananiers, arranged in rows.
They shall enjoy their luxuriant foliage,
On the borders of spouting fountains.
A profusion of fruits of various kinds
Shall offer themselves to be plucked by the hand,
They shall repose upon elevated beds,
We have restored to youth their spouses;
They shall be always virgins.
Their husbands shall caress them, enjoying the same youth."

With this alluring description is contrasted the lot of In-fidels:

"They shall dwell in the midst of burning wind, and boiling water.
They shall be enveloped in clouds of thick smoke;
Which shall afford them neither coolness nor ease.
While abandoned on earth, to ebriety of pleasures,
And plunged into the blackest crimes,
They said, When death shall reduce us to bones
And dust, shall we again revive?
Shall our fathers also be restored to life?"
Tell them, The first men and their posterity,
Shall be restored to life, they shall be assembled,
At the appointed time of the last day,
Then shall ye, who lived in error,
Who denied the Holy Faith,
Be fed with the fruit of the tree Zacoun;
Ye shall fill your bellies therewith,
Ye shall then drink draughts of boiling water,
With the eagerness of a thirsty camel.
This shall be their lot in the day of judgment!"

Chap. lvi.

Such are the minute, sensual, and grovelling descriptions of the rewards and punishments of a future state, borrowed from Magian and Rabbinical legends and fables, to be found in the Koran; so widely different from those general and undefined joys of heaven, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath entered into the heart of man to conceive, where the sons of the resurrection neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are like the angels of heaven; where the intellectual pleasures of a future state are neither meat nor drink, but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit; where the pure in heart shall be admitted to the superlative delight of seeing God as he is, unveiled in all his peerless majesty and goodness. And shall know his wonders of creating, redeeming, sanctifying love towards the sons of men, not partly, but perfectly, even as they are known to the Searcher of Hearts.—But the wicked shall be like the troubled sea, whose waves cast up mire and dirt. There shall be no peace for the wicked, where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not to be quenched!—Their minds perhaps will be tortured more severely than their bodies, by the intolerable agonies of a guilty conscience, and all the unutterable horrors of hopeless despair, amidst the incessant reproaches and revilings of the suffering partners of their crimes and of their misery.

Islamism has been styled by several writers a Christian heresy*; and its likeness, indeed, to popery, is striking in many of their leading features: their blasphemy, their uncharitable-ness, their intolerance of all other sects or religions, their spirit of proselytism by the sword; their burthensome ritual of stated prayers, fasts, and pilgrimages; and their excessive superstition. See Vol. III. p. 611, of this work. But it should rather

* Reland, Spanheim, Ricaut, Benson, Jortin, &c. See Woodhouse on the Apocalypse, p. 365—370.
be entitled the grand Apostacy, both from the Patriarchal and Christian Faith, which obscured and corrupted, and at length extinguished true religion, throughout a large portion of the globe, by its deleterious influence.

Though Mahomet acknowledged the miraculous incarnation of Christ, as the Word or Oracle, yet he denied his atonement. He rejected him as the Son of God, and the Lamb of God, who came to take away the sins of the world. And not satisfied with this, he blasphemously assumed his titles and functions himself, as the Apostle of God, and the Advocate of man with God; the last and greatest messenger or prophet of God, commissioned to reform and perfect all preceding dispensations. Islamism, therefore, while it degrades Christ to a mere man, deifies Mahomet, or exalts him to a God; and is therefore guilty of that very idolatry which it professes utterly to abhor and detest, by giving to the creature the honour due only to the Creator, God over all, blessed for ever. Amen.

And though Mahomet at first temporized with the Christians, as he did with the Jews, and admitted them as tributaries, and declared, according to Elmacin, "Whosoever oppress a Christian, shall find in him an adversary in the day of judgment," yet afterwards, when his power was established by his conquests, he termed them Infidels, because they did not believe in his mission, and absolutely excluded them from heaven, and sent them all to the third hell, still lower than the Jews. And his successors, the Saracen Caliphs and Turkish Sultans, did not fail to follow his example and his doctrines, in persecuting Christians, as "dogs," with the most unrelenting severity.

Islamism, therefore, in its whole extent, is adverse to the mild spirit and liberal genius of Christianity. It was hatched and matured in hypocrisy and falsehood. It was addressed to the appetites and passions of a sensual and corrupt people. It was distinguished by a spirit of hatred and hostility to the rest of mankind, Christians, Jews, and Pagans. It befriended arbitrary and despotic power over the souls and bodies of men. It encouraged ignorance, by representing all liberal arts and

* Not having access to Elmacin, I leave undetermined, whether by "him" is meant Mahomet, or the Christian oppressed: The former is supported by Mahomet's claim to intercession, and by his sending the Christian Infidels to hell,
sciences as unnecessary or as prejudicial, either, if not warranted by, or if contrary to, the Koran; and it produced a torpor and apathy, which chilled and deadened every tendency to speculative exertion and moral improvement, by the desolating doctrine of fixed fate or predestination. Hence the wide and unresisted spread of the plague at Constantinople, Cairo, &c.

In the prime and meridian of life, Mahomet maintained a fair character for sanctity and decorum. He was then an enthusiast. It was not till the wane, in his fiftieth year, that he deviated into those monstrous lusts and abominations that disgraced his latter years, as the fanatical founder of a new religion and empire. How appositely, therefore, is he described in symbolical prophecy, as "a fallen star," fallen from "heaven," from his high estate, like "Lucifer, son of the morning," who, with "the key" of hypocrisy, "opened the door of the abyss," and from his own lowest hell, let out "a thick smoke *, which darkened the sun and the atmosphere," a cloud of false and superstitious doctrines, which darkened the understandings of his deluded followers, and produced a swarm of "scorpion-like locusts, with stings in their tails," or "fanatical robbers," the Saracens; who, for five months, or one hundred and fifty lunar years, harassed, spoiled, or tormented the world, till the building of Bagdad, under the conduct of "the angel of the abyss, Abaddon," or their "destroying king;" deceiving chiefly the eastern world, Rev. ix. 1—11, by their means, and their successors, the "Turkish horsemen, with serpent's tails," for a long period of an hour, a day, a month, and a year, or 391 years and 15 days, ending with their conquests, in A.D. 1672. Rev. ix. 15—19.

* The Arabian historians Al Zamak, Beidawi, Yahia, and Jallal, relate a remarkable fact, and phenomenon, in Mahomet's time. The Meccans were visited with a famine, accompanied with a smoke which filled the atmosphere, so thick, that they could only hear, but not see each other. The Koran seems to take advantage of this, in the 44th chapter, entitled "Smoke, revealed at Mecca," and to represent it as a judgment for their disbelief; which is threatened to be renewed before the day of judgment, as one of the last signs.

"Erring in the waves of doubt, the Infidels mock our doctrine. Thou (Mahomet) shalt observe them in the day when a thick vail shall cover the firmament. They shall be enveloped therein. This shall be a dreadful plague. They shall say, O Lord, deliver us from this scourge! We hold the faith! How can they hold it? The true ambassador hath preached to them, but they have rejected him, and said, He is taught to speak [by some other person] or is possessed by a daemon! If we should mitigate the rigour of their pains, they will return to their infidelity!"
With the smoke of Islamism darkening the Patriarchal religion, which it professed to restore, how finely is contrasted that religion in its primitive state of glory and illumination, under the symbolical imagery of a chaste “matron arrayed with the sun, having the moon under her feet, and a crown of twelve stars upon her head,” aptly representing Jacob’s family in Joseph’s dream. Gen. xxxvii. 9, 10.

In Egypt, her persecutions began, from the same Abaddon, under the different imagery of a great red dragon, or water serpent *, corresponding to the Egyptian crocodile, who continued his persecutions of the Patriarchal Church, improved by Moses, and perfected by Christ, that “male child” whom he persecuted from his birth to his ascension into heaven; and afterwards set up as his opponent, the gaudy harlot of the western world, sitting on many waters, or popery, to which “he gave his own power and authority,” to blaspheme God, by her idolatries, and to persecute the Matron and her children, both in the east and west, by these two prime agents of false religion. Rev. xii. 1–17; xiii. 1–9; xvii. 1–18.

The propriety and consistency of this symbolical imagery throughout is admirable. See it more particularly explained in the last period of the third Volume of this work.

Bardesanes, a learned Syrian philosopher, about A.D. 180, represented Christianity in his time, as correcting the reigning vices of the world, wherever it prevailed. “In Parthia, the Christians, though Parthians, are not Polygamists; in Persia, though Persians, they do not marry their own daughters; in Bactria and Gaul, they do not violate the marriage bed. Wherever they reside, they resist the influence of corrupt laws and wicked customs.” Euseb. Præp. Evangel. Lib. VI. chap. 40.

This may lead us to correct an erroneous statement of Montesquieu, thus accounting for the more favourable reception of Islamism in the east than in the west.

“The law which permits only one wife, is conformable to the nature of the European, but not to the nature of the Asiatic

* The credulous Pontoppidan, Bishop of Norway, among other marvellous stories, mentions a prodigious sea snake, called the Cracken, which is the terror of the Norwegian fishermen. It sometimes suddenly rears its head out of the water as high as the mast of a ship, and then overlays their vessels, and carries them down with it, into the depths of the ocean!—How finely illustrative is this of the destructive power of the great spiritual serpent, the Devil.
climate. It is for this reason, that Mohammedism found so easy an admission in Asia, and found such difficulty to extend itself in Europe; that Christianity hath maintained itself in Europe, and hath been destroyed in Asia; and that the Mahometans have made so much, and the Christians so little progress in China."

"In the time of Justinian, many philosophers, uneasy at the restraints laid upon them by Christian laws, retired into Persia to Chosroes. What induced them most, said Agathias, was, that polygamy was there permitted to men who did not abstain even from adultery." L'Esprit des Lois, xvi. 2; xvii. 6.

The reasoning here, is unsound and inconsistent. Polygamy, in the east, was an innovation upon the primitive law of marriage, enacted in Paradise, (Gen. ii. 24) and in obedience thereto, monogamy prevailed in the Antediluvian world, till the seventh generation, when Lamech is first recorded, as having two wives. From that time, lust and violence overspread the earth till the deluge. But the righteous Noah had but one wife; and afterwards Job, in the seventh generation, and Abraham in the tenth, until compelled to take a concubine, Hagar, by the impatience of his wife Sarah. Even Mahomet himself, that descendant of Hagar, lived soberly and virtuously with his first wife, for four and twenty years. The influence of climate therefore seems to be overrated by Montesquieu, in the first passage. And the testimony of Bardesanes, to the purity of the Asiatic Christians in his time, is decisive against him.

In the latter passage, Montesquieu contradicts, from experience, his hypothesis in the former. Surely the European philosophers of the Roman empire, in the reign of Justinian, were as prone to adultery, and the Gauls, in the time of Bardesanes, as even the Parthians, Persians, or Bactrians.

CHRIST, correcting the laxity of the law of Moses, revived the primitive law of marriage.

To what better cause then, are we to ascribe the rejection of Islamism in the west?

To the superior influence of the original Scriptures, which were more carefully searched and compared by the more intelligent Europeans, seeking rational evidence of the rational faith required of them, like the Bereans of old, and to the revival of pure and undefiled Christianity, by the blessed Reformation, through a great part of Europe, which, by recur-
ring to the Scriptures, purged away a good part of the errors and corruptions of Popery, analogous to those of Islamism, and equally operated to the rejection of both. Even in Romish countries, the salutary influence of Protestantism has wrought a partial reform, and in some degree counteracted the genius of their religion.

But why has Islamism superseded Christianity in the east? —a melancholy truth, which we are forced to admit, with Montesquieu.

That the east was not at first more adverse to the reception of the Gospel than the west, is evident from its extensive propagation, from Judea to India. But when it became gradually corrupted by the intermixture of Zabism, Magism, Judaism, and Paganism, and the original Scriptures were everywhere supplanted by spurious Gospels, legends and romances; when no auspicious Reformation interposed, as in the west, to restore the authority of the original Scriptures, and the purity of the primitive faith of the first and second century; but when, on the other hand, a pestilential apostacy was introduced in the palatable form of the Koran, disclaiming all mysteries in religion, and maintaining the simple unity of God, and divine mission of Mahomet, as the last of the prophets, sent to close and perfect the foregoing revelations, and pandering to the prejudices, lusts and reigning vices of the world, with the left hand, in its superstitious ceremonies, and sensual rewards and indulgences, while it wielded the sword of persecution in the right, no wonder that Christianity withered, as a sickly plant in a dry soil, while Islamism flourished, as a noxious weed, in a rank and luxurious garden of delights.

Nor can genuine Christianity recover its influence in the east, without a miracle, so blinded are the Mahometans by the smoke of Islamism, and the Idolaters by the darkness and ignorance of Paganism, which overspread those benighted regions, where the "bright and morning star" once arose, to usher in the Sun of Righteousness, with healing in his wings, or rays.

Montesquieu himself has well explained, in another passage, why "Christians have made so little progress in China."

"It is hardly possible that Christianity should ever be established in China. Vows of virginity, the assembling of women in the churches, their necessary intercourse with the ministers
of religion, their participation of the Sacraments, auricular confession, extreme unction, the marrying but one wife, all this oversets the manners and customs, and strikes at the religion and laws of the country." L'Esprit des Lois, xix. 18.

This is not genuine Christianity, but Popery, which the philosopher here describes. And yet, even the Roman missionaries were at first favourably received in China, contrary to his assumption, until they began to intermeddle in state intrigues and politics; when they were expelled, not as Christians, but as incendiaries. See the Lettres Edifiantes, &c.

To these reasons we are bound to add, with gratitude and thankfulness, that Europe has been the most eminently and gratuitously favoured quarter of the globe, ever since the introduction of Christianity, and of Europe, these pre-eminently fortunate isles,

Ultimos orbis Britannos.

Still left, as the only asylum almost, of pure Religion and rational Liberty, at this woeful crisis. (1812.)

SECTION XII.

THE SARACEN KALIPHS.

ABUBEKR.

The same day that Mahomet died, Abubekr, the father of Aiesha, his favourite wife, chiefly by her influence and the support of Omar and Othman, was elected Khalif, or "successor" to Mahomet, in the regal and pontifical authority, in exclusion of Ali, the kinsman and son-in-law of the prophet, and who seemed to have the best title, from his merits. Ali, however, upon his wife Fatima's death, forty days after her father, acquiesced in the election of Abubekr, finding the people in general prejudiced in favour of "the faithful witness."

The beginning of Abubekr's reign was disturbed by several revolts and insurrections, excited by apostates from Islamism,
and false prophets. These were quelled by the valour and activity of the zealous and ferocious Khaled, and his troops.

The expedition against Syria, which had been suspended by Mahomet's decease, and the ensuing disturbances, was now resumed, and Osama revenged his father Zaid's death, and ravaged the imperial territories.

Next year, A.D. 633, Abubekr sent Khaled, with a powerful army, to invade Irak, or Babylonia, the southern region of Mesopotamia; who subdued the country, and compelled the inhabitants to pay a tribute of 70,000 pieces of money, the first tribute brought from foreign countries into the Khalif's treasury at Medina. Eutychius, Annal. II. p. 259.

He also sent Yezid to continue the war in Syria, with these remarkable directions, "Destroy no old women nor children; cut down no palm trees nor fruit trees; burn no corn fields; kill no cattle except for your own use; slay no religious persons in the monasteries, nor injure their places of worship; but give no quarter to the synagogue of Satan, except they either embrace Islamism, or consent to pay tribute." The former part of these directions was artfully framed to conciliate the Christians; the latter, to exterminate the Jews, who are called the "Synagogue of Satan." Rev. ii. 9; iii. 9. These directions in general were framed in the true spirit of Mahomet's revelation, on the success of Islamism in Abyssinia, noticed before, and seem to be recorded in the Apocalypse. Rev. ix. 3–5.

Khaled, on his triumphant return from Irak, having joined Yezid, they defeated the emperor Heraclius in a pitched battle near Damascus, with great slaughter and little loss, and reduced Damascus after a six months' siege, A.D. 634.

This severe blow, the emperor Heraclius, in council, represented as a scourge from heaven upon his subjects, for their flagrant violation of the rules of the Gospel; while it was represented by the Mahometan generals, as an indication of the Divine favour in this religious war. Khaled himself was a gifted preacher, and could pray as well as fight. The following is a specimen of his talents, before the engagement: "Help us, O God, we beseech thee, against those wretches, who pray idolatrously, and rely upon another god (Christ) beside Thee! Help us, O God, who acknowledge thy unity, and maintain, that there is no God but Thou only, against these idolaters; for Mahomet, thy prophet's sake."—Then he shouted to his men,
**PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.**

_Fight, fight! Paradise, Paradise!_—Nothing could withstand these fanatics, determined on victory or martyrdom. Al Wakedi.

The powerful influence of their _predestinarianism_, or _fatalism_, strongly appears in his letter to _Abubekr_, stating the particulars of this great victory.

"O Emperor of the Faithful, we encountered the Grecian army, under the command of _Werdan_, who had sworn, by _Christ_, that he would either conquer or die. However, we fell upon them, calling upon _God_, and trusting in him, who supported us, and gave us a complete victory. _As it was decreed that our enemies should be overcome_, we slew them on all sides, to the number of 50,000 men, while our loss was no more than 474 men. I date this letter the 30th of the former _Jomada_, on my march from _Agiraden_ to _Damascus_. Pray for our further prosperity and success. The peace and blessing of _God_ be upon thee and all true Mussulmans." _Al Wakedi._

_Abubekr_ died the very day that _Damascus_ was taken, of a fever, in fifteen days, contracted by bathing in cold weather. By his will, he appointed _Omar_, who officiated for him as _Iman_ during his illness, to succeed him in the Khalifat.

He was a most zealous and credulous Mussulman, as we have seen, from the beginning. During his short reign, he collected the several chapters of the _Koran_ in their present arrangement, and left the copy in the care of _Hafsa_, _Omar's_ daughter, and widow of _Mahomet_; which, however, was not published by authority till the thirtieth year of the Hegira, A.D. 651, with corrections, by _Othman_. He so disregarded money, that at his decease, his effects were valued at no more than five _dirhems_. When _Omar_ heard this, he said, _God have mercy on the soul of Abubekr, but he has left his successor a difficult pattern to follow!_

**OMAR.**

This Khalif had also been one of _Mahomet's_ earliest companions, and most strenuous supporters, whom he honoured with the title of _Farouk_, "the divider," from the following circumstance.

_Mahomet_, like _Moses_, acted as supreme judge, or chief magistrate of the Mussulmans. Having decided a cause at his tribu-
nal, in favour of a Jew against a Mussulman, the latter appealed from the prophet's sentence to Omar, who, though not in a judicial office, was in high repute for his justice. The parties found Omar at the door of his house, who, having heard both sides, said, *Wait a moment, and I will settle the matter.* He then went in, and immediately returned with his sabre, and, at one stroke, cut off the head of the Mussulman, saying, *This is the reward of those who do not abide by the sentence of their judges!* Herbelot, p. 682.

The first act of his reign was to depose the ferocious Khaled from the command of the army in Syria, because he broke the convention made by Abu Obeidah at the surrender of Damascus, and attacked and spoiled the garrison and inhabitants, on their retreat. Khaled bore his disgrace with great magnanimity, swearing that though he detested Omar, still he would submit to the will of God, and obey the commands of Mahomet's lawful successor; and accordingly, he served under the more merciful Abu Obeidah, on whom the Khalif conferred the chief command.

**BATTLE OF KADESIA.**

The next year, A.D. 636, was signalized by the decisive battle of Kadesia, in which Saad, the Khalif's general, defeated an army of 100,000 Persians, under Jezdegird, with the loss of half their number, while the Saracens lost 7,500, and put an end to the Sassanian dynasty, as related in a former section. The Saracens disgraced their conquest by the most atrocious cruelties, and persecutions of the unfortunate Persians, in every shape; they destroyed the men, sold the women and children for captives, and colonized the country with a swarm of hungry Saracen "locusts," who overthrew the religion, laws, customs, and even language, of the natives, in a good measure, and proscribed the noblest monuments of their literature, as hostile to the Koran, out of hatred to the Magian religion. Among the unfortunate captives, exposed for public sale at Medina, was Sheria banu, the princess, daughter of Jezdegird. But the liberal-minded Ali condemned this barbarity, saying, that the offspring of princes ought not to be sold, and married her immediately to his second son Hussain. Richardson's Dissert. p. 216. To this wise and humane conduct, we may perhaps ascribe no
small part of the veneration in which Ali was held in Persia. To intercept, and secure the Persian commerce with the East Indies, Omar now laid the foundation of Basra, or Bassorah, at the mouth of the Tigris, which was finished in three years. Herbelot, p. 682.

**BATTLE OF YERMOUK.**

This same year, A.D. 636, was famous for the total defeat of the emperor Heraclius, at the battle of Yermouk, in Syria. In this most bloody and hard fought engagement, the Saracens were thrice repulsed, and as often rallied, by the courage and intrepidity of their women, who were posted in the rear; one of them knocked down Abu Sofian, the general, when giving ground, with a tent pole. The chief women then took the command, till night parted the combatants. Next morning, Khaula*, sister of one of the generals, led the van to the charge. She was beat to the ground by a Greek, but was succoured by Wafeira, one of her female friends, who struck off his head at a blow. Animated by the heroism of their women, the Arabs became irresistible, and routed at length the Grecian army, with the loss, it is said, of 150,000 killed, and about 40,000 taken prisoners; while the Arabs lost only 4030 men, if we believe Abu Obeidah's letter to the Khalif, evidently diminishing his own loss, and exaggerating that of the enemy, according to their fashion. The Arabs called this the day of blinding; because the Christian archers blinded 700 of them, with their arrows, either of one or both eyes; and if so, the number of their slain must have greatly exceeded the representation. However this might be, the total abolition of the Emperor's power and authority from Syria, was the consequence of this victory.

The surprizing success of the Saracens over the Christians, though so much superior in number and discipline, was thus accounted for by a pious officer, to Heraclius: "The Greeks have been everywhere worsted by the Arabs, because they have for a long time walked unworthy of their Christian profession: they have corrupted their holy religion, injured and oppressed one another, been guilty of fornication, and fomented divisions and animosities among themselves." Theophanes Chronograph.

* This heroine was afterwards espoused by the caliph Ali.
ANALYSIS OF

p. 276. What a striking, though unintentional commentary is this, on the apocalyptic description of those woeful times of the Saracen and Turkish plagues. Rev. ix. 20, 21.

SARACEN STRATAGEMS.

Nor were the Saracen generals in Syria more distinguished for ferocious and enthusiastic bravery, than for military skill and stratagem.

When Abu Obeidah had besieged Hems, or Emesa, a rich and strong city, for some time in vain, he offered to break up the siege, provided the inhabitants would supply his troops with all the provisions they could spare. To this they readily agreed, from a desire to get rid of these military locusts, and stripped their magazines. He then left Emesa, and proceeded to Arrestan, a strong fortress in the neighbourhood, and summoned the garrison to surrender; but they refusing, he offered to depart, if they would allow him to deposit some of his heavy baggage in the citadel, which retarded his march. To this they agreed, for the same reason that the people of Hems parted with their provisions. Accordingly, the baggage was admitted, consisting of twenty large chests, carefully locked on the outside, to prevent suspicion, each chest containing an Arab soldier, with a sliding bottom, which he could remove at pleasure. After Obeidah's army had disappeared, the governor and people of Arrestan went to church, to give God thanks for their deliverance, when they were surprized in the midst of their devotions, while singing psalms, by the Arabs, who sallied forth from their chests, forced from the governor's wife the keys of the gates, and let in Khaled and a party, then lying near, in ambuscade, who took the place without opposition. He then returned to Hems, and renewed the siege of that city, expecting soon to reduce it by famine. The governor, provoked to be so outwitted, complained of the treachery of the Arabs, charged them vigorously, and got a great advantage that day. Find-

* When the Arabs were dispirited at the superiority of the Greeks, Ikrimah, the cousin of Khaled, to animate his men, cried out, Methinks I see one of the black-eyed maids of Paradise, so beautiful, that all men would die for love of her, could they but see her. She offers me a green silk handkerchief, and a cap enriched with jewels, and tells me she loves me. He then charged into the midst of the enemy, and met that death which he courted.
ing that he could not succeed by force, *Abu Obeidah* eked out the *lion's* skin with the *fox's* tail, and practised another stratagem. Early next morning, he broke up his camp, and retreated in great disorder. Deceived by this appearance of panic, the garrison sallied out to harass them, without due precaution; when the *Arabs* suddenly rallied, fell upon, and defeated them, and forced the city to surrender the same day.

**CAPITULATION OF JERUSALEM.**

Next year, A.D. 637, *Jerusalem* was besieged by *Abu Obeidah*; and, after a siege of four months, the Patriarch agreed to surrender it to the Khalif in person, if he would sign, with his own hand, the articles of capitulation for their security and protection. Accordingly, *Omar* came, and signed the articles, of which the principal were:

1. That the Christians should build no new churches, in the city or adjacent territory; and shall keep open the present, for the admission of Mussulmans, at all times.

2. That they should not prevent their children or relations from embracing *Islamism*, nor presume to read the *Koran* themselves.

3. That they should not erect crosses upon the churches, and should only toll, not ring, their bells.

4. That they should not wear the *Arab* dress, ride upon saddles, carry arms, nor use the names or salutations of the Mussulmans, nor the *Arabic* language in the engravings of their seals.

5. That they should pay a marked deference and respect to Mussulmans, and not sit in their presence; and should entertain Mussulman travellers (gratis) for three days.

6. That they should not sell wine, nor any of the intoxicating liquors.

7. That they should pay a capitation tax of two *dinars* each, submit to an annual tribute, and consider themselves as under the dominion of the *Khalif* in future.

These articles formed the basis of all the ensuing treaties made by Mahometan princes with their Christian subjects. They were most artfully framed, for the gradual extirpation of Christianity, by the disabilities and contemptuous restrictions imposed upon its professors.
Omar, not wishing to give offence, by taking possession of any of the Christian Churches for the Islam worship, modestly applied to the Patriarch for a piece of waste ground to erect a mosque at Jerusalem; and accordingly he built one, on the advantageous site of Solomon's temple *, which was then covered with ordure, through the hatred of the Christians to the Jews; but Omar devoutly began to wipe it away with the skirt of his robe, and his example was followed by his principal officers.

The sordid and filthy attire of the Khalif himself, gave great offence to the Patriarch Sophronius, who, when he saw Omar, entering the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, could not help exclaiming: *This is of a truth the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place!* Matt. xxiv. 12. From this, the Mussulmans pretended that the conquest of Jerusalem by Omar was foretold in prophecy, and that his name (consisting of three letters), his person, and his religion were described therein.

When the emperor Heraclius expressed surprize, why the Khalif Omar should appear in such mean and sordid attire, after he had plundered the Christians of so much wealth? Refaa, a Mussulman, answered: "Because he feared God, and regarded the other world." The emperor then asked, of what kind was his palace? he answered, "built of mud." Who are his attendants? "Beggars and poor persons." What is his tapestry? "Justice and equity." What is his throne? "Abstinence and certain knowledge." What is his treasure? "Trust in God." Who are his guards? "The stoutest of the Unitarians."—Such was the fanatical cant of the Saracen locusts, which Theophanes and Cedrenus brand with the denomination of satanical hypocrisy †. The like is not altogether extinct in the west, even in the present age.

The conquest of Syria and Palestine having been completed,

* The judicious Maundrel thus notices it: "A finer place for an august building could not be found in the whole world, than this area.—In the middle of the area stands at present a mosque of an octagonal figure, supposed to be built upon the same ground, where anciently stood the Sanctum Sanctorum. It is neither eminent for its largeness nor its structure; and yet it makes a very stately figure, by the sole advantage of its situation." Travels, p. 107.

† Perhaps from their hypocrisy chiefly, Abaddon, the angel of the abyss, is represented as king of the Saracen locusts; Rev. ix. 11; for he was a liar and a murderer from the beginning, and the father of lies. Gen. iv. 9; John viii. 44.
Omar sent Amru with an army to invade Egypt and Libya, the next year, A.D. 638. He first besieged Mesr, or the ancient capital of Memphis; and after a siege of seven months, took it at last by the treachery of the Coptic governor, Mohawkas, who was of the Jacobite sect, and detested the Greeks. Amru next advanced to besiege Alexandria, which, after a siege of fourteen months, and the loss of 23,000 men, he took by assault, in the 20th year of the Hegira, A.D. 640. He sealed up every thing curious and valuable in the city; and, among the rest, the famous Alexandrian library, till the Khalif should give directions how they should be disposed of. Omar directed, that all the valuable goods should be sold to defray the expences of the war; but that if the books found in the library were agreeable to the Koran, they were superfluous; if contrary thereto, they were pernicious; and therefore, in either case, should all be destroyed. Accordingly, Amru distributed the books, amounting to half a million at least, among the 4000 warm baths of the city, which they supplied with fuel for six months! Such was the barbarism of this canting Khalif, and his proscription of literature!

After this, Amru reduced the Pentapolis, Cyrenaica, and the whole coast of Libya, as far as Tripoli. On his return, the Khalif wished to see the sword with which his general had performed so many wonders. Having looked at it, and finding in it nothing uncommon, he returned it with contempt, saying: "It was good for nothing." "You say true," said Amru, "for you only desired to see the sword, not the arm that wielded it: while that was wanting, the sword was no better than the sword of Pharezdacus." This was a poet, more remarkable for his fine description of a sword, than for his personal prowess. Harris's Philological Enquiries, p. 350.

Omar was assassinated A.D. 643, by a Persian slave, Firouz, for refusing to remit a part of the tax of two dirhems a day, laid on him by his master, for the free exercise of his religion, who stabbed him in the belly, while he was in the mosque, at Medina, performing his morning devotions. He was a prince of great justice and piety, and made the pilgrimage to Mecca nine times. As Abubekr divided the money in his treasury every Friday night among his subjects, in proportion to their merits, so Omar made a weekly division among them, in proportion to their wants. For which, he assigned this excellent reason:
"The good things of this life were given by God for the relief of our necessities; whereas the proper reward of virtue and real worth belonged to another world." Among other remarkable sayings, this is ascribed to him: "The Arab empire will fail, when its head shall be destitute of the piety of the Mussulmans, and the liberality of the Greeks."

Omar, in the course of his short reign of nine or ten years, erected a most powerful and formidable empire*. He expelled the Jews and Christians out of the Peninsula of Arabia; he subdued almost the whole of Persia, and great part of Aderbighian, Khorasan, Armenia, &c., Syria and Palestine, Egypt, a considerable part of Barca, and the western Tripoli. Before his death, he refused to nominate his own son to succeed him, saying, that it was enough for his family to have one Khalif, vested with the responsibility of so arduous an office. And he appointed a committee of six of the companions of Mahomet to elect a successor, who chose OTHMAN.

Under this Khalif also, the Saracens extended their conquests northwards, in Al Jebal, and Khorasan; and southwards, in Nubia. But Othman soon lost the affections of his subjects, by the errors of his administration. The rock upon which he split was his attachment to his unworthy relations and favourites. He displaced some of his ablest generals, Amru, governor of Egypt, and Saad, an officer of distinguished bravery, and appointed improper persons in their room; he squandered vast sums of money upon his favourites; and, to crown all, he had the presumption to sit in Mahomet's seat, whereas Abu Bekr always sat one step lower, and Omar, two. These, and other grievances, excited discontents at home, and revolts abroad: and, by the treachery of Merwan, his secretary of state, upon whom he had lavished about half a million of dinars, and who forged letters under his seal, proscribing some of his principal

* According to Khondemir, his generals took 36,000 towns, fortresses, and castles; destroyed 4000 temples and churches of the Idolaters, Magians, and Christians; and built 140 mosques for the Islam worship. Alexander the Great durst not meddle with the religion of the conquered nations. In this respect, the Saracen Caliphs far surpassed him.
officers, he was murdered by the rebel chiefs at Medina, in the 82d year of his age.

ALI.

The mischiefs of elective monarchy were fully exemplified in the turbulent reign of this Khalif. Though the most deserving, and the best entitled to succeed Othman, Ali had scarcely been inaugurated, when his principal officers set up the standard of rebellion against him, Telha, and Zobeir, and Moawiyah, instigated by Ayesha, the widow of Mahomet, who had great influence in the councils of the Arabs, and was dignified with the title of the Mother of the Faithful, and who never forgave Ali, for supporting a charge of incontinence, brought against her, upon strong grounds of suspicion, in Mahomet's life time, from which she was acquitted by a revelation in the Koran. She was one of the chief conspirators against Othman; but she had the address to transfer the imputation of it to Ali, (who certainly considered Othman as an intruder into his right); and, to embarrass his administration, her faction were clamorous for bringing to condign punishment the assassins of the late Khalif: which he prudently refused, alledging the distracted state of the Arabs, at that time, as rendering such a measure inexpedient. Telha and Zobeir then applied each, for the governments of Cufa and Basrah, which he also refused, pretending that his government stood in need of their abilities, to support his councils at home.

BATTLE OF KHIRAIBA.

Soon after, Ayesha openly joining Telha and Zobeir, they broke out into rebellion, at Mecca, A.D. 656. They advanced to Basrah *, which they took, and gave Ali battle near that place at Khoraiba. This famous action, was called Yum al Jamal, “the day of the camel,” from a large white one, upon which she was mounted. She rode through the ranks; and, to animate her troops, she drove into the thickest of the battle. Seventy hands, it is said, were struck off, in attempting to seize

* This was contrary to Ayesha's more prudent counsel, to march directly from Mecca to Medina, and crush Ali, before he could collect an army.
her bridle. And when her camel was at length ham-stringed, the carriage in which she sat, resembled a porcupine, from the number of javelins and arrows, with which it was transfixed. The superior generalship of Ali, and his veteran troops, prevailed. Both Telha and Zobeir, who violated the oath of allegiance they had taken to him, lost their lives, and their more numerous army was routed. When Ayesha thus fell into the hands of the victors, Ali sent before him one of his officers, to see whether she was dead or alive. Accordingly, when he put his head into her carriage, she said, "Who are you?" He answered, "Your obedient brother." "No," said she, "but a rebel." "Sister," said he, "have you received any injury?" "What business is that of yours?" replied this haughty dame. Ali, then coming up, said, "What think you, Ayesha, of this work of God to you?" She answered, "O, Ali, you have conquered, be merciful!" He generously pardoned her, but ordered her to confine herself to her own house at Medina, and not to meddle any more in state affairs. And he sent her back under an escort of seventy women, in men's apparel; a circumstance noticed in the Tarik u Moslemim, which shews the military genius and services of the Arab women in their wars.

On the death of Ali, however, she recovered her influence; and when Moawiyah wished to make the Khalifat hereditary in his family, he thought it necessary to secure her interest, by a present of bracelets, valued at 150,000 dinars, near 70,000l. sterling.

Moawiyah having now assumed the titles of Lawful Khalif and Prince of the Mussulmans, Ali marched to attack him, and his associate, the valiant Amru: and after a succession of engagements, at Seffein, near the close of the same year, A.D. 656, in which Ali had the advantage, and in the last action, was ready to storm their camp, he was circumvented by a stratagem of Amru's; who ordered his men to carry several copies of the Koran, stuck upon the points of their lances, towards their opponents, crying, This is the book which ought to decide our differences; this is the book of God, which prohibits the effusion of Mussulman blood! This coarse stratagem succeeded: Ali in vain remonstrated that Amru and Moawiyah had not the least regard to the Koran, which it was his object to support and enforce; he was compelled by the mutineers to retreat, and even to agree to leave the dispute between him and the rival
Khalif to a reference: and by the weakness of Ali’s arbitrator, Abu Musa, and the art of Amru, on the other side, who persuaded his colleague to agree to the deposal of both Khalifs, and the election of a new one, as the best means of restoring the public peace, when Abu Musa had given his judgment to this effect, Amru assented to the deposal of Ali, but elected Moawiyah, Khalif. This unfair award was in the year A.D. 657.

After the continuance of the civil war for three years, with much bloodshed, and various success, Ali was deserted by his own brother, Oqail, who joined the party of his rivals, and was rewarded by them with a large revenue for his infamous defection. And now three fanatics of the Kharejites, or “rebels,” conspired, for the public peace, to dispatch the three Imans, competitors for the Khalifat, Ali, Moawiyah, and Amru; and having poisoned their swords, took their different routes, to execute their purpose. The first, struck Moawiyah in the reins, at Damascus; but the wound was not mortal, and he recovered. The second, in Egypt, killed, in mistake, the Iman, officiating for Amru, who happened to be indisposed that day. But the third was more successful: he gave Ali a mortal wound, at Cufa. The generous Khalif ordered the assassin, who was immediately taken, to be spared if he recovered; but executed at one stroke, if he died, that he might have an immediate opportunity of accusing the murderer before the tribunal of God! He died three days after, and refused to appoint a successor; like Mahomet, leaving the choice to the people.

CHARACTER OF ALI.

Thus unworthily fell Ali, the most illustrious of Mahomet’s companions; superior to him in talents and understanding, according to several Mahometan writers, and greatly superior in the nobler virtues of the heart. He possessed, in a supreme degree, the three ancient characteristics of his country, valour, generosity, and eloquence*. For the first, he was entitled by the Arabs, Al Haidar, “the lion,” and by the Persians, Shir Khoda, “the lion of God.” Of the second, he gave many instances, in his hospitable asylum, to the princes of Persia, when exposed

* Saphadius, an Arabic author, cited by Schultens, in his Monumenta vetustiora Arabiae, says, Arabes antiquitus non habebant quo gloriarentur, quam gladio, hospite, et eloquentia.
for sale; and forgiveness of his most inveterate enemies, Ayesha, &c. And his sayings, still preserved, exhibit great acuteness and sagacity, rectitude of judgment, and genuine piety. Of all which, the following may afford a favourable specimen.

1. One of his officers having once impudently asked him, "Why the reigns of Abubekr and Omar were so tranquil, and the reigns of Othman and Ali so turbulent?" with great readiness, he answered, "Because Abubekr and Omar were served by Othman and me; but Othman and I, by you and such as you."

2. The following decision is creditable to his ingenuity:

Two travellers sat down to dine; the one had five loaves, the other, three. A stranger, passing by, asked leave to eat with them; and they hospitably agreed thereto. After dinner, the stranger laid down eight pieces of money for his fare, and departed. The owner of the five loaves took up five pieces, and left three for the other, who insisted on getting half. The case was brought before Ali, for his decision, and he gave the following judgment: "Let the owner of the five loaves take seven pieces of the money, and the other but one." And this was the exact proportion of what each had furnished for the stranger's entertainment. For dividing each loaf into three shares, the eight loaves gave twenty-four shares; and as they all fared alike, each person's proportion was a third of the whole, or eight shares. The stranger, therefore, ate seven shares of the five loaves, and only one share of the three loaves. And so, the Khalif divided the money between the owners. Richardson's Dissertation, p. 223.

3. The real freedom and independence produced by virtue and religion, were finely expressed in the following:

"Whosoever is desirous to be rich without goods, powerful without subjects, and a subject without a master, has only to quit the dominion of sin, and to serve God, and he will find these three things."

4. The power of prayer and intercession with God.

"God gave two mediators between God and Man, the prophet, who is departed; and prayer for the pardon of sins, which always abides with them."

Ali retained his veneration for Mahomet to the last; and yet he became, unhappily, the founder of a schism, which produced the most fatal effects among Mussulmans; and which he fore-
saw, and deprecated in the following terms: "Be careful never to separate yourselves from the communion of other Mussulmans. He that separates himself from them, belongs to the devil; as the sheep that leave the flock, belong to the wolf. Give no quarter, therefore, to him who marches under the standard of Schism, even though he should wear my turban on his head; since he bears the sure mark of a man that strays from the right way."——The followers of Ali not only wore turbans of a particular shape; but also twisted their hair in a different manner from the other Mussulmans.

Ali's followers were called Shiites, or "Sectaries;" and the others, Sonnites, or "Traditionists." The chief points in which they differed, are, 1. The Shiites prefer Ali to Mahomet, or at least esteem both equally; but the Sonnites admit neither Ali, nor any other, to be equal to Mahomet. 2. The Shiites charge the Sonnites with corrupting the Koran; and the Sonnites retort the charge. 3. The Sonnites receive the Sonna, or traditions of their prophet, as of canonical authority; the Shiites reject them, as apocryphal, and unworthy of credit. Herbelot, Ali, and Modern Universal Hist. Vol. II. p. 42, octavo.

To these, and others of a political nature, such as the rejection of the three first Khalifs, as usurpers, by the Shiites, &c. may we ascribe the antipathy which has so long subsisted between the Saracens and Turks, who are Sonnites; and the Persians, who are Shiites.

The Shiites split into a variety of sects, the most extravagant. One of these, the Gorabites, or "Crows," maintained, that the angel Gabriel mistook Mahomet for Ali, because they were as like each other as two crows. The Gholaites, or "Zealots," deified Ali. One of them, a Jewish proselyte, saluted him: "Thou art Thou," or "Thou art God," blasphemously giving him the divine title." (Exod. iii.14.)

The Sonnites, or Orthodox Mussulmans, (as they styled themselves) and the Shiites, or the Heretics, in the grand or leading point of difference, the admission or rejection of traditions, strongly resemble the Pharisees and Sadducees, among the Jews and Samaritans; and the Romish and Reformed Churches, among Christians. And, to the disgrace of pure and undefiled religion, all have been at variance with each other! The warnings against schism, of Moses and Christ, his Apostles and Ali, have been equally ineffectual, alas! to preserve the peace of the
Catholic, or Universal Church; rent asunder, torn and convulsed by "wars and fightings," everywhere, the fatal consequences of "lusts militating (στρατευομένων) in the members." James iv. 1.

HASAN.

This eldest son of Ali, was unanimously elected to succeed him in the Khalifate. He pronounced his father's panegyric in the following remarkable terms: "Ye have killed Ali the same night in which the Koran came down from heaven, in which Isa (Jesus) ascended into heaven, and in which Joshua, the son of Nun, was slain. None of his predecessors excelled him, nor will any of his successors equal him." But Moawiyah, governor of Syria, refused to recognize his authority; so that Hasan was compelled to declare war against him, and to march with a powerful army to invade his territories. But his troops mutinied, he was thrown from his seat, and wounded, and fled for refuge into the castle of Madayen. Finding himself deserted by the troops of Irak, and the rest wavering in their fidelity, he offered to resign the Khalifate to Moawiyah, upon certain conditions, that 1. he should never reflect on the memory of the late Khalif, in his presence; 2. that a general amnesty should be granted to Ali's adherents, in the late troubles; 3. that Hasan should receive all the money in the treasury at Cufa; and 4. should have the revenues of Daraljerd, a Persian district, assigned him for his support. To these Moawiyah agreed, and Hasan resigned his dignity, and retired to Medina, with his brother Husain; where he was poisoned about five or six months after, at the instigation of Moawiyah. He was a peaceable, charitable, and pious prince, and deserved a better fate. He refused to inform against his murderer, saying to Husain, who wished to punish him: "O, brother, the life of this world, is made up of nights that vanish away. Let him alone, till he and I meet before the divine tribunal; there he will certainly receive a just recompence." The following saying of his is recorded: The tears of devotion, and the water of legal ablution, should not be wiped away; because this liquid makes the face of the faithful shine, when they present themselves before God.

His beneficent actions and moral maxims are equally esteemed with those of Ali, and even Mahomet himself, by many of the Mussulmans.
MOAWIYAH, or MOAVIAS.

By the cession and death of Hasan, this chieftain became full possessor of the Khalifate. He was the son of Abu Sofian, the uncle, and one of the steadiest opposers of Mahomet; to whom he was forced to submit, after the surrender of Mecca, and to embrace Islamism, with his family, to save themselves from destruction. Abu Sofian, after his conversion, asked three favours of Mahomet: 1. To appoint him commander-in-chief of his forces against the Infidels. 2. To make his son, Moawiyah, his secretary. And 3. To marry him to his second daughter, Gazah. He granted the two first, but refused the last, lest perhaps it might tempt Moawiyah to become a rival to Ali, who had married his eldest daughter, and was his prime favourite.

Moawiyah inherited his father's courage, abilities, and wealth, and therefore set himself up as the competitor of Ali, on his election, and by the important accession of the valiant Amru to his party, out-generalled Ali in policy, though unequal to him in prowess. When Ali proposed to decide their pretensions by single combat, Moawiyah declined the unequal contest: and when Amru urged him thereto, I see, said he, you wish to be Khalif yourself, in my room! In which, perhaps, he was not mistaken.

By the same crooked policy, with which he removed Hasan, he gained over a spurious brother of his own, Ziyad, Governor of Persia, a man of great talents, and powerful interest, who might have given him no small disturbance, by acknowledging him as his brother, upon the testimony of a Greek slave, still living, whose wife, Abu Sofian, when heated with wine, before the prohibition in the Koran, had debauched, and on her begotten Ziyad. This was the first time that the Koran had been openly violated in a judicial process. For Mahomet, in such cases, had adjudged the child to the blankets, to be reared by his legal father; but the adulteress, to the stone, or to be stoned to death.

Moawiyah now employed his brother, Ziyad, with great success, in restoring peace and tranquillity throughout the disturbed provinces of Basra, Cufa, Khorasan, Segistan, Bahren, Amman, and India; which he soon effected, by the steadiness
and unrelenting severity of his administration. Basra, when he came thither, was infested by a banditti, that rendered it unsafe for any citizen to walk in the streets after sun-set, without being exposed to robbery and murder. Ziyad published an order, that no person whatever should appear in the streets or public places after the hour of evening prayer, under pain of death; and he appointed patrols of soldiers to execute the order.

The first night, two hundred persons were killed; the second night, five; and the third night, none.

At Cufta, he was insulted by the populace, who threw stones or gravel at him in the mosque. But he ordered his attendants to secure the doors, and let none out; and then commanded the people who had not offended to seize the offenders, which they did, and he immediately cut off the hands of fourscore of them, on the spot, who could not purge themselves by oath. Soon after he issued an order to the citizens, to leave open the door of their houses all night, promising to indemnify them if they lost any thing by complying therewith. But no theft or robbery was committed, when none dared to appear in the streets, after the prescribed hour. A shepherd, one night, passing through the town with his flock, was apprehended, but pleaded ignorance of the edict. Ziyad replied: "I am willing to believe that you speak the truth; but the safety of the whole town depends upon your death." And instantly ordered his head to be struck off, to the inexpressible terror of the spectators. Such unrelenting severity elsewhere would savour of cruelty, but it was necessary for the government of that turbulent and treacherous people; and though it fell heavy on some individuals, it secured the repose of the public, under his just and impartial administration.

After he had completely established the peace of those countries, by the terror of his name, he wrote to the Khalif, requesting the government of Arabia also. "My left hand is employed in governing the people of Irak, but my right hand is idle; put Arabia under its government, and I will give you a good account thereof." Moawiyah having readily agreed, the inhabitants of Medina were so alarmed, that their Iman, in his public prayers, put up this petition: "O God, satisfy this right hand, which is idle and superfluous to Ziyad! Here is an elegant play upon his name, which signifies, in Arabic,
"abundant," or "superfluous." Soon after this prayer, says an Arabic author, a plague boil broke out on his right hand, and he expired in exquisite torture.

The cruelty of Samrah, his deputy at Basra, during Ziyad's residence at Cufa, was enormous; in half a year, he put to death 8000 persons. This shocked even Ziyad, who expostulated, whether he was not afraid of having murdered one innocent Mussulman, in all that multitude? He coolly replied, that if he had destroyed double that number of Basrans, it would not have given him the slightest uneasiness, on that score. However, the Khalif deposed him for his savage barbarity; when he exclaimed, on hearing his disgrace, "God curse Moawiyah! If I had served God so well as I have served him, he would not have damned me to all eternity!"——What a horrid and furious expression was this, of the deepest remorse and the blackest despair *

The mercenary and barefaced ambition of Moawiyah appeared in his answer to the Greek emperor's ambassador, requesting that he would not assist the rebel Sapor, who had seized Armenia; but the Khalif alledged, "both were his enemies, and therefore he would assist the party that would pay him best." And when the ambassador still pressed him not to assist Sapor, he answered, "Give us the whole revenue of your dominions, and we will permit you to be called lords of them; but if you refuse, we will drive you out of them." "Then," replied the other, "you look upon the Arabs as the substance, and the Greeks as the shadow; we must therefore appeal to THE LORD OF HEAVEN AND EARTH." The Greeks soon had occasion to make the appeal; for the Khalif sent his son Yezid with a powerful army to besiege Constantinople, for the first time, in the 48th of the Hegira, A.D. 668, but without effect; though some of Mahomet's surviving companions joined the expedition, animated by the prophet's pontifical indulgence, that the sins of the first army, which should take the city of Caesar, were forgiven.

About the 50th or 51st year of the Hegira, Moawiyah gave orders to remove the pulpit and cane of Mahomet, from Medina, to Damascus, his residence. But when those precious relics

* Cardinal Wolsey's dying exclamation, when disgraced by the haughty and capricious Henry VIII. of England, was not unlike: "Had I but served MY GOD with half the zeal I served my king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs: but this is my just reward!"
were upon the point of being removed, there happened so great a solar eclipse, that the stars became visible, to the great astonishment and consternation, not only of the people, but of the Khalif, considering it as a symptom of the divine displeasure, for the unhallowed attempt. (In the former year, A.D. 670, there happened a total and central eclipse of the sun, h. 9½, morn. June 23; and in the latter, A.D. 671, another, that was total, in Asia, 2 h. aftern. June 12. It probably was the former, which was greater.) They instantly desisted. And this prodigy, as it was considered, made such a deep impression upon the public mind, that it afterwards deterred other Khalifs, Abdalmalek, Al Walid, and Soliman, from renewing the attempt, which they meditated.

Moawiyah was a bitter and inveterate enemy to Ali and his family. He introduced a solemn curse, after the conclusion of divine service, against Ali's house; every member of which was cursed and excommunicated, by the Khalif, and the officiating Imans, in all the mosques throughout the empire.

The superstition and uncharitableness indeed of Mahometan and Romish faith, during this dark and gloomy period, kept pace with each other.

In the 57th year of the Hegira, A.D. 676, vast swarms of locusts appeared in Syria and Mesopotamia, and did incredible mischief to their brethren, the symbolical locusts of these turbulent and rebellious provinces, as we learn from Theophanes.

CHARACTER OF MOAWIYAH.

Three years after, Moawiyah died. In his last public speech, he declared, "I am like corn, ready to be reaped; and have governed you till we are weary of one another. I am superior to all my successors, as my predecessors were superior to me. God desires to approach all who are desirous of approaching to him. O God, I long to meet thee, long thou to meet me!" —In arrogance and hypocrisy, this Khalif was scarcely inferior to Mahomet himself.

He presided over Syria about forty years; as lieutenant, under Omar, four years; under Othman, twelve years; and forcibly under Ali, five years; and over the Saracen empire, as Khalif, after the renunciation of Hasan, nineteen years; and extended his conquests in Africa, westward, and in Usbeck Tartary, eastward, by his valour, address, and policy.
His generosity, and love of poetry, are celebrated by the Arabian historians.

1. An Arab robber, having been condemned to have his right hand cut off, for his offence, according to the Koran, composed on the spot an elegy of four beautiful verses, in Arabic, which so softened the Khalif, that he instantly pardoned him; affording the first example of a dispensation from the rigour of the law, by the supreme magistrate.

2. A young Arab having been deprived of a fair wife, whom he loved to distraction, by the Governor of Cufa, who was smitten with her charms, addressed the Khalif in a most pathetic copy of verses, praying for redress. Moawiyah, delighted with the poetry, ordered the governor instantly to resign the woman. This sensualist was so enamoured of her, that he offered to submit to decapitation at the end of the year, if the Khalif would only suffer her to continue with him till then. But the Khalif was peremptory, and the governor forced to surrender her. When she was brought before Moawiyah, he was extremely surprized at her uncommon beauty, and still more at her polished manners, and elegance of expression; and declared, that he had never before heard such a flow of eloquence, as issued from the mouth of this charming Arab woman. He then jocosely asked her, Whether she would choose to live with himself, with the governor, or with her husband? She modestly answered in verse, that however each called his station, and his ability to raise her higher than she either expected or deserved, it could not secure her against eternal damnation; the highest favour therefore, if he intended her any, would be to restore her to her dear husband. Which he not only did, but added a splendid equipage, and a large sum of money, to recruit the fortune, which her husband's fondness had expended on her.

3. His patience under the most scurrilous abuse was not less remarkable. The following instance is noticed by Abulfeda.

Arwa, his aunt, a very aged woman, and a relation of Ali's also, once paid him a visit, and reproached him with his conduct. "O nephew, you have been most ungrateful and injurious to your cousin, one of the companions of the prophet. You assumed a title which you had no right to, and took possession of what did not belong to you. You have treated us, as Pharaoh the children of Israel; though Ali bore the same rela-
tion to Mahomet, that Aaron did to Moses.” “Old woman,” said he, “you have lost your wits; hold your tongue.” “What,” replied she, “do you prate, you son of a whore? Your mother was the most notorious strumpet in all Mecca; and among her five gallants, reckoned him your father, whom you most resembled.” Moawiyah coolly replied: “God forgive what is past: what do you want?” She answered: “Two thousand dinars, for the poor of our family; two thousand more, to portion our poor relations; and two thousand more, to support myself in my indigency.” All which was immediately paid her by the Khalif’s order.

4. Hasan of Basra, a man of high authority with the Sunnites, or Orthodox, objected four things to Moawiyah, each of which, he said, deserved destruction: 1. He usurped the Khalifate, without consulting the companions, the nobles, or the people. 2. He rendered the Khalifate hereditary in his own family, and appointed his son Yezid to succeed him, though he was a drunkard, a lover of music, and wore silk. 3. He owned Ziyad, the bastard, for his brother, in opposition to Mahomet and the Koran. 4. He treated most cruelly Hejer, a man of uncommon piety, and his companions.

YEZID.

The reigns of his son Yezid and of the ensuing Khalifs of the house of Ommiah, which ended with the ninth, Yezid II. during a period of near 70 years, from A.D. 679, to A.D. 743, were turbulent in the highest degree, harassed by revolts, insurrections, and competitions for the sovereignty, among the leading men, and governors of the provinces; and most of the Khalifs themselves were either killed in battle, or assassinated, reigning, at an average, not quite eight years a-piece. The disgusting detail is given at length in the Modern Universal History, Vol. II. from which the following particulars are selected, as most worthy of notice.

Ali’s second son Husain, (who disputed the Khalifate with Yezid, and was at length deserted by the treacherous Cufans, and slain in battle) when a boy, once asked his father, “Do you love me?” “Yes, tenderly,” said Ali. “Do you love God?”
“Surely.” “But two loves can never meet in one heart?” This remark moved Ali, even to tears. Seeing this, to comfort his father, Husain proceeded; “Which would you consider the greater evil, my death, or the sin of infidelity?” Ali replied, “I would rather resign you, than abandon my faith.” Then said Husain, “it is evident, that you love God better than me. You have natural tenderness toward me, but true love toward God.” This prince is still held in the highest veneration among the Persians, who celebrate Yaum Hosein, “the day of Husein’s death,” by an anniversary mourning, which tends to uphold the schism between them and the Sonnites. The Persian writers hold the memory of Yezid in such abhorrence, that to the mention of his name, they generally annex, the curse of God be upon him!

MOAWIYAH II.

This prince, who succeeded his father Yezid, finding himself unequal to the burden of the Khalifate, voluntarily abdicated it, and said to the people, “My grandfather Moawiyah deprived a worthier man of the Khalifate; nor did my father deserve that sublime station. For my part, I am determined not to be responsible to God for so weighty a charge; and shall therefore invest whomsoever you chuse with the authority of Khalif.” When the people wanted him to make a choice, he refused, saying, I have not enjoyed the advantages, why then should I incur the most invidious part of the office? Suffer me, therefore, to discharge my own conscience, and judge ye, for yourselves, the most capable to fill my place.—Such humility and moderation are uncommon in any age or country, and enliven the barren history of his time. If we believe Abulfaragi, the house of Ommiyah were so exasperated against his preceptor Maksus, by whose advice he abdicated, as they supposed, that they buried him alive!—The inscription on this Khalif’s seal was remarkable: “The world is a cheat,” strongly resembling that of Feridun, p. 36 of this volume.

* Al Shafei, a famous Mahometan doctor, and founder of the third orthodox sect of the Sonnites, held, that whoever pretends to love the world and its Creator, at the same time, is a liar.
The empire was soon after split into two powerful factions, of which one espoused the house of Ommiyah in Syria, the other the house of Hashem, or Ali, in Arabia. The Syrian Khalif, Abdalmalek, artfully substituted a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, instead of the pilgrimage to Mecca; by the same policy which formerly prompted Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, to prevent the revolted tribes from attending the national worship at Jerusalem; and he ordered that holy relic, the stone steps, on which the Khalif Omar had knelt and prayed there, to be removed from the outside into the body of the mosque; as a counterbalance to the black stone at the Caaba.

In the Khalifate of Abdalmalek, in the year 76 of the Hegira, the dinars, or gold coins, and dirhems, or silver, were first struck with Arabic, instead of Greek inscriptions, and in the Cufic character, without heads. A dirhem, coined twelve years after, in the reign of the succeeding Khalif Al Walid, has this inscription in front, "There is only one God, who has no associate;" on the reverse, "God is one, eternal, unbegotten, and unbegotten." Round the former, "In the name of God, this dirhem was struck at Waset, in the year of the Hegira 88;" and round the latter, "Mahomet is the Apostle of God, sent to propagate the true religion, though it be opposed by the associators."—

This Khalif was more powerful than any of his predecessors. He reduced Arabia, conquered great part of India, and carried his arms westward from Africa into Spain; and what was more, he curbed the various sectaries throughout his dominions.

His son and successor Al Walid, extended his dominions northward, into Turkestan and Tartary, and took Bokhara and Samarkand. His governor in Irak and Hejaz, was Al Hejai, who built Waset upon the Tigris, in the 83d year of the Hegira, pre-eminently distinguished for his enormous cruelty. He is said to have put to death 120,000 men, and to have left 50,000 men and 30,000 women to perish in prison.

HEJAI, THE GOVERNOR.

1. One day, Hejai met a stranger, an Arab of the desert, and asked him what sort of a man was the governor? He answered,
a very wicked man. Do you know me? Not I, said the Arab; I am Al Hejai, said he, of whom you have given so bad a character. Then said the Arab in turn, Do you know me? Not I, said the governor. I am, replied he, of the family of Zobeir: who all become fools three days in the year: and this is one of the days. Pleased at the Arab’s readiness and wit, Al Hejai pardoned him.

2. Another time, when he was hunting and alone, grown thirsty with the chase, he civilly asked an Arab, who was feeding his camels in a lonely spot, to give him a little water to drink. The Arab, without returning his salute, said roughly, Alight and help yourself, for I am neither your companion nor your servant. He did so; and when he had drunk, he asked, Whom do you count the best of all men? The prophet of God, burst you, said the Arab. What think you of Ali? His excellency, said he, is inexpressible. What think you of Abdalmalek? The Arab paused, but being pressed for an answer, intimated, that he was a bad prince. Why so? said Al Hejai. Because he has sent us the most wicked governor under the heavens. The Arab then looking stedfastly at Al Hejai, who was finely dressed, asked, Who are you? Not chusing to acknowledge himself, he answered, Why do you ask? Because, says he, this bird passing over our heads, by her croaking, tells me you are the chief of the company approaching. His attendants then came up, and by order of the governor, took with them the poor Arab. Next day, he was brought to Al Hejai’s table, who desired him to eat. The Arab then said his usual grace, God grant that the end of this meal may be as fortunate as the beginning! After dinner, the governor asked, Do you remember the discourse we held yesterday? The Arab answered, God prosper you in every thing; what passed yesterday is a secret, not to be divulged to day. But I will divulge it, replied Al Hejai. Take your choice, then, whether you will stay with me, as my servant, or be sent to the Khalif, with a report of what you have said. He instantly replied, there is a third course, better than either of these. What is that? Send me home, and never let us see each other any more! Not a little pleased at the poor man’s spirit and readiness, the governor dismissed him, with a present of ten thousand dirhems.

3. The poet Kumeil was brought before him, upon the charge of having, in a certain company, cursed Al Hejai, The Lord
blacken his face! may his neck be cut asunder! and his blood be shed!—Kumeil, who could not deny, readily acknowledged the charge: I uttered the words, indeed, but their meaning was mistaken: I was then in a vine arbour, and saw a bunch of grapes not yet ripe; I only wished that they would soon turn black, that I might cut off their heads, and drink their blood.

The poet escaped by the readiness of his wit.

The Khalif Al Walid was the first that founded hospitals for the sick, and caravanseras or inns for travellers; and he built, (or his governor, by his directions) at Samarkand, one of the most superb mosques in all the Saracen empire.

The second siege of Constantinople was undertaken by his brother and successor, Solyman, with a prodigious army and fleet, in the 98th year of the Hegira, which commenced August 25th, A.D. 716; but after a siege of thirteen months, or two years, according to Abulfaragi, the Saracens were forced to retreat, with incredible loss, from the Greek artificial fire, which burned under water, from the sword, famine and pestilence. Solyman, however, died greatly beloved by his subjects, who styled him Moftah al Khair, the key of goodness*.

OMAR II.

His brother and successor was much better entitled to the appellation. He was, indeed, the brightest ornament of that degenerate age. Abubekr and Omar had been eminent for their justice and piety, at an earlier and better period, but Omar surpassed them, because he was free from their fiery zeal and blind superstitions. Shocked at the impious and uncharitable imprecations denounced daily against the house of Ali, which had subsisted from the time of his ancestor, Moawiyah I, for upwards of half a century; and at the same time, dreading the charge of innovation, and the cry of the bigots, The law is neglected! the law is neglected! which he could not entirely silence, he contrived the following expedient. He desired a confidential Jew, whom he frequently honoured with his conversation, to ask of him his daughter in marriage, before his whole court. The Jew accordingly did so; and the Khalif purposely refused him, say-

* When Mahomet was furnished in the Apocalypse with the key of imposture, to open the abyss and let out the smoke of Islamism and the Saracen locusts, the imagery, we see, was purely Oriental, and Arabian.
ing, This cannot be, since you and I differ in religion. The Jew replied, Did not Mahomet marry his daughter to Ali? Yes, said the Khalif, but the cases are not alike: for Ali was a Mussulman, and afterwards Khalif himself. Why then, retorted the Jew, do you curse him publicly in your mosques? Seemingly embarrassed by this home question, he turned, and said to his courtiers, Answer this Jew. But they being unable to answer, and confounded themselves, he declared, that for the future, the malediction should be suppressed, and instead of it, the following fine passage of the Koran substituted: “Forgive us our sins, O Lord, and pardon all our brethren, who profess the same faith with us!” This was in the genuine spirit of the Gospel and of our reformed Church. See our Collects for Good Friday’s service.

This excellent Mussulman, and almost Christian, introduced this reform in the 100th year of the Hegira, A.D. 718, in the second year of his reign. But it involved him in a fatal dilemma, which occasioned his death. One Shuzib, a zealot, excited a revolt against him, and sent deputies to represent, that as he had condemned the Khalifs of his own house of Ommiyah, by rescinding their malediction against the house of Ali, he was bound, in justice, to transfer the malediction to them. This, Omar refused to do, because even Pharaoh, who arrogantly opposed himself to God, was never formally cursed in the Scriptures; much less would he curse his pious relatives, who discharged the rites and duties of Islamism. Baffled in this, they changed their ground, and opened a fresh battery of grievance. Why should you, so just and upright a prince, leave your crown to an impious and abandoned successor? Omar replied, that such a case might happen, or otherwise, and that the disposal of future contingencies should be left to Providence. They instantly rejoined, “But Yezid, your brother, and declared successor, is notorious for all the bad qualities of the most flagitious prince!” Omar was so struck, that he could not forbear shedding tears; and desired three days’ time to consider of a proper answer to their observation. But the heads of the house of Ommiyah, apprehensive that he might change the order of succession, willed by Soliman, bribed a slave to poison him, and shortly after effected their wicked purpose. When the poison began to operate, his friends represented that he ought to use proper antidotes; but he declined, with perfect resignation to
the will of God, and full conviction of his own inevitable destiny, declaring that he would not rub even the tip of his ear with a little oil, if that could cure him. Moslema, his brave and faithful general, coming to visit him, could not forbear blaming Fatima, his own sister, and the Khalif's wife, for the foulness of his linen. She excused herself, by saying that Omar had not another shirt to put on! Such frugality and humility drew tears even from the veteran warrior. After his death, his study was opened, and nothing found there, but a closethick riding coat, and a swinging rope, with which he sometimes amused himself, after his spirits had been exhausted by long and fervent prayer.

In the 108th year of the Hegira, the Saracens penetrated into France, across the Pyrenees, from Spain, where they had established a western Khalif, under the title of Emir al Mumenin, "Governor of the Believers," which the Spanish writers corrupted into Amiramomen, or Miramolin. But they were opposed by Charles Martel, at Tours, and defeated with incredible slaughter; no less than 375,000 of them, with their general, Abdalrahman, having been killed in the action, with the loss of only 1500 Christians, if we may believe the French and Spanish writers. Europe seems to have been prohibited ground to the Saracens. They could make no farther settlements there; and were driven out of Spain in no long time.

The Khalifs of the house of Ommiyah, by the confession of one of that family, attained the throne, and maintained themselves thereon, by usurpation, and an incredible effusion of Mussulman blood. The last of that race was

MERWAN II.

In the third year of his reign, the 127th of the Hegira, A.D. 744, dirhems were struck at the mint of Waset, with inscriptions in the Cufic character, expressive of the unity of God, some of which were found on the coast of the Baltic in June, 1722. This prince was finally defeated and slain in a general engagement, by his rival, Abul Abbas, in the year of the Hegira 132, A.D. 749, who succeeded him, under the title of

ABUL ABBAS AL SAFFAH.

When this prince, the founder of a new race, ascended the
throne, the Saracen empire was of vast extent, as appears from the governors he appointed over the provinces of Aderbegian, Armenia, and Mesopotamia; Mosul, Higaz, and Basra; Persia, Khorasan, Scindia, and India; Syria, Arabia, Egypt, exclusive of Africa and Spain. An astonishing accession of empire in little more than a century from the rise of the Khalifate.

AL MANSUR.

This prince succeeded his brother, Al Saffah, and had a most wonderful escape from assassination in the third year of his reign, which, from its uncommon circumstances, deserves to be noticed.

The Rawandians, an heretical sect, who held the transmigration of souls, and had strenuously promoted the interests of the house of Al Abbas, went in procession seven times round Al Mansur's palace, in the city Al Hashemiyah, where he resided, as if it were the Caaba; thus idolatrously offering him divine honours. Offended at this impiety, the Khalif ordered their chieftains to be imprisoned, which so provoked the rest, that they resolved to assassinate him, and actually besieged and surprized him in his palace. He defended himself with uncommon bravery, and was unexpectedly joined by Maan Ebn Zaidat, one of the Ommiyan party, who had been proscribed, and kept himself concealed, but now nobly and generously came forth to the rescue of the Khalif, and putting himself at the head of his attendants, charged the rebels so vigorously, that he routed them, with the loss of 6000 men killed on the spot. The generosity of Maan became proverbial. But the Khalif was so disgusted at the ill-treatment he had received in this city, that he resolved to build another for his residence, on the banks of the Tigris, near its confluence with the Euphrates, the famous city of Bagdad, of which he laid the foundations in the year of the Hegira 145, according to Abulfaragi, p. 141, and finished it in the 149th year. The Khalif called his new metropolis, Medinat, or Dar al Salem, "the city, or sojourn of peace," because at the time it was finished, all the commotions in his empire were quelled, and almost every nation in Asia had either submitted to his dominion, or were tributary. Herbelot, p. 155.

Al Mansur left in his treasury, 600 millions of silver dirhems.
and 24 millions of gold *dinars*, the spoils and tribute of the world *

Here then, we find the remarkable termination of the *Saracen* conquests, for "five months," or 150 lunar years of the *Hegira*, according to the Apocalypse. Rev. ix. 5. Now, the symbolical "locusts" ceased to harass the world with their incessant depredations, and thenceforward became a settled and a polished nation; and their Khalifs, men of letters, and distinguished patrons of learning and the fine arts.

**HARUN, OR AARON AL RASCHID.**

This was one of the most celebrated princes of the house of *Abbas*. He and his favourite vizir *Giafar*, and chief chamberlain *Mesrour*, bear a distinguished part in the entertaining *Arabian tales* of the *thousand and one nights*, which record many genuine traits of his character. The following are collected from the historians.

*Nicephorus*, the Greek emperor, in a letter to the Khalif, not only refused to pay the usual subsidy, but required him to refund all he had received, threatening, that if he refused, the sword should decide the controversy. The Khalif had no sooner read the letter, than, inflamed with rage, he inscribes upon the back of it the following answer:

**IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.**

*From Harun, prince of the Faithful, to Nicephorus, dog of the Romans: I have read thy letter, thou son of an unbelieving mother. What thou shalt behold, and not what thou shalt hear, shall serve thee for an answer thereto.* Immediately he decamped that very day, ravaged the country as far as *Heraclea*, and forced *Nicephorus* to pay the subsidy. *Abulfeda*, p. 166.

His generosity bordered on extravagance. One day, having received a remittance of 30,000 pieces of gold from the revenues of one of the provinces, he went on horseback to view the treasure; and observing his courtiers cast a longing eye thereon, he

*Al Mansur*, who was covetous to a great degree, once found these four Persian verses written on the wall of a Caravansera.

*The kingdoms and riches of this world are not given, but only lent us;*  
*Let none reckon them secure, nor pride himself thereon.*  
*Whoever sets his heart on them, will be covered with confusion,*  
*When he must resign them to Him from whom he received them.*
disposed of no less than 24,000 pieces among his friends before he took his foot out of the stirrup to alight. Abulfeda, p. 189.

One day, a woman claiming redress for damages done by his troops to her house and lands, he told her in the language of the Koran, that “when princes go to war, the people must suffer from their soldiers.” Yes, said she, but the Koran also declares, that “the habitations of those princes who authorize injustice, shall be made desolate.” He instantly ordered her ample reparation.

He once took a fancy for a female slave belonging to his brother. Ibrahim was willing to gratify the Khalif, but he had sworn neither to sell nor to give her away. To remove this impediment, a celebrated lawyer of Bagdad was consulted, named Joseph, who put Ibrahim on a method of evading his oath, by selling only one half of the slave to the Khalif, and giving him the other half. This was immediately done, and the Khalif paid for her 30,000 dinars, which Ibrahim gave to Joseph for his ingenuity. But now a fresh obstacle arose. By the Mussulman law, no man can have any commerce with his brother’s wife, or concubine, until she has been married again to a third person, and divorced by him. Joseph, however, suggested, that the Khalif might easily marry her to one of his slaves, who would repudiate her afterwards; which was immediately done. But the amorous slave did not chuse to part with his fair spouse, and would not, for any consideration, consent to a divorce. Here was a new and more embarrassing difficulty, for the Khalif, all despotic as he was, durst not compel him. But Joseph soon contrived a remedy. By the Mahometan law, no woman can be the wife of her own slave. He therefore desired the Khalif to make the lady a present of her new husband, which virtually dissolved the marriage. The Khalif, overjoyed to have the nuptial knot so readily untied, gave Joseph 10,000 dinars for his ingenuity, and the lady, who had received a considerable present from her royal lover, gave him 10,000 more. So the lawyer gained upon the whole 50,000 dinars, about 25,000l. by his casuistry.

How far Harun was entitled Al Raschid, “the just,” with truth, may be questioned from this instance. Richardson’s Dissertations, p. 225.

The greatest stain, however, upon his justice, was his cruel
and unworthy treatment of his own sister, and the noble family of the Barmecides.

His favourite vizir, Giafar, was the most eloquent, best informed, and accomplished person in the whole empire, and the Khalif delighted in his conversation. He also took much pleasure in the company of the charming princess Abassa, his sister. To enjoy without reserve the society of his two favourites at his repasts, which nothing but their marriage could sanction, according to the etiquette of oriental courts, he proposed, and Giafar rashly agreed to marry her, without availing himself of a husband's rights. But love and opportunity broke through such an unnatural restraint, and Abassa * proved with child. Enraged at this breach of compact, the merciless Harun ordered the head of the frail Giafar to be struck off, and brought to him. He shut up his innocent father and brother in prison till they died; he proscribed all the worthy Barmecides throughout the provinces, and confiscated their immense wealth, lest they should rise and revenge the deaths of Giafar and his family; and he ordered his hapless sister, and her new born twins, whom he viewed, beautiful as a pair of pearls, and even wept at the piteous sight, to be all buried alive in a pit, and the earth cast in upon them! According to Abulfaragi, p. 151. The Nighiaristan says that Abassa was only banished from the palace, and lived as an outcast for many years upon alms. Herbelot.

When he was going to extinguish a rebellion that had been raised in Khorasan by Raphei, he fell sick on the way of his last illness. The brother of the rebel chief, who had been taken, was brought to him in chains, when he was unable to utter more than a single word—Kill him! He was torn in pieces by

* In the Divan Saba are preserved some tender Arabic verses of Abassa, in which she first disclosed her passion to her amiable husband, Giafar:

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My love I had resolved to hide within my breast,
But in spite of me, it escaped, and shewed itself.
If you will not surrender to this summons,
My modesty will expire with my secret;
But if you shall cruelly reject it,
You will save my life by your refusal.
Happen what may, I shall not die unreavenged,
For my death will discover who has been my assassin.
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HERBELOT, ABASSA.
the executioner in his presence, and then the Khalif himself fainted away and expired.

And yet this superstitious prince performed a pilgrimage to Mecca on foot, and eight more in pomp. He daily made a hundred incursions at his devotions, and gave a thousand dirhems to the poor. He preferred sacrifice before mercy, and gave the following inconsistent advice to his eldest son Al Amin, who complained of a person who had abused his mother Zobeide.

"Forgive him, my son, this is worthy of a great and magnanimous prince. Or, if you wish to take revenge, treat his mother in the same way."

From his liberalities, however, to the learned, no Khalif was more highly praised by the oriental poets and historians. Like Augustus* by the western.

DECLENSION OF THE SARACEN EMPIRE.

We may date this from the 214th year of the Hegira, A.D. 829, when the remote provinces of the west, in Africa and Spain, grew independent of the Khalif. Ibrahim ibn Aqlab, had been sent as Emir, or governor thither, by Harun al Raschid, in the year of the Hegira 184. He conquered a large extent of territory, and assumed almost absolute power, which was enjoyed by his descendants about 112 years. In the 216th year Al Mamun suppressed two rebellions in Egypt.

In the 325th, many of the provinces revolted from the Khalif Al Radi, owing to the incapacity of the Khalifs and their visirs, and shook off the Saracen yoke, although this prince created a supreme Emir, under the title of Emir Al Omra, "Emir of Emirs," who was to have the sole management of the finances and of military affairs; but the evil was too far advanced to be redressed by such means, and the provinces of Egypt, Syria, Persia, Parthia, Karmania, Mazanderan, in the east †, were governed by their native princes, who retained only a spiritual allegiance to the Khalif, disclaiming his temporal dominion, and considering him as merely the chief Iman, or supreme pontiff

* Augustus was naturally cruel, until he had proscribed all his enemies: One day when sitting to enjoy the spectacle of a public execution, Meenas his favourite, shocked at his behaviour, said, Surge tandem tu carniifax, "Rise, at last, thou butcher!"

† See a particular list of these provinces and their governors, Modern Universal History. Vol. II. p. 562. Octavo.
of the Mussulman religion, whose functions were limited to ecclesiastical concerns, such as preaching and praying in the Great Mosque at Baghdad, and deciding in spiritual causes.

Thus, this great and unwieldy empire, rapidly formed, as rapidly decayed. Consisting of heterogeneous and ill-cemented materials, it mouldered away and crumbled into dust; and during the remaining 331 years, the Khalifat retained only the shadow of sovereignty, beyond Baghdad and its dependencies, until its dissolution by the Mogul Tartars.

RISE OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE.

The founder of this mighty empire was Tamujin, a Tartar prince, who had been vassal to Ung Khan, king of the eastern Tartars, a Christian, called Prester John by European travellers, and had served him with much fidelity in the wars. But John, growing jealous of his abilities, and instigated by the courtiers, intended to seize and imprison Tamujin. But he, having received intelligence of the Khan's design, threw off his allegiance, attacked John, defeated and killed him, after several engagements, and made slaves of his family, and asserted his independence in the year of the Hegira 599, A.D. 1202, according to Abulfaragi, p. 280.

About this time, an itinerant prophet of the Mogul Tartars came and told him, that God had given the empire of the world to Tamujin and his posterity, and named him Genghis Khan, "king of kings." Whence he assumed that title in future, and required all the Tartar tribes to recognize his sovereignty. This they did, partly by persuasion, partly by compulsion. After this Genghis Khan extended his conquests eastwards towards China, and westwards to the Caspian sea, during a reign of twenty-five years. He died in the 624th year of the Hegira, and appointed to succeed him, Oktai Khan, the third and wisest of his sons, and his bequest was confirmed by the Kuriltai, or general council of his sons and Tartar princes, in the year 625, assembled from the different states of his vast empire. Oktai himself resisted the election for forty days, declaring that he had brothers and uncles older and worthier than himself, to fill so exalted a station; but he was at length prevailed on, and Joktai, his eldest brother, and Utacin, his uncle, taking each his hands, placed him upon the imperial throne.
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

A rare instance of moderation, equally honourable to all the parties.

Oktai Khan followed his father’s example, and extended his conquests. In the 632d of the Hegira, the city of Kong-chung-fu in China, surrendered to his son Kotovan; and his general Suputai, with an army of 300,000 men, ravaged the countries to the north-east, north, and west of the Caspian sea. Next year they penetrated into Assyria, and overran the districts of Arbela and Nineveh. In the 635th year they made an incursion into Irak, and penetrated almost to the gates of Bagdad, but were routed with incredible slaughter, by the Khalif Al Daher’s forces. But they returned before the end of the year, defeated his army, and returned laden with spoils.

In the 640th died the Khalif Al Mostanser. The following anecdote is recorded of him in Tarik Al Abbas. Visiting his treasury one day, he observed a cistern full of gold and silver, and exclaimed to an intimate friend who attended him, Would to God I could live to spend all this money! The other laughed and said, How different were the sentiments of your grandfather, the Khalif Al Naser; he formerly brought me to this same cistern, when it wanted twelve feet of being full, and when he saw the deficiency, exclaimed, Would to God I could live to fill this! This was the first Khalif who suffered his effigy to be impressed on his coins. A brass coin of his came into the possession of the celebrated antiquary Swinton, with the face on one side, and this legend, “The Imam al Mostanser Billah, Commander of the Faithful;” on the reverse, the date of the year, 630 odd, the last figure being defaced.

He was succeeded by his son Al Mostasem, the last of the Khalifs. He was devoted to his pleasures, wanted firmness and judgment, and utterly neglected the affairs of government. When he was advised either to submit to the Tartars, or to oppose them with an army in Khorasan, he meanly replied, “Bagdat is sufficient for me: if I relinquish to the Tartars the other provinces, surely they will not envy me this city, nor attack me in my residence.

In the year of the Hegira, 643, died Oktai Khan, whose eldest son Kayuk Khan, was unanimously elected next year to succeed him, in preference to his brothers, on account of his superior merit, by the most numerous and splendid Kuriltai, or general council of the Mogul states, that was ever convened,

This prince died also, after a short reign of four years, and his eldest son Batu nominated his own brother, Mangu Khan, as the fittest to fill the throne; and his nomination was confirmed by the next general assembly, held in the 649th of the Hegira, why styled him also Kaan.

Mangu Khan had seven brothers, of whom the second Hulaku was a great warrior. In the year 651, he was sent with a powerful army to invade the western provinces. Hulaku first attacked the Ismaelians, or Assassins *, took their castles, and extirpated that wicked race, in the year 655. This year the

* THE ASSASSINS.

This was a very remarkable tribe in Persian Irak, founded by Hassan Sabah, in A.D. 1090. From his name, Hassan probably, they derived their name Assassins. He was usually called Sheik al Jibel, "the chief of the mountain," and had acquired such an astonishing ascendancy over his fanatical followers, that they would execute his orders implicitly, regardless of death.

When the Sultan Malekshah Jelaleddin, Emir al Omra to the Khalif of Bagdad, sent to require his submission, Hassan ordered one of his attendants to poignard himself; and another to leap from the battlements of the tower. He was immediately obeyed. Then turning to the ambassador, he said, Seventy thousand are thus devoted to my commands: Let this be my answer.

Several princes and great men fell by these Assassins, who assumed any disguise, and penetrated into every place to execute the orders of their chieftain. They murdered the Khalif of Egypt, Amer Billah, the Khalif of Bagdad, Mostarshed, and the Vair, Al Mulk; Sultan Saladin narrowly escaped from three of them, who attacked and wounded him in his tent. Under the disguise of Christian monks, two of them, during the Crusades, stabbed the Marquis of Montserrat, in the streets of Tyre; and though immediately seized, and put to the rack, they died without making any confession. Richard I. king of England, who had been at variance with the Marquis, was suspected of having procured his death; but the Sheik of the Mountain, wrote a letter to Leopold, duke of Austria, generously exculpating Richard, and avowing the assassination himself, because the Marquis had robbed and murdered one of his fraternity at Tyre, and refused to make reparation. "Such," concluded he, "were our motives for the death of the marquis: and we assure you, that Richard, king of England, was in no ways blameable on that score; he has been accused without justice and without reason. Be assured we will kill no man for reward, or for money, unless he first injure us."

These desperate villains laid almost every eastern potentate under contribution through fear. The Knights Templars and Hospitallers alone set the Sheik at defiance, and compelled him in turn to pay an annual tribute; well knowing that the assassination of one or more Grand Masters might only exasperate these formidable republican orders, but could not deprive them of a head. Herbelot, History of the Crusades, &c.

Like the Barbary pirates, these subsisted so long, not from their own strength, but rather from the jealousies and selfish views of the surrounding potentates. Even Saladin was induced, from private considerations, not only to pardon, but even to protect them. A few of them who escaped from Hulaku, settled in the province of Mezanderan, and were destroyed by Tamerlane afterwards. Richardson's Diss. p. 360.
grand mosque at Medina took fire, by accident, or by the carelessness of the people, and was nearly consumed. The blaze of the conflagration, seen, at night, to a great distance all around, struck the Arabs with dismay, as portending some signal calamity to their religion.

The next year of the Hegira, 656, the infatuated and covetous Al Mostasem, by the advice of his traitorous Visir, Alkami, disbanded his troops, amounting to 70,000 men, as if they were useless and expensive, since, as Khalif, he was reverenced by all the Mussulman powers, and the Tartars were employed in their northern conquests. The Visir next persuaded him to send off his best officers to distant places, and then dispatched an express to Hulaku, to inform him how easily he might take the Khalif and his capital. Quitting Hamadan, the Tartars unexpectedly broke into the Babylonian Irak, and invested the city, with a powerful army, while the inhabitants were in perfect security, so that the oven was heated as usual every night and morning. And so careless and inattentive was the Khalif, that it was some time before he could be made sensible that his city was besieged. The city was taken by assault, at the end of four days*, and the wretched Khalif cruelly put to death. By order of the Tartar general, he was sewed up in a leathern bag, and dragged through the streets of the city, till he expired, according to Herbelot. But Abulfaragi simply states, that Hulaku put him, his surviving son, and six eunuchs, to death by night, but not until he left Bagdad, at his first encampment, on the fourteenth of the ensuing month, Saphar, p. 339. This is much more credible; for surely the Tartar general could have no provocation to torture a weak and silly prince, who made no resistance; and such a barbarous procedure would have given great offence to all the Mahometan powers of the east, had the supreme head of their church been treated with such unmerited indignity.

This Khalif was extremely covetous, and added greatly to the immense riches left by his ancestors. His pride was so great, that he was difficult of access even to the most powerful Mahometan princes. When he appeared in the city he wore a veil,

* Abulfaragi says, that the siege began on the twenty-second, and the walls were taken the twenty-sixth of the month Mubarram, p. 338. As he was a contemporary writer, and his family were plundered by the Tartars not long before, as he relates, p. 315, his account is more credible than Khondemir's, that the siege lasted two months.
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to attract respect, looking down on the people as unworthy to behold his face. And such was their eagerness and curiosity, that the streets through which he passed were crowded, and the windows and balconies hired out at an extravagant price to spectators. When first apprized of the Mogul's intention of invading Irak, his council wrote in the following haughty strain to the informer: "Who is Hulaku, and what is his power, that he should presume to make war upon the house of Abbas? If Hulaku were a friend to peace, he would never have entered and ravaged the Khalif's territories. Let him return to Hamadan, and we will intercede with the commander of the faithful to forgive the enormity of his crime." This being shewn to the Mogul general, he only laughed at their weakness and simplicity.

Such was the end of the Khalifat, and downfall of this house. Its sagacious founder, Abul Abbas, is said to have foretold this catastrophe.—"By God, the Khalifat will continue in my family, until a conqueror shall come from Khorasan."

* BAGDAD TAKEN.

The Tartars took the city by assault, pillaged it for seven days, and slew a multitude of the inhabitants. The treasures they got were immense; for it was the richest city in the universe, if Khondemir may be credited.

Bagdad remained in the possession of the Moguls till the partition of that mighty empire. Timur beg, or Tamerlane, took it in the year of the Hegira 795, A.D. 1392; and afterwards, a Turkish prince, Kara Joseph, in 815. A.D. 1412. His descendants were driven out by Uzun Hassan, another Turkish chieftain, in 875. A.D. 1470; until Shah Ismael, king of Persia, of the Sufi race, took it 914. A.D. 1508. From that time it has proved a bone of contention between the Turks and Persians. Sultan Soliman, the magnificent, took it from the Persians in 941. A.D. 1534. It was soon retaken by Shah Abbas; then Sultan Amurath IV. retook it, in 1048. A.D. 1638. And since that time it has remained in the hands of the Turks till the present day. See Niebuhr, Tom. II. p. 252—266.

SECTION XIII.

RISE OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

This mighty Mahometan empire succeeded the Saracen, and exceeded it in power and duration. Like the Roman empire, it rose from small and weak beginnings, to great extent and dominion, and still it subsists, though verging fast to ruin.

When the Mogul Tartars, united under that great conqueror, Genghiz Khan, with irresistible force swept away the feeble principalities all around, Solymon, the head of a Turkish clan of the Oguzian tribe of Scythians, one of the meanest, (who had originally pitched their tents in the plains of Mahan and Nessa, upon the southern banks of the Oxus; the same spot from which had issued the founder of the Parthian empire) was driven westwards, from Persia, where he had settled, to Artezerum, or Erzerum, a city of Armenia, on the confines of Cappadocia, and was afterwards drowned, in crossing the Euphrates, A.D. 1237.

His son Ertogrul, or Orthogrul, engaged in the service of Aladin, Sultan of Iconium, the capital city of Carmania, and was rewarded with a settlement at Saguta, or Surgut, a small village and district, near Mount Tmolus, in the greater Phrygia; where he governed a clan of 400 families, under the protection of the Sultan, whom he assisted in his wars for fifty-two years. In A.D. 1281. He took the city of Kutahi, in Cilicia.

He was succeeded in A.D. 1289, by his eldest son Thaman, or Athaman, or Osman, afterwards called Othoman, or Othman, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty.

Othoman was distinguished for his valour, address, and activity; and gradually enlarged the boundary of his little state, by continual inroads into the Christian provinces, on the verge of the Greek empire; and with the Turkish peasants, or freebooters, took several castles on the confines of Bithynia, while he artfully and regularly sent a fifth part of the spoils, as a tribute to the Sultan of Iconium, whose vassal he was, which ensured him that prince's favour and protection; with the rest, he encreased his forces, each ensuing campaign, by the acces-
sion of fresh volunteers; and now fortified the towns and castles which he had first pillaged. At length, he took the celebrated city of Nice, in Bithynia, about A.D. 1298, and sent as usual a fifth of the spoils to the Sultan of Iconium, who pleased at this homage, and his success in the holy war, against the Christians, granted him the title of royalty, and had prayers offered up for the prosperity of Sultan Othoman in the mosques throughout his dominions.

The new Sultan, however, prudently declined the title till the death of his patron, when he assumed the royal functions in 1299, and coined money in his own name, A.D. 1300, whence Knolles dates the commencement of his reign.

This was precisely the same year that Pope Boniface VIII. instituted his jubilee at Rome, and had the two swords (the temporal and spiritual) carried in state before him.

**TURKISH DYNASTY.**

**OTTOMAN SULTANS.**

1. Othoman, or Othman ............... 28 ... 1300
2. Orchan ................................ 32 ... 1328
3. Amurath ................................ 28 ... 1360
4. Bajazet ................................ 13 ... 1388
   Interregnum ................................................................. 14 ... 1401
5. Mahomet ................................ 7 ... 1415
6. Amurath II. ................................ 28 ... 1422
7. Mahomet II. the Great .................. 31 ... 1450
8. Bajazet II. ................................ 31 ... 1481
9. Selim ..................................... 8 ... 1512
10. Solymans the Magnificent ............ 46 ... 1520
11. Selim II. ................................ 8 ... 1566
12. Amurath III. ......................... 21 ... 1574
13. Mahomet III. ......................... 8 ... 1595
14. Achmet .................................. 14 ... 1603
   Mustapha ................................................................. 1 ... 1617
15. { Othman II. .......................... 4 ... 1618
   Mustapha again .......................... 1 ... 1622
16. { Amurath IV. or Morat ................ 26 ... 1623
17. Mahomet IV. .......................... 36 ... 1649
18. Achmet II. .............................. 8 ... 1687
19. Mustapha II. ........................... 8 ... 1695
20. Achmet III. ............................ 27 ... 1703
21. Mahomet V. .............................. 24 ... 1730
22. Othman III. ............................ 3 ... 1754
23. Mustapha III. ......................... 1757

&c.
The chronology and history of this period is collected chiefly from Herbelot, and from Knolles' History of the Turks, with some corrections and additions, from Gibbon and Playfair. Knolles was contemporary with Sultan Achmet, who began to reign A.D. 1603. He is unquestionably too prolix and verbose in his speeches and descriptions of battles, through a large folio of more than 1300 pages, for which he is censured by Gibbon; and also for not exhibiting "some tincture of philosophy or criticism to instruct or amuse an enlightened age," Decline of the Roman Empire, chap. 64, Vol. VIII. p. 336, note. But though his style and manner be somewhat antiquated, wanting the terseness and polish of that modern historian, he greatly excels him in exact references to time and place, so essential to historical clearness and precision; in a sober strain of genuine piety and masculine eloquence; and in profound political reflexions on the comparative state of Christendom and Turkey, and the judgments inflicted by the latter, for the irreligion and vices of the former. His materials are drawn from the most authentic documents, and are mostly the same as those employed by Gibbon, in the last and most entertaining period, perhaps, of his learned and elaborate work, though unhappily tinctured with the spirit of Paganism and Islamism.

OTHOMAN, OR OTHMAN.

This artful, ambitious, and enterprizing prince, pursuing steadily his original system of aggression and encroachment, enlarged his territories on one side, while the Sultans of Iconium curtailed the provinces of the Grecian or Constantinopolitan empire on the other. Meanwhile, the reigning emperors, Michael Palæologus, and his successors, were so engaged and harassed by domestic discords, and insurrections of their European subjects, that they had neither leisure nor ability to attend to the growing power of the Turkish states in Asia Minor, or Anatolia. Hence Othman, without molestation from the imperial forces, gradually reduced a great part of Phrygia, Mysia and Bithynia, defeating in several engagements the Christian princes, or governors; and at length, after a tedious blockade, reduced Prusa, the capital of Bithynia, in A.D. 1327 *, which he thenceforth made the royal residence.

* "From the conquest of Prusa," says Gibbon, "we may date the true era of the Ottoman empire."
He was equally skilled in the arts of peace as of war. And by the prudence, justice, and vigour of his administration, regarding the interests of all descriptions of his subjects, he induced great numbers from the neighbouring harassed and distracted provinces of the empire, to seek an asylum in his territories, which brought a powerful accession to his population. "Of a poor lordship," says Knolles, "he left a great kingdom, having subdued a great part of the lesser Asia, and is worthily accounted the first founder of the Turks' great kingdom and empire."

**ORCHAN**

Succeeded his father, and trod in his steps. The city of Nice having revolted on his father's death, sent for relief to the young emperor Andronicus, who came to raise the siege, but was defeated with great loss by Orchan, and returned with disgrace to his capital, leaving the city to shift for itself. Soon after, Orchan took it by the following artful stratagem. He sent a body of 800 horse, dressed in the Grecian uniform, to approach the town, on the road leading from Constantinople, who furiously charged a squadron of 300 Turkish horse, that were purposely foraging within sight of the city, and put them to a pretended flight; and then advanced triumphant to the gates, which were immediately opened with great joy to receive these false friends, who instantly secured them, plundered the town, and made the inhabitants captives. Nice has continued in the hands of the Turks ever since A.D. 1330.

Orchan then reduced the western regions of Carasina, including Lydia, Mysia, Troas, and Phrygia Minor, belonging to the sultany of Iconium, and took Nicomedia, in A.D. 1339. He surprised the strong castle of Abydos, on the Hellespont, by the treachery of the governor's daughter, who fell in love with a young Turkish officer of his army, seeing him from the walls, and surrendered to him herself and the castle, at night.

His next step was across the Hellespont, into the Thracian Chersonesus, where his ambitious and intrepid son Solyman, with fourscore soldiers, surprised and took two castles on the coast, Zemenie, called by the Greeks Coirido castron, "Hog's castle," and Madytus, near it. These he strongly fortified and garrisoned, without any obstruction from the emperor's forces,
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

the silly Greeks only jesting on the capture of a "hogstye," punning on the name.*

Having now got footing on the European side of the Hellespont, this artful and enterprising Turkish general, in A.D. 1358, surprised the city of Callipolis, or Gallipoli, the key of the Hellespont, where also he firmly established himself, without molestation from the infatuated Grecian government, and extended his dominion in Thrace; and by the wisdom and moderation of his government, he prevailed on great numbers of the Greeks to cross the Hellespont, and settle in Asia Minor; while he transplanted multitudes of hardy and veteran Turkish soldiers into Thrace, to secure and extend his conquests; by a refined policy, thus strengthening his own resources, and weakening his enemies', in a duple proportion.

When Solyman had made and secured all these conquests, he was killed by a fall from his horse in hawking; and the old Sultan, his father, died shortly after, of sickness and grief.

AMURATH.

Orchan was succeeded by his second son. The first measure of Amurath's reign, was to crush a confederacy of the other Mahometan princes against him, excited by jealousy of his power and encroachments. After he had subdued them, he crossed the Hellespont with a powerful army to extend his conquests in Thrace, where he took some forts on the river Hebrus, and afterwards the towns of Didymoticum, and Hadrianople, in the year 1362, by different stratagems, according to the Turkish historians, and in breach of a treaty of peace, which he had made with the Christians of Thrace; which is not improbable. He made Hadrianople, in the midst of that part of Thrace called Romania, his chief European residence.

He now instituted the order of Janizaries, "new soldiers," formed of boys selected from among the Christian captives, under fifteen years of age, who were sent over to Asia, to be educated in the Turkish religion and language, and trained to

* According to the Greek historians, the emperor Cantacuzene invited over Solyman and ten thousand Turkish horse to his assistance in the civil wars of Romania, who did him some service, and more mischief by getting a footing in Thrace. Cantacuzene married his daughter Theodora to Orchan, an inauspicious alliance. In the Genoese war, Orchan joined against his father in law. Gibbon.
ANALYSIS OF

arms. These, at first, proved the flower of the Turkish infantry and bulwark of the empire; but afterwards, by their insubordination and mutinies, contributed equally to weaken the executive government. "The finger of the Highest, oftentimes, turning even those helps, which were by man's wisdom provided for the establishing of kingdoms, unto their more speedy destruction," according to the pious and profound observation of Knolles, p. 192. Amurath next invaded Servia and Bulgaria, defeated their forces, and took the strong cities of Nyssa and Apollonia, and imposed a tribute upon those countries.

In the midst of his European conquests, he was recalled to Asia, in the year 1387, by a formidable confederacy of the Mahometan princes, headed by his own son-in-law, Aladin II. Sultan of Caramania. He routed their army in a bloody battle, and then besieged Aladin, in his capital of Iconium, and when on the point of taking the city, at the intercession of his daughter, pardoned her husband, and restored his kingdom. This great victory, as Knolles judiciously observes, "was the true beginning of the Ottoman greatness in Asia; for the other Mahometan princes of the Selzuccian tribe were so discouraged, that they were glad to submit themselves, first, to Amurath, and next, to his son Bajazet; until Tamerlane, the great Tartar prince, some years after, abated the Ottoman pride, and restored the other oppressed Mahometan princes to their old possessions and kingdoms." P. 196.

Amurath now formed a triple affinity with the Grecian emperor, Emanuel Palæologus, whose eldest daughter he married himself, and two of his sons to her two sisters. Afterwards, he marched with a great army from Asia to invade Servia and Bulgaria, which had rebelled against him, and drawn into their confederacy the neighbouring states of Walachia, Croatia, Sclavonia, Albania, and even Italy, beside numbers of Christian volunteers, in this religious war against the Turks. But though they considerably outnumbered his forces, amounting, it is said, to five hundred thousand men, whereas he had scarcely half so many, after a hard-fought battle, in which Lazarus, the despot of Servia, was slain, he totally defeated the enemy. But while Amurath, with some of his officers, was viewing the field of battle, after the engagement, a Christian soldier, Miles Cobelitz, who had been sorely wounded, rose, staggering, from a heap of carcases, and came to the Sultan, as if he wished to kiss his feet,
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

and crave for mercy, but suddenly stabbed him in the belly with a short dagger, concealed under his soldier's coat, of which wound Amurath presently died; and the assassin was directly cut to pieces by the Turks, in the presence of his son Bajazet. His character is thus drawn by Knolles, p. 201.

"This Amurath was in his superstition more zealous than any other of the Turkish kings, a man of great valour, and in all his attempts fortunate. He made greater slaughter of his enemies than both his father and grandfather. His kingdom in Asia, he greatly enlarged, by the sword, marriage, and purchase; and using the discord and cowardice of the Grecian princes to his profit, subdued a great part of Thracia, called Romania, with the territories thereto adjoining; leaving to the emperor of Constantinople little or nothing more in Thracia than the imperial city of Constantinople, with the bare name of an emperor without an empire. He won a great part of Servia, Bosnia, and Macedonia. He was liberal, and withal severe; of his subjects both beloved and feared; a man of very few words, and one that could dissemble deeply. He was slain when he was 68 years old."

BAJAZET.

This prince succeeded his father A.H. 791, or A.D. 1388. He began his reign inauspiciously. Immediately after his father's death, he strangled his younger brother Iacup (or Jacob) surnamed Zelebi, "the noble," and thus introduced that wicked policy of fratricide, too frequently adopted by his successors, to rid themselves of rivals or competitors for the throne.

From his activity, he was called Ilderim, or "the lightning," "a sublime title, derived from the principle of terror," as Gibbon remarks. In the first year of his reign, he invaded Servia, and took Cratowa, with its silver mines, (his principal object for undertaking the war,) and treacherously massacred the inhabitants after they had surrendered upon terms, and quitted the city; he then extended his conquests into the territories of Sigismund, king of Hungary, slighting his remonstrances.

Philadelphia was now the only city left in Asia Minor, still held by the Christians, in the midst of the Mahometan princes. Bajazet therefore besieged it, and at first gave orders not to injure the country, hoping, by this lenity, to induce the citizens
to surrender. But they valiantly defending their religion and liberty, he wasted and destroyed every thing. At length, after a long siege, in which they were not only deserted by the Greeks, but, according to some writers, attacked by them, in conjunction with the Turks, they capitulated, upon terms, to Bajazet. Thus fell the last of the Seven Churches! See Vol. III. p. 583, of this work.

Bajazet next invaded the territories of the Sultan of Carmania, and the other Mahometan princes of Ionia, Caria and Pontus; and then turned his arms westwards, against the Walachians and Thessalians, and took Thessalonica, that early Christian Church. He then besieged Constantinople itself for a long time, by sea and land; when Sigismund, the young king of Hungary, came to the relief of the emperor Emanuel Paleologus, with a confederate army of a hundred thousand Christians, who proudly boasted, if the sky should fall, we could prop it with our spears; what need we fear the Turk!” But this army was defeated with great slaughter at Nicopolis, and he escaped himself in a little boat, across the Danube, like another Xerxes; thus chastised for his presumption.

The emperor now humbly sued for peace, and the haughty conqueror, apprehensive that by refusing he might arm against him a new and more formidable crusade of the Christian powers, granted a ten years' truce, on payment of an annual tribute of thirty thousand crowns of gold, the assignment of one street in Constantinople, for the residence of a Turkish colony, which he transplanted thither from Bithynia, the establishment of a Turkish Cadhi, or judge, and the foundation of a royal mosque, for the free and full exercise of their laws and religion, in the metropolis of Christendom.

This truce, however, was soon violated by the restless ambition of Bajazet, who again blockaded Constantinople; and this city, pressed with the miseries of war and famine, must have fallen a prey to the Turkish despot, had he not been unexpectedly arrested by another, stronger than himself, who delayed the fall of Constantinople about fifty years.

TIMUR BEG, or TAMERLANE.

Demir, or Timur, in the Turkish language, signifies “iron,” and Beg, “a lord, or prince.” From his lameness, he is usually
called Timur Lenk, or Tamerlane, by a corruption of the word lenk, signifying "lame."

This mighty conqueror was the fourth in descent from the founder of the Mogul empire, Genghiz Khan, who was succeeded by his second son Oktai, and Oktai by Zain Chan, or Og, the father of Tamerlane. A different genealogy is given by Herbelot, from Mirkhond; and others reckon that he was a peasant, not allied to the royal line. But the testimony of Abulghazi Khan, to the nobleness of his birth, is clear and decisive; and even his enemy, Arabshah, owns, that he was connected with Genghiz, at least by the female line.

He was born in the year of the Hegira 736, or A.D. 1335, and died A.H. 807, or A.D. 1404, aged 71 lunar, or 69 calendar years. Herbelot, p. 878, 881.

This prince aspired to the dominion of the world, and, before his death, placed on his head twenty-seven crowns, which he had won in the course of thirty-five campaigns; from the first crown of Zagatai Tartars, which he put on in A.H. 771, or A.D. 1369, when he was acknowledged sovereign by the Kuriltai, or general diet of the Tartar tribes. To his patrimony of Zagatai, Timur first united the dependant provinces of Xarisme and Kandahar; and next reduced Iran, from the sources, to the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates. He afterwards subdued Kipzak, or the Western Tartary, and sacked Azoph, at the mouth of the river Tanais or Don, and burnt Astrachan, and advanced to the northern latitude of Moscow, 56 degrees, where the rays of the setting and of the rising sun were scarcely separated by any interval; and his vanity was here gratified with the intermission of evening prayer by his Mahometan doctors.

He next turned his victorious arms towards India, or Hindustan. When he first proposed this invasion to his emirs, he was answered by a general murmur of discontent. The rivers, the mountains, the deserts, the soldiers clad in armour, and the elephants, destroyers of men! But his displeasure was more dreadful than those vain terrors, which were easily removed by his superior understanding and generalship. He followed the route of Alexander, as far as the river Hyphasis, where the Macedonian hero reluctantly halted and returned. Timur crossed the desert beyond it, defeated Sultan Mahmoud, and stormed his capital, Delhi, which he gave up to pillage and
massacre; and to shed the blood of the Gentoos, or Idolaters, he advanced one hundred miles to the north-east of Delhi, passed the Ganges, and fought several battles by land and water; the last, at the celebrated rock Coupele, or "statue of the cow," which discharges that mighty river, near Loidang, 1100 miles from Calcutta. *Rennel's Memoir, p. 7, 59, 90, 91, 99.

From the banks of the Ganges, Timur was recalled to quell the disturbances that had arisen on the confines of Georgia and Anatolia, and check the rapid conquests and ambitious views of his great western rival, Bajazet. He finished therefore this Indian campaign in the second year, A.H. 801, or A.D. 1398; and after reposing for some months at his capital, Samarcande, he proclaimed a new expedition of seven years into the Western Asia, with unabated vigour of mind and body, in his grand climacteric.

In A.H. 802, or A.D. 1399, he marched to Bagdad, drove out Ahmed and Cara Josep, who had opposed him, and fled to Bajazet, and re-established his son, Miran Schah, in that government.

In A.H. 803, A.D. 1400, he reduced the Georgians, in their fortresses of Mount Caucasus; and, on his descent from the hills, gave audience to the first ambassadors of Bajazet. Between two jealous and haughty monarchs, whose conquests now touched each other in the neighbourhood of Erzerum, at the Euphrates, grounds of quarrel were not wanting. Each could accuse his rival of threatening his vassals, and harbouring his rebels, or those fugitive princes, whose territories he had invaded, and their resemblance of character was a stronger ground of hostility than even their clashing interests. Of these two most ambitious potentates, Timur could brook no equal, Bajazet knew no superior. And the first epistle of the Mogul emperor to Bajazet was far from conciliatory. After appropriating to himself and his countrymen, the Tartars, the honourable appellation of Turks, and to Bajazet, and his nation, the less honourable, of Turkmans, he added: "Dost not thou know that the greatest part of Asia is subject to our arms and to our laws? that our invincible forces stretch from sea to sea? that the potentates of the earth form a line before our gate? and that we have compelled Fortune herself to watch over the prosperity of our empire? What is the foundation of thy insolence and folly?
Thou hast fought some battles in the woods of Anatolia; contemptible trophies! Thou hast obtained some victories over the Christians of Europe; thy sword was blessed by the Apostle of God; and thy obedience to the precept of the Koran, in waging war against the Infidels, is the sole consideration that prevents us from destroying thy country, the frontier and bulwark of the Mussulman world. Be wise in time; reflect, repent; and avert the thunder of our vengeance, which is yet suspended over thy head. Thou art no more than a pismire; why wilt thou seek to provoke the elephants? Alas, they will trample thee under their feet!"

Bajazet, stung with such unusual contempt, retorted the basest reproaches on the thief and rebel of the desert, as he called Timur, who never had triumphed unless by his own perfidy and the faults of his foes.—"What are the arrows of the flying Tartar against the scymetars and battle-axes of my firm and invincible Janizaries? I will guard the princes who have implored my protection (Ahmed and Cara Josep.) Seek them in my tents. The cities of Arzingan and Erzerum are mine, and unless the tribute be duly paid, I will demand the Aman under the walls of Tauris and Sultania. If I forsake my arms, may my wives be thrice divorced from my bed; but if thou darest not face me in the field, mayest thou again receive thy wives, after they have thrice endured the embraces of a stranger.

This last was the most heinous insult a Turk could offer or receive. Of course the quarrel was irreconcilable*.

In his first expedition, however, Timur was satisfied with the siege and destruction of Sievas, or Sebaste, a strong city on the borders of Anatolia, and, in his wrath, buried alive a garrison of four thousand Armenians, for the brave and faithful discharge of their duty. As a Mussulman, he seemed to respect the pious occupation of Bajazet, who was still engaged in the blockade of Constantinople, and turned aside to the conquest of Syria and Egypt, which employed him for the two ensuing campaigns; in

* Knolles, who panegyrises Timur, and blackens Bajazet, ascribes a very mild requisition to Timur, in behalf of the Greek emperor, and the refugee Mahometan princes, whose territories Bajazet had seized, which did not warrant so haughty and insulting an answer. But the authenticity of Timur's epistle is vouched by Sherefeddin, and the Institutions of Tamerlane. and by Arab Shah, who agree in the substance. Gibbon, p. 12, note.
which his progress was marked by desolation and carnage, in the destruction of Aleppo, Damascus, and the erection of a pyramid of ninety thousand heads upon the ruins of Bagdad / to revenge the losses he had sustained in three campaigns.

During this diversion of the Mogul arms, Bajazet had time to collect his forces for a more serious encounter. One day he was going to put several of his generals and officers to death, in his ungovernable rage, for some slight offence; and when none of his councillors dared to intercede for them, but hung down their heads, an Ethiopian buffoon, who took great liberties with him, began to rail at the culprits, and recommended to put them, without mercy, to death. Bajazet asking why he was so violent against them? he answered, Because they are good for nothing, neither they nor their soldiers. And now since Tamerlane is coming against us with a great army, let you only take the standard, and I the drum, and we shall frighten and drive away the enemy. Bajazet perceiving the drift of the speech, mused a while; and then, unexpectedly, pardoned them all: apprehending that he should soon have full occasion for their assistance against so formidable a foe.

The same buffoon, afterwards, having been sent by Bajazet to the queen mother, to give her an account of his proceedings at Constantinople, and elsewhere; when to her repeated enquiries, How the Sultan was? and, What he was doing? he had answered her civilly twice, provoked the third time, when she asked the question, he burst forth into the following, Bre capbre: "Old whore, thou hast brought forth a son like the devil, who, roaming up and down, doth nothing but destroy the world!" Shocked at this outrage, the queen mother cried out, and the buffoon instantly fled, and appeared no more.

In the year A.H. 804, or A.D. 1401, Timur renewed his invasion of Bajazet's dominions, from Tauris, with a prodigious army of not less than 800,000 horse and foot, according to Arab Shah; when Bajazet undauntedly came to oppose him, with 400,000 horse and foot, according to Timur's Institutions. The numbers indeed, on both sides, are differently related; but never perhaps did two such numerous and efficient armies take the field against each other; nor ever was the superiority of numbers converted to more advantage than by the superior tactics of the Tartar. He marshalled his army in distinct squadrons of horse, supported by successive columns of foot, which composed
the great vanguard, and charged the enemy in eighteen or twenty attacks. If these all proved fruitless or unsuccessful, "the sultan himself then put the foot of courage into the stirrup of patience," according to Timur's metaphor, and led the main body in person; and the main body itself was supported on the flanks and in the rear, by the bravest squadrons of the reserve, commanded by his sons and grandsons. In the battle of Angora, in Galatia, the superiority of the Tartar horse first broke the Turkish, in the wings, and pressed upon the centre of the enemy, where Bajazet led his brave and highly disciplined Janizaries and European troops; who were at length fatigued and overpowered by a constant succession of fresh attacks, and deserted in the battle by the troops of Anatolia, who revolted to their fugitive princes, and by the mercenary Tartars who served in the Turkish army, and were corrupted by the emissaries and letters of Timur.

The victory was complete: about 200,000 Turks were slain, and nearly as many Tartars. Bajazet, after his son Mustapha had fallen, and Solymant fled, was taken prisoner, with his third son Musa, by the khan of Zagatai, and brought to Timur; who at first received him courteously, and treated him kindly; but at last was provoked by his haughty and unbending spirit, to retaliate the treatment he intended for Timur, if he had proved victorious, and to confine him in an iron cage, and carry him about as a public spectacle, like a wild beast, till he died about nine months after, either of an apoplexy, at Antioch, in Pisidia, or by an act of desperation, by beating out his own brains against the bars of his cage.

The story of the iron cage is omitted in Timur's Institutes, written by himself, and by the Persian historians, Sherefeddin Ali, Khondemir, &c. whence it has been rejected, as a fiction, by Voltaire and other modern writers; but it is strongly attested by contemporary historians, both Christian and Turkish. 1. Marshall Boucicault's Memoirs relate "the imprisonment and severe death of Bajazet," only seven years after. 2. The Italian Poggius, in a splendid encomium on Tamerlane, published twenty-eight years after the victory of Angora, reports it from the eye-witnesses, "Ipse enim novi, qui fuerent in ejus castris."

—Regem vivum cepit, caveaque, in modum ferae inclusum, per omnem Asiam circumtulit, egregium admirandumque spectaculum Fortunæ!—De varietate Fortunæ, published about
A.D. 1430. 3. Two Italian Chronicles, of the same, or earlier date, the Chronicon Tarvisianum, and Annales Estenses, both report the same. 4. Arab Shah, the contemporary of Poggius, who composed at Damascus a malignant history of Tamerlane, for which he collected materials in his travels through Turkey and Tartary, agrees with the Italian in the fact of the iron cage. 5. George Phranza, who was born a year before the battle of Angora, and was sent ambassador, by the emperor, to Amurath II. twenty-two years after the battle, mentions it positively, and he might have conversed with persons at the court, who had seen Bajazet in durance. 6. And, to crown all, the Turkish Annals, consulted or transcribed by Leunclavius, Pocock, and Cantemir, unanimously deplore the captivity of the iron cage. And certainly "some credit is due to national historians, who cannot stigmatize the Tartar, without uncovering the shame of their king, and their country;" as judiciously remarked by Gibbon, to whom we are indebted for the mass of authorities, infinitely outweighing the silence of Timur himself, and his flattering Persian historians.

Tamerlane restored to their dominions all the Mahometan princes, whom Bajazet had dispossessed. He permitted Musa to reign over the remnant of his father's dominions in Asia; and gave Solyman a red patent to hold the kingdom of Romania, which he already held by the sword: he exacted from the emperor of Constantinople, (John, or Manuel) the same tribute he had paid the Turks, and an oath of allegiance*, which was binding no longer than the Tartar remained in Anatolia; who, after he had thoroughly subdued Georgia, and appeased the troubles in Persia, returned slowly to Samarcande, after a campaign of four years and nine months, in A.H. 807, or A.D. 1404.

After a short repose of two months at his capital, where Timur displayed all his magnificence at the public spectacles, which he gave on the marriages of six of his grandsons, celebrated with all the pomp of the ancient Khalifs, he set out to invade China; for which he had made preparation during his last expedition, by sending forward colonies of his new subjects, in the western parts of Asia, to open the road, subdue the Pagan Calmucks and Mungals, and to found cities and maga-

* Tamerlane's visit of curiosity and courtesy to Constantinople, recorded from some writers, by Knolles, was probably a fiction. He had scarcely leisure for such, and at his advanced age, less inclination.
zines in the desert, and to procure a correct map of the unknown
regions, from the source of the Irtish, to the wall of China.
With a mighty army of two hundred thousand veteran troops of
Iran and Turan, he set out on a six months' journey, even for
a caravan, from Samarcande to Pekin; but after he had
marched about three hundred miles from his capital, and
crossed the river Sikon on the ice, he was arrested by the hand
of death, in the neighbourhood of Otrar. China was saved;
his army disbanded; and fourteen years after, the most powerful
of his sons sent an embassy of friendship and commerce to
China, with a present to the emperor, of the horse that Timur
rode on the expedition. See Thevenot's account of the embassy.

Of all the sons of "Japhet," perhaps Timur most fully ac-
complished Noah's famous prophecy, of the "enlargement of
that family, and their dwelling in the tents of Shem." From
the Irtish and Volga, to the Persian Gulph, and from the
Ganges to Damascus and the Archipelago, Asia was overrun by
the Mogul emperor. His ambition was boundless; Europe
trembled at his name, and Egypt and Africa dreaded another
invasion. The honours of public prayer, and his image and
superscription on the coin at Grand Cairo, and the rare present
of a giraffe, or camelopard, and nine ostriches brought to Sa-
marcande, evinced the submission and tribute of the African
world. But his empire was fleeting and transitory, it rose and
fell with himself. His most destructive wars were rather inroads
than conquests: he invaded Hindustan, Turkestan, Kipzack,
or western Tartary, and Russia; Armenia; Georgia, Anatolia,
and Syria, without a hope or a desire of preserving those dis-
tant provinces; for otherwise surely he would not have sacked
and destroyed the flourishing cities of Delhi, Ispahan, Carisme,
Bagdad, Bousra, Smyrna, Aleppo, Damascus, &c. where he
often marked his abominable trophies by pyramids of human
heads, and by utter desolation; and after he had broken down
the fabric of their ancient governments, left them without magis-
trates or troops to all the evils of anarchy, which his invasion
either aggravated or produced. Even in Transoxiana and
Persia, which he laboured most to improve and adorn, as the
inheritance of his family, the administration of justice was often
neglected, and great disorders prevailed during the frequent ex-
peditions and absence of the conqueror; while his children and
grand-children were more ambitious to reign than to govern, and
oppressed their subjects, and destroyed each other. A fragment of the empire was upheld with some glory by Sharokh, his youngest son, (the father of the celebrated royal astronomer, Ulug Beg), and subsisted till Abusaid, Sultan of Transoxiana and Khorasan. He was slain by Hassan, or Uzun Cassan, who had usurped the throne of Persia, A.H. 872, or A.D. 1467. And the race of Timur would have been extinct, had not one of the family of Miran Schah, his third son, fled into Hindustan, and became the ancestor of Shah Allum, the last Mogul. See Dow's History of Hindustan, Vol. II.

Though Timur shed more human blood perhaps than any of the scourges of mankind, called heroes, he seems to have felt little or no compunction on that score. Witness his conversation with the Cadhi of Aleppo, during the barbarous sack of that city.

"You see me here a poor, lame, decrepit mortal! yet by my arms has THE ALMIGHTY been pleased to subdue the kingdoms of Iran, Turan, and Hindustan. I am not a man of blood; and God is my witness, that in all my wars, I have never been the aggressor, and that mine enemies have always been the authors of their own calamity!"

Timur's atrocious cruelties originated, perhaps, rather from policy, than from ill nature, and were designed to keep his ferocious subjects in awe, and to intimidate his enemies. Hence he punished no crime more severely than cowardice, and his soldiers had scarcely any alternative but to conquer or die; for flight was sure destruction. And after he had buried alive the garrison of Sebaste, Prusa, and the other cities of Anatolia, opened their gates to him. No general ever understood better the art of provisioning and marshalling immense masses of troops*. His commissariat was admirable, and his camp resembled a great capital, which was abundantly supplied with provisions, and necessaries, and merchandize, from all quarters of the world, because the most rigorous discipline prevailed throughout the whole, and the peasants and merchants were paid in ready money, and could come and go whenever and wherever they pleased, freely, and without molestation.

While he was encamped in Georgia, a woman complained to

* Perhaps Buonaparte has approached nearer to Timur, in these two most difficult and important branches of military tactics, than any other general of ancient or modern times.
him that one of his soldiers had forcibly taken, and drunk her milk. *Timur* immediately ordered his belly to be ripped up, and when he saw the milk in the man's stomach, he ordered the woman to be paid; declaring, that he would have put her to death had her accusation proved false. If a soldier robbed any one, even of an apple, he was sure to be executed on the spot. And it was his boast, that *Asia*, at his accession to the throne, was the prey of anarchy and rapine; whereas, under his severe and inflexible government, a child might carry a purse of gold from the east to the west, secure and unmolested.

*Timur* was indeed a hero of the first class, possessing transcendant abilities of body and mind; to an iron constitution, hardened by temperance and exercise, he united a capacious and cultivated understanding. He was a man of letters, fond of conversing with the learned, on topics of history and science*; and he composed commentaries of his own life, and institutions of his government, and employed secretaries to write journals of all the civil and military transactions of his reign; from which Sherefeddin Ali compiled a Persic history of *Timur Beg*, which has been translated into French, by M. Petit de la Croix, 4 vols. 12mo. Paris, 1722. Gibbon praises it for critical accuracy of geography and chronology, and of historical facts, though rather adulatory to his hero.

*Timur*, in several instances, liberally rewarded learned men: this, however, was but a feeble compensation for the havoc produced by his destructive and wide-wasting conquests, in which many valuable works, and many munificent patrons of learning, were swept away. The barbarous *Ottoman Sultans*, and *Persian Sophis* of the cruel house of *Seft*, afterwards helped to complete that desolation, which the *Saracens* and *Moguls* began and continued, and to plunge that fairest quarter of the globe, the cradle of the arts and sciences, into its present gloomy state of ignorance and despotism!

**MAHOMET.**

This prince was the youngest of the sons of *Bajazet*. He had been appointed governor of *Amasia*, and great part of *Cap-

*He was fond of the game of *Chess*, and could bear to be beat by a subject. The old game not being sufficiently elaborate for him, he enlarged it from 32 pieces and 64 squares, to 56 pieces and 110, or 130 squares. But his new system expired with him.*
padocia, not long before his father's captivity, when he was only fifteen years of age. With great gallantry he maintained his province against several of Tamerlane's generals, who came to take possession of it, until the Tartar's death.

When freed, by this event, from foreign enemies, he next turned his arms against his rival brothers. He first defeated Isa, and got possession of Prusa, the Turkish capital in Asia. Isa fled to his brother Solyman, who was in peaceable possession of Adrianople, and the Turkish dominions in Europe. Solyman sent Isa with a powerful army to attack Mahomet, but without success. He was routed in battle, and fled into Carmania, where he lived and died in obscurity.

To repair this disaster, Solyman himself crossed the Hellespont, to invade Mahomet's dominions. He took the castle of Prusa, by forging a letter from Mahomet, desiring the governor to surrender; and afterwards he defeated Mahomet in battle. Mahomet, therefore, to create a diversion, and find employment for Solyman at home, sent over his brother Musa, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Angora, and afterwards liberated by Tamerlane, and was now inactive with Mahomet, to invade Solyman's dominions in Europe. In this enterprise, Musa was assisted by the prince of Walachia, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and was acknowledged king by the imperial city of Adrianople. This success necessarily recalled Solyman, who, by the emperor Emanuel's assistance, crossing over the Bosporus, with his army, marched to attack Musa, and at first gained an advantage; but Musa rallying, came upon his brother in the midst of his carousals, who could not be persuaded of his coming, but abused and insulted his officers; cutting off the beard of Eurenoses, one of his father's oldest and best captains, as the reward of his intelligence; which so provoked this veteran, that he instantly deserted with his detachment to Musa, and was followed by several other captains, detesting the intemperance and indiscretion of Solyman. And this prince, repenting too late of his dissolute folly, fled by night towards Constantinople, but was betrayed by his guide, and brought to Musa, who instantly ordered him to be strangled, A.D. 1405, after he had reigned six years and five months at Adrianople. And from this year, Knolles dates the accession of Mahomet, in which he recovered Prusa, and the rest of his Asiatic dominions.
Musa was no sooner established at Adrianople, than he displaced the officers that had been appointed by Solyman, and appointed his own creatures in their room. He also alienated the minds of the nobility, by his tyrannical government, and offended the Christian princes of Servia and Bulgaria, and even the emperor Emanuel, by demanding payment of their former tributes.

Taking advantage of his brother's misconduct, Mahomet, by the emperor's assistance, crossed the Bosporus, and advanced to meet his brother, whom he at first defeated, in a bloody battle, at Intzug; but chasing the enemy too far, he was overpowered by his Janizaries, and forced to fly to Constantinople, and return to his own dominions in Asia. Again, in A.D. 1411, he renewed the war, crossed the Bosporus, and marched to besiege his brother in Adrianople; and Musa, being deserted by his allies, fell into the hands of Balta Ogli, one of Mahomet's captains, after a fierce engagement, who reproached him for his cruelty to his brother, and strangled him, in like manner, with a bow-string, probably by the connivance or order of Mahomet; A.D. 1415; from which year the Turkish historians date the sovereignty of Mahomet.

The following Latin epigram, and translation of Knolles, on the death of Musa, deserve to be recorded.

Quid properas, insane, tuum pessundare fratrem?
Nam sceleris tantae præmia digna feres.
Quicquid enim fratri malefeceris, hoc tibi frater
Max referet; nimis haec in tua fata ruis!

"Why hastest thou, mad fool, thy brother to confound?
The guerdon of such villainy shall to thyself redound;
For look, what mischief thou hast wrought shall turn to thee again;
Why dost thou therefore, foolish man, so hasten on thy pain?"

While Mahomet was thus contending with his brother in Europe, the Sultan of Carmania invaded his territories in Asia, took Prusa, the capital, and burnt it a second time, after it had been rebuilt. Next year, A.D. 1416, therefore, Mahomet returned, invaded Carmania, took several towns, defeated and took prisoners the sultan and his son, near Iconium, and reduced them to vassalage.

* "This event," says Gibbon, "suggested the pious allusion, that the law of Moses and Jesus (of Isa and Mousa) had been abrogated by the greater Mahomet."——The profane allusion, equally revolting to Christians and Jews, and gratifying to Mahometans, is perhaps his own.
After this success, Mahomet crossed back from Asia, imposed a tribute on the prince of Walachia, and repressed several insurrections. He built a great mosque and magnificent palace at Adrianople, which he made the seat of his government, and firmly established himself in Europe, without molestation from the great Christian powers of the west, who lost the fairest opportunity of driving the Turks out of Europe at least, during the civil wars of Mahomet with his brothers, by only occupying the straits of the Hellespont, or Gallipoli, with a confederate fleet. But the schism between the Greek and Romish Churches, which bred great acrimony between both, the factions and wars of France and England, and the commotions in Italy and Germany, prevented their salutary union against the common enemy of the Christian Faith. They enjoyed the precarious respite, without a thought of futurity, while Mahomet was consolidating the union of Romania and Anatolia, his European and Asiatic territories, so often rent asunder by the ambition of the Turkish princes, or of pretenders, and may therefore justly be accounted the second founder, or restorer of the Turkish empire, by his valour, policy, and perseverance. To secure the throne for his son Amurath, he put out the eyes of his nephew Orchan, the son of Solyman, but allowed him a princely revenue and establishment at Prusa.

In his last sickness, he desired his two visirs, Bajazet and Ibrahim *, to conceal his death, till his son's arrival from Asia; which they did, for forty days, by the contrivance of bringing out the dead Sultan to the Janizaries, with a boy concealed under his robe, who lifted his hand to stroke his beard, according to his usual fashion, but as if too weak to speak.

AMURATH II.

The first years of his reign were employed in quelling insurrections raised by the two Mustaphas, the one an impostor, who called himself the son of Bajazet, the other, his own brother. In the last civil war, he hired Adorno, the Genoese governor, with seven stout galleys to transport him from Asia to Europe,

* Ibrahim was highly rewarded by Amurath for his virtues and his services. His descendants are the sole nobles in Turkey: they content themselves with the administration of his pious foundations, are excused from public offices, and receive two annual visits from the Sultan. Cantemir, p. 76.
who landed him in the sight of Mustapha, near Gallipoli; whence he marched with two thousand Italian mercenaries, to the conquest of Adrianople, and destruction of his rival. So shamefully did these Latins betray the common cause! and justly were they rewarded: in A.D. 1432, he took the famous city of Thessalonica, and reduced Boeotia, Phocis, Athens, Aetolia, and Epirus. He afterwards invaded Hungary, and besieged Belgrade, on the Danube, the key of that kingdom, but was forced to raise the siege, and retreat with great loss, chiefly by the skill and valour of that great general, Huniades, who fought several bloody battles with the Turks, and overthrew them; especially at the famous battle of Wascape, in Transylvania, while he served under Uladislaus, king of Hungary and Poland.

George Castriot, prince of Epirus, or Albania, commonly called Scanderbeg, by the Turks, or "Prince Alexander," revolted from Amurath, in whose court he had been trained and educated, and for the rest of his life proved the greatest annoyance to the Turks, harassing them by a desultory warfare, in co-operation with Huniades. So that they were the chief bulwarks, raised up by Providence, to prop the declining Christian cause, and check the overwhelming power of the Ottoman, by a series of victories the most brilliant, but not decisive; which are circumstantially told, with much animation, by Knolles.

Two dreadful overthrows from Huniades, in Hungary, and Scanderbeg, in Epirus, compelled the haughty Amurath to conclude a peace for ten years, with king Uladislaus, upon the terms of restoring Servia to the despot, relinquishing Moldavia and Bulgaria, promising not to molest the Hungarian territories during that term, and to pay 40,000 ducats for the ransom of Carambey, his bassa, taken prisoner. This was the most honourable peace hitherto made by any Christian prince with the Turks; and it was ratified by the most solemn oaths on both sides; the Christian plenipotentiaries swearing on the Holy Evangelists, and the Turkish, on the Koran, in A.D. 1444.

This peace enabled Amurath to turn his arms against the Sultan of Carmania, whose capital, Iconium, he besieged, and compelled him to sue for peace, which was granted, on his wife's entreaty, who was Amurath's sister, and on condition of his paying double tribute.

Wearied with continual wars and troubles, Amurath resigned
his kingdom to his son Mahomet, then a youth of fifteen years old, and appointed Cali Bassa, and Khosroes, a learned Mus
sulman Doctor, to be his chief counsellors and directors. He then retired himself to Magnesia, where he led a monastic life with some devout dervishes.

But several of the Christian powers were dissatisfied with the late peace, especially John Palæologus, emperor of Constanti
nople, and Pope Eugenius, whose legate, Cardinal Julian, solicited Uladislaus to take advantage of the abdication of Amur
rath, form a general confederacy of the Christian powers, and break that hasty peace, so prejudicial to the general cause of Christianity. And the legate, accordingly, gave formal absolu
tion for the breach of their oaths, to king Uladislaus, the despot of Servia, and Huniades, waywode of Transylvania, the prin
cipal parties concerned in making the treaty.

Roused from his cell, by their sudden and unprovoked inva
sion of his dominions, old Amurath resumed the reins of go
vernment at the solicitation of his people, and even of the young sultan himself, to oppose this formidable confederacy of the Christian powers. He raised a powerful army of sixty thousand men, crossed the Bosporus, and marched to attack the enemy at Varna, a city of Bulgaria, situate near the Euxine sea. Amur
rath in the center, opposed Uladislaus; and the Beglerbegs, or generals of Anatolia and Romania, opposed the despot of Servia, and Huniades in the right and left wings. The Turkish wings were broken on the first onset; in this crisis, Amurath was sore pressed by the Walachian and Transylvanian horse, and when he saw the crucifix displayed on their standards, he drew forth from his bosom the copy of the treaty, and holding it with uplifted hands and eyes to heaven, he suddenly invoked Christ:

Behold, thou crucified Christ, the treaty which thy Chris
tians have made in thy name, and broken, without provoca
tion! If thou be a God, avenge thy wrongs and mine, punish thy perjured people!

His prayer was heard. The impenetrable phalanx of his Janizaries bore down all opposition in the center, the perjured Uladislaus was slain by their spears, and a Turkish soldier pro
claimed, Hungarians, behold the head of your king! Ten thou-
sand Christians fell in this disastrous battle; among them, the legate Julian, the promoter of the perjury; and Huniades him-
self, returning too late, from a rash and intemperate pursuit of
the wings, was overpowered, and with great difficulty escaped.
The loss of the Turks, however, was great, and Amurath re-
gretted a victory so dearly purchased. This bloody battle was
fought on the tenth of November, A.D. 1444.

After this fatal breach of faith, victory frequently deserted the
heretofore invincible Huniades. He was rather a valiant par-
tizan, than a consummate general, and his military life is che-
quered with a series of romantic exploits and escapes, as the
Chevalier Blanc, or "White Knight of Walachia," under
which title he is celebrated by Philip de Comines. In the great
battle of Cossava, A.D. 1448, he sustained another signal defeat,
after a resistance of three days, borne down by repeated assaults
of fresh Turkish squadrons, following the irresistible tactics of
Tamerlane.

Amurath, to his cost, engaged in a desultory warfare with
Scanderbeg, who set up the standard of revolt. By his prowess,
vigilance, activity and stratagems, he frequently defeated the
Turkish bassas sent against him, and at length Amurath him-
self, at the siege of Croya, the capital of Epirus, A.D. 1450,
who died a few months after of grief and vexation, rather than
of age and sickness, leaving as his dying advice to his son
Mahomet, Never to despise an enemy, be he ever so weak.

Amurath was a religious, just, and valiant prince, a good
king, and a great general. He was more observant of his pro-
mise than any of the Turkish emperors, and in his good faith
toward the garrison of Sfetigrade, he furnished a lesson and
example to his son Mahomet, who too frequently adopted the
Popish casuistry of not keeping faith with heretics; and his
first care, when he subdued any country, was to build mosques
and caravanseras, hospitals and colleges. Every year, he gave
a thousand pieces of gold to the family of the Prophet, and two
thousand five hundred to the religious at Mecca, Medina, and
Jerusalem. But he was peevish and choleric, either from natu-
ral moroseness, or soured by repeated defeats from those thun-
derbolts of war, Huniades and Scanderbeg. The most striking
feature of his character is the double abdication of the throne.
For after the battle of Varna, he returned to his monastery at
Magnesia, until reluctantly called again to the helm by his
whole divan, to appease, by his authority, the mutiny, and pre-
vent the rebellion of the Janizaries, who disdained the inexpe-
rience of the young Sultan, and plundered the city of Adrianople. Amurath, after trial both of empire and of retirement, in the full liberty of choice, preferred the latter; a rare instance of moderation in a crowned head.

**MAHOMET II. THE GREAT.**

This young prince at his accession, in his one and twentieth year, followed the barbarous policy of his predecessors in putting two of his brothers to death; one of them an infant of only eighteen months.

He early attempted to make peace with Scanderbeg, on moderate conditions, provided he would only pay the former tribute which Amurath had demanded, and wrote him several flattering letters; but the Prince of Epirus rejected every overture, with scorn, and conducted a long desultory warfare against Mahomet's generals, and against his more dangerous arts of corruption by which the Sultan drew off some of his ablest officers to betray and oppose him. The gallantry indeed, and the resources of the Epirot, by which he repeatedly foiled the arms and the arts of Mahomet, were astonishing; and a most amusing account of his campaigns and stratagems for three and twenty years, against Amurath and his more powerful son, is given by Knolles. But the wisdom of his measures, and the final success of his arms, may well be questioned. The unequal contest, in which he was deserted and left alone by the Pope, the King of Naples, and the Venetians, who ought to have protected this barrier of Epirus against the Turks, only harassed and exhausted his native country; and he sunk, at last, under the colossal power of the Porte, as appears from his letter, soliciting a refuge in the ecclesiastical state, from Pope Pius II. and his dying, at last, a fugitive at Lissus, in the Venetian territory; as we learn from Spondanus, A.D. 1461—1467, and from the testimony of Phranza, a refugee in the neighbouring island of Corfu, after the capture of Constantinople. This judicious remark we owe to Gibbon.

From the commencement of his reign, Mahomet began to make preparations for the siege of Constantinople. He first retrenched many superfluous expences of his court, and introduced a more rigid economy; he displaced and punished several public peculators, and he curbed the insolence, and improved the discipline of the Janizaries; and by his unrelenting severity
and cruelty, he made himself alike terrible to his friends and his enemies.

His first aggression was to build a strong fortress on the European side of the Bosporus, about five miles from Constantinople, directly opposite to the castle which his grandfather had built on the Asiatic side. This gave him the command of the Streight, and enabled him to controul the commerce and intercept the provisions of the city; and when the emperor Constantine VIII. sent to remonstrate against the work, he at first coloured it with the pretext, that he only fulfilled a pious vow made by his father at the battle of Varna, to erect a fortress on the western shore.—But he soon pulled off the mask. "Return to your master," said he to the ambassadors, "Tell him, that the present Sultan differs widely from his predecessors; his resolutions surpass their wishes; and his performance, their resolutions. Return in safety now: the next who dares to come with remonstrances, shall be flayed alive!"

When his fortification was completed, he began to levy a tribute on the vessels of every nation that passed the streight. A Venetian ship refusing obedience to the new lords of the Bosporus, was sunk with a shot from their cannon, the master was impaled, and the crew beheaded; and the historian Ducas beheld their bodies exposed to the wild beasts!

Next spring, when his immense preparations of every kind were in readiness, he invested Constantinople on the 6th of April, A.D. 1453, with a formidable army of 300,000 men, Europeans and Asiatics; including many soldiers of fortune, who were allured to his standard, by the hope of plunder, from Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia. The Turkish armament, and their prodigious artillery, first employed in this siege, carrying stone bullets, some of a hundred pounds weight, and one, even of six hundred pounds*, are aptly described in the Apocalypse, by the innumerable lion-headed horsemen, vomiting fire, smoke, and brimstone from their mouths, (or gunpowder) to destroy "the third part of men," in Europe; "with serpents' tails," to propagate their heresy. Rev. ix. 16—19.

*A Turkish cannon, still more enormous, guards the entrance of the Dardanelles at present. If we believe Baron de Tott, with 330 pounds of gunpowder, it discharged a stone bullet of eleven hundred pounds weight, which at the distance of 600 yards, shivered into three fragments, traversed the streight, leaving the water in a foam, rose again, and rebounded from the opposite hill!! Vol. III. p. 85—89.
The emperor in his last message to Mahomet expressed the resignation and fortitude of a Christian soldier.

"Since neither oaths, nor treaty, nor submission can secure peace, pursue your impious warfare. My trust is in God alone: if it should please him to soften your heart, I should rejoice in the happy change. If he delivers the city into your hand, I submit without a murmur to his holy will. But until the Judge of the earth shall decide between us, it is my duty to live and die in the defence of my people."

To oppose this mighty armament, the emperor had only a garrison of six thousand Greeks, and three thousand Venetians and Genoese, and a few galleys and ships of war! He was left alone to maintain the unequal contest, by the listlessness and apathy of the powers of Christendom; the western states of France, Spain, and England, were involved in their endless wars and domestic quarrels; the Pope, Nicholas V. was provoked by the falsehood and the obstinacy with which the union of the Greek and Latin Churches was often fallaciously agreed to, by the Greek emperors, in their distress, or broken in their respite; and when he was roused by their last acquiescence, to employ the resources of Italy, Constantinople had fallen, before the squadrons of Genoa and Venice could sail from their harbours! Even in his own capital, the intreaties and tears of the emperor could not prevail on the Byzantine nobility and the rich citizens to contribute their aid and their money to the defence of the walls, and to the payment of the garrison, and supply of provisions, and repairs of the fortifications. They folded their arms, as if resistance was hopeless, they shut their purses, and hid their treasures, to preserve them for the enemy,

* The project of a reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches, was connected with that of a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidel Turks, in the fourteenth general Council of Lyons, A.D. 1274. It was approved by the Council of Susa, in Armenia, A.D. 1307, and by the seventeenth general Council of Basil, A.D. 1431, and by the eighteenth, of Florence, A.D. 1439. It was rejected by the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 1450; but subscribed to by the emperor Constantine, and the most obsequious of the clergy and laity, about six months before the destruction of the city. And the two nations joined in prayer and communion in the great church of St. Sophia, December 12, 1452. But it only kindled the torch of discord. The Latins were detested as heretics and infidels, and the Great Duke was heard to declare, that he had rather behold in Constantinople the turban of Mahomet than the Pope's tiara, or a Cardinal's hat! —He had his wish.

† Only 4970 citizens enrolled their names for the defence of the city, out of the population of 100,000 souls! The list was taken by Phranza, the emperor's secretary.
and the two factions, for, and against the union with the Church of Rome, were hotly disputing the point; one party attributing their calamities to their uniting, the other to their not uniting; when the Turks broke in, and settled the controversy by destroying or enslaving both *.

Mahomet having sustained a more obstinate resistance from the besieged than he expected, and a great defeat of his fleet, from a few imperial and Genoese men of war, not more than five, who came with provisions for the supply of the city, in which, several of his ships, and twelve thousand of his men were destroyed; and dreading that these were only the forerunners of a more powerful squadron for the relief of the city, resolved at length to storm Constantinople, and the 29th of May was fixed on, from his favourite science of astrology, for the fatal day. To animate his troops, he promised them double pay, and he swore by the most solemn oath, by the immortal God, by the four hundred prophets, by Mahomet, by his father's soul, by his children, and by his sword, that he would give them the spoils of the city for three days.

At day-break, therefore, on the 29th of May, Mahomet began the general assault, on all sides of the city, with 250,000 Turks, beside 10,000 of his life guards, the sailors and the marines, both by land and sea. The strength and the ammunition of the garrison were exhausted by incessant attacks. A Turkish Janizary, of huge stature, Hassan, first scaled the walls, and the valiant Greeks were driven from them, or buried under overwhelming multitudes; the emperor, after performing all the duties of a general and a soldier, fell amidst the tumult, by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain. About 2000 Christians were slain in the first irruption, and about 60,000 were sold, exchanged, or dispersed, by the captors, through the provinces of the Turkish empire, and the houses and churches, and public buildings and libraries, were all rifled and pillaged by the rapacious soldiery. Among the prisoners was the historian Phranza, the first chamberlain and principal secretary of the emperor, whose family was involved in the common lot of slavery, and his children fell victims to

* It is impossible not be forcibly struck with the present state of parties in a British Parliament, disputing for and against Catholic emancipation, while the great western Turk, Ali Buonaparte, is plotting their common slavery and destruction, by his arts and his arms. (1812.)
the lust of *Mahomet* himself, as he pathetically laments, after he had recovered his freedom.*

Among these hapless victims was a fair Greek, *Irene*, of incomparable beauty and exquisite accomplishments, who captivated the ferocious conqueror himself, with no slight nor transient passion. During a twelvemonth, or more, *Mars* slept in *Venus's* lap. *Mahomet* spent his time in her bewitching society, and neglected the most urgent and important concerns of the state. At length, his first minister and prime favourite, *Mustapha Bassa*, who had been educated with him from his childhood, ventured, at the hazard of his life, to expostulate with his despotic master, upon the probable consequences of such infatuation.

"What avails the conquest of Constantinople, if you are enslaved yourself? Shake off those golden fetters in which the wily Greek has bound you so fast.—Subdue yourself, and resort again to arms. Your soldiers, if unemployed abroad, will create you trouble at home. Idleness engenders insolence. They say, already, that unless you lead them forth to war, for the glory and enlargement of the Ottoman empire, they will depose you, and set up one of your sons in your stead."

*Mahomet* felt the justice and the force of this honest and friendly remonstrance, without interruption or anger, and gloomily said, *To-morrow, before the sun shall set, my people shall know whether I am able to bridle my affections or not. Order the divan to be assembled at that time, to await my determination.*

That night the tyrant spent, as usual, with his mistress. Next day, he dined with her, and, in the evening, ordered his unsuspecting victim to dress and adorn herself with the utmost splendour and magnificence, graciously presented her with the richest jewels to heighten her charms, and then led her by the hand, like a *Sultana*, to the divan, assembled on the occasion. Then looking round upon the members, he said, *Which of you would easily forego so rare a paragon of beauty, if possessed of such? Speak, and declare your sentiments freely, and without disguise. I give you full permission, on the word of a prince.*

Dazzled by her charms, the whole divan were unanimous in

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* Speaking of his son *Ameras*, slain by *Mahomet*, because he preferred death to infamy, he says, "*Ameras, sus manu jugulavit—volebat enim eo turpiter et nefarie abutit. Me miserum et infelicem!*" Lib. iii. c. 20, 21.
her praise. They all said, that she was worthy of his fondest attachment, and that no man could blame it. He then replied, *Ye shall now see, that no earthly object shall seduce my senses, nor blind my understanding, from supporting the glory and the conquests of my noble Ottoman ancestors.* And then suddenly seizing Irene by her hair with one hand, he drew his scymetar with the other, and struck off her head at a blow, to the great terror and amazement of the spectators; and concluded, *Judge now from this, whether your emperor is able to bridle his affections or not.*

To employ his turbulent troops, and more turbulent self, Mahomet resumed his suspended military operations with fresh vigour. The two surviving brothers of the emperor Constantine, Demetrius and Thomas, the despots of Peloponnesus, or the Morea, quarrelling with each other, the weaker called in Mahomet to his aid, who rid him of the cares of government altogether, by deposing him, and taking from him his daughter as a concubine, about A.D. 1460, when the whole Morea was reduced under Turkish subjection.

The state and spirit of Christendom, at this woeful period, was admirably described by an able statesman and orator, Æneas Sylvius, secretary to the emperor:—"It is a body without a head, a republic without laws or magistrates. The Pope and the Emperor may shine as lofty titles, or as splendid images; but they are unable to command, and none are willing to obey: Every state has a separate prince, and every prince has a separate interest. What eloquence could unite so many discordant and hostile powers under the same standard? Could they be assembled in arms, who would dare to assume the office of general? What order could be maintained?—what military discipline? Who would undertake to feed such an enormous multitude? Who would understand their various languages, or direct their stranger and incompatible manners? What mortal could reconcile the English with the French, Genoa with Aragon, the Germans with the natives of Hungary and Bohemia? If a small number enlisted in the Holy War, they must be

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* Gibbon questions the truth of this tragic tale, but without adducing any historic evidence for its rejection. It is vouched by the judicious and well informed Busbequius, and recorded by Knolles, and others. A transaction of such public notoriety could scarcely have been invented, and it is perfectly consonant to the brutality and ambition of Mahomet, which last absorbed every other passion.*
overthrown by the Infidels: if many, by their own weight and confusion."

Yet this same Æneas, afterwards, when raised to the papacy, under the name of Pius II., vainly and inconsistently strove to rekindle a crusade against the Turks. In the council of Mantua, he excited some sparks of a false, or feeble enthusiasm; but when he appeared at Ancona, to embark in person, with the crusaders, he found there assembled only a few Greek pilgrims, whom he was obliged to disband, with indulgencies and alms.

Mahomet sustained some interruption in his designs against the western powers, by his contest with Hassan, or Usun Cassames, who had subdued Persia, and required Mahomet not to invade or molest his ally, the emperor of Trebizond, which Mahomet haughtily refused, telling him not to dictate to a greater than himself. This roused Hassan, who routed Amurath the great Bassa, and slew thirty thousand Turks in battle, and afterwards encountered Mahomet himself, who defeated the Persians, indeed, though with greater loss, in A.D. 1474. Whereupon, these two Mahometan princes, to the great disappointed and detriment of the Christian powers, suddenly concluded a treaty of peace with each other.

Mahomet now left at liberty, renewed his attacks on the Christians. He first invaded the Venetian territories, in just return for their remissness and neglect to support the gallant Scanderbeg, whose death they had abundant cause to regret. He besieged for a long time the strong city of Scodra, or Scutari, the key of their dominions in Dalmatia, which, from its advantageous situation, excited the admiration of Mahomet himself, What a fair and stately place hath the eagle chosen to build her nest in, and hatch her young! and at length, after a most obstinate resistance, the Venetians, wearied out with the war, agreed to surrender it to the Turks, in A.D. 1478.

His next step was across the Adriatic, to Apulia, where Achmet Bassa, his most successful captain, took the strong city of Otranto, which was weakly garrisoned, and more weakly defended. The capture of this key of Italy, and the sack of the city, spread a general consternation, and Pope Sixtus IV. was so alarmed, that he was preparing to forsake Rome and fly beyond the Alps. Critically, at this juncture, when Achmet was resolved to follow up this blow, and all Italy stood trembling
and aghast, he was suddenly recalled by his master to Asia, in order to oppose a confederacy of the sultan of Caramania, the king of Persia, and sultan of Egypt, who had defeated Bajazet, the eldest son of Mahomet, with great loss; and when the Turkish sultan had levied a great army with much expedition, and was marching to attack the confederates, he was cut off, on his journey, near Nice, in Bithynia, by a complaint in his bowels, not without suspicion of poison, in the fifty first year of his age, and thirty-first of his reign, A.D. 1481.

The sudden death of this most artful, most powerful, and most persevering conqueror, in the full vigour of life, and full tide of victory, was most seasonable and providential for the preservation of the liberties and religion of the west of Europe. Had he not "heard a rumour" of war in the east, and recalled his victorious and veteran troops from Otranto, "to his own land, where he fell," Italy must (humanly speaking) have been reduced in that campaign, and the standard of Mahomet have been displayed at Rome; and, probably, afterwards, at Vienna, Paris, Madrid, and London, in succession, under this modern Sennacherib, rivalling his predecessor in power, blasphemy, and hostility against the name of Christ. The tender and sickly plant of THE REFORMATION, then budding, would have been speedily trampled under foot, and the Romish and Reformed Churches would have been alike converted into mosques, and our forefathers have groaned under the miserable thraldom of Mahometan superstition and despotism, like the wretched remains of the Greek Churches in Europe and Asia. But praised be THE LORD who did not give us over a prey unto the teeth of these lions with serpents' stings in their tails! Who hath delivered us from such great jeopardy; and we trust will still deliver us, of the most favoured isles, in this last woe now inflicting upon Christendom! See the note, Vol. III. p. 642, of this work.

Under the successors of Mahomet the Great, the limits of the Turkish empire were considerably enlarged, from the Adriatic sea, eastward, in Dalmatia, Hungary, &c. Armenia, Persia, Syria, &c. in Egypt and the southern coast of the Mediterranean sea. It rose to its height, during the reign of Solyman the Magnificent; and since that time has been gradually declining. The continuance of this plague, in full vigour to harass and slay the European world, was predicted in the Apocalypse to be "an
hour, a day, a month, and a year,” Rev. ix. 15, which by the most probable interpretation, denotes a period of 391 years and 15 days (more than double the duration of the Saracen plague of 150 years) commencing with the capture of the city of Kutahi in Cilicia, by Ertogrul, A.D. 1281, and ending with their last conquest of Caminiec, in Poland, by Mahomet IV. A.D. 1672. See Vol. III. p. 616, 617, of this work.

CAUSES OF THE RISE AND DECLENSION OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

These causes are ably traced by Knolles, in the preface to his history, and in the appendix, or brief discourse of the greatness of the Turkish empire, from which we shall select the following.

1. The abilities and long reigns of the ten first sultans, from A.D. 1300 to A.D. 1566, giving 26½ years a-piece. All these sultans were men of great talents and great ambition, and in general, remarkably temperate in their diet; and they early trained their sons to business and to war, by giving them the administration of provinces and command of armies, with able counsellors and generals to advise and direct them.

2. The admirable constitution and discipline of their armies, which as standing armies kept up alike in peace and war, were generally an overmatch for the militia, or occasional levies of the Christian powers in the west, and the Mahometan in the east.

The institution of the Timariots and Azamoglans, were the two main pillars of their military government.

The Timariots were veteran soldiers, who for their services were rewarded with grants of lands, like the Beneficiarii of the Roman emperors, which they held under the crown, by feudal tenure, they and their heirs, on condition that they should furnish a horseman to serve in the sultan's wars, well armed, at their own cost. The number of these feudal grants increased with their dominions. The twelfth emperor, Amurath III. created 40,000 new Timariots in his Persian conquests alone, and they amounted in all, to 719,000 fighting men; of which 257,000 resided in Europe, and 462,000 in Asia and Africa. These, scattered through the empire, kept every part of it in
awe, being let fly, like falcons on their prey, against any disturbers of the public peace.

Besides the Timariot horse, who served without pay, and were called forth occasionally, they had a standing body of cavalry in pay, the Spahis, &c. who were remarkable for their discipline and attachment; and out of whom, the great officers of the state were chosen, and raised according to their merit and their services, the Sanzacs, visiers, bassas, and beglerbegs. The sultans employed also great bodies of light horse, called Acanzii, whom they hired from the Tartars in the east and the Walachians and Moldavians in the west, until the latter revolted with the Transylvanians.

From the Azamoglans, or children of Christians, who were collected every third year, as a tribute, about nine years old, and instructed in the Turkish language and religion, they culled out the most promising boys for strength, activity, and courage, to compose the Janizaries, and Spahis, or emperor's life guard, like the Pratorian guards, among the Romans, who were early trained to labour, fatigue, and military exercises, and to great sobriety and moderation in their diet, and strict discipline, and obedience to their officers; and were subject only to their Aga, or chief commanding officer. The Janizaries were usually selected from the European Christians, and formed a body, from ten to twelve thousand men, of the best infantry in the world.

3. Their formidable artillery and fire arms. Mahomet the Great, by these principally, took Constantinople. He gave the highest encouragement to the most skilful Christian engineers, who were starving at home; and the siege of that city, and the decisive operation of transporting eighty galliots, for twelve miles over land, into the inner harbour of Constantinople, in order to batter the walls on that side, with his powerful artillery, was chiefly planned and conducted by their ingenuity.

4. Their numerous shipping. The great woods of Epirus and Cilicia, and the greater of Nicomedia and Trapezonde, furnished them with timber in abundance. And they employed great numbers of Christian carpenters and shipwrights. When the Turkish fleet was well nigh destroyed in the great sea fight at Lepanto, October 7, 1571, the next spring, sultan Selim II. repaired, or rebuilt a fleet of two hundred galliots and more, able to cope with the confederate Christian fleet, more nume-
rous than theirs, though the ships were not so large, who faced them at Cerigo, though they declined an engagement.

5. The despotic sway of the sultans. This gave them a prodigious advantage over their enemies, singly or conjointly. They could apply with secrecy and dispatch, their mighty resources; having only a privy council of the Vizir Bassas, which seldom exceeded four, the two beglerbegs* of Romania and Anatolia, being the chief; whereas their enemies, if single, were too weak to contend, if confederated, too divided in their councils, and too slow in their operations. Besides the sultans generally took the field themselves, and witnessed the diligence or tardiness of the Bassas, and were alike able and willing to reward the one and punish the other, by summary justice. Their officers, therefore, whose life and honours and fortunes depended on their master's nod, were sure to exert themselves; when the meanest soldier might aspire to the greatest honours and preferments of the court and of the camp, as the rewards of his valour or desert; and the highest Bassa, or Aga, dread disgrace, confiscation of goods, torture or death, for his cowardice, incapacity, or disloyalty.

6. Their contempt of oaths or treaties, with Christian powers, any longer than they were bound by their own interest to keep them; such treaties serving as snares for their destined victims, and confederates, each in turn; none knowing who would be devoured next.

7. The jealousies and dissensions of the Christian powers, who never could be brought to act together with unanimity and cordiality, and zeal against the common enemy. Insomuch that, as Knolles judiciously observes, "the History of the Turks is nothing else but the true record of the woeful ruins of the greater part of the Christian commonwealth." It furnishes indeed the exact prototype of the coalition of the chief European powers, against the revolutionary government of France, which is so truly Turkish throughout in principles and constitution.

The causes of its declension and decay are also ably set forth by Knolles.

"Far be it from me to think," says he, "any enemy of Jesus Christ, let his arm be ever so strong, able to withstand his

* Beglerbegs signifies "Lords of Lords."
power, or to devour entirely His little flock, rage he ever so furiously.” The sources of his weakness spring even out of the sources of his strength, and from the unwieldiness of his colossal empire.

1. The Timariot horse, his greatest strength, are so scattered and dispersed all over the face of the empire, that they cannot easily be collected together upon emergencies. Nor, if they could, would it be safe: for in their absence, the oppressed inhabitants of the several provinces, both Christians and Mahometans, who are ruled with a rod of iron, would not fail to take that opportunity to revolt. Hence not more than a third of the whole number has ever been levied. And these, serving without pay, and furnished only with their own scanty stores of provisions, they cannot keep the field for any length of time; and still less, the Acanzii, or light horse, subsisting chiefly on plunder; and on failure of that, both prone to mutiny, and to disband themselves.

2. The Janizary guards, the flower of the infantry, not being Turkish citizens, have no natural attachment to their sultans nor their country. They can never forget entirely their Christian origin, nor that cruel state policy which tore them from all the ties of kindred. Hence, from the time of their original formation, when held under the strictest discipline, they were mutinous, and formidable to their founders; they frequently deposed the sultans, or controuled them in the choice of their successors; especially when the sultans grew effeminate, and the discipline of the Janizaries relaxed, by the largesses of the sultans at their accession, to this turbulent corps, and the luxuries of the capital. So that the sultans, enslaved themselves; by their slaves, have often attempted, but never dared to dissolve the Janizaries, though equally odious to the Turks, for their rapacity and insolence.

3. The frequent rebellions of the great Bassas in the provinces, who whether they acted well or ill, in office, were sure to incur the envy or jealousy, the avarice or the anger, of the monarch and his courtiers; and when ordered to court, were often saluted with the bow-string, or with the confiscation of their wealth.

4. The decline of population, agriculture, and manufactures, in a country where private property is not only insecure, but mischievous to the owner, who, from the sultan to the peasant,
is liable to be pillaged, and, if he complains, bastinadoed, or beheaded, to boot.

5. The unwieldiness of the empire, now paralyzed in every limb, shews strong symptoms of approaching dissolution, under the sixth vial of wrath. But the precise time is known only to Him, in whose unfathomable counsels all these great revolutions of states and empires are from eternity shut up, until they shall be revealed at those proper times and seasons, which the Father hath reserved in his own power or jurisdiction, to support the patience and faith of the saints, and to humble the pride and presumption of short sighted mortals, and for his own glory.

To Him, who sitteth on the throne of the universe, and to the Lamb, be ascribed the blessing, and the honour, and the glory, and the dominion, for evermore. Amen.

SECTION XIV.

EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY.

La Chronologie des Egyptiens est ce qu'il y a de plus difficile, et de plus epineux, dans l'Histoire Ancienne.

The ancient Chronology of Egypt is a labyrinth, from which it is impossible for us, at this day, to extricate ourselves.

If we survey the whole range of ancient Chronology, there is not, unquestionably, a department so abstruse and intricate as the Egyptian, at which we are now arrived. It is, indeed, a labyrinth, in which the first scholars and antiquaries have lost and bewildered themselves and their readers, from the days of Kircher, Scaliger, Usher, Marsham, Newton, Jackson, Vignoles, Jablonski, Bryant, Larcher, Howard, &c., down to the present day. Its mysteries are not inferior, perhaps, to those of the Apocalypse; both running into vast and unknown periods of time, the one before, the other since, the creation of the world.

Great as are the acknowledged difficulties of the subject, from the scantiness and imperfection of the original materials, they
have been considerably aggravated by the ignorance, mistakes, or wilful corruptions of national historians, wishing to enhance the antiquity of the Egyptian nation, as paramount to that of others; and of some modern antiquaries, misrepresenting it as far exceeding the Mosaic account of the settlement of the earth, by the families of Noah's sons.

But if the original documents, still subsisting, and fortunately preserved by the old historians and chronologers, Herodotus, Diodorus, Josephus, Eusebius, Africanus, Syncellus, &c., be more carefully inspected, and more critically compared, and adjusted by the correcter standard of Sacred Chronology, we trust, that many of the difficulties hitherto considered as insuperable, will vanish with the smoke that occasioned them, before the light of cautious and skilful Criticism, whose province it is rather to illustrate what is obscure, and to trace the surprizing and pleasing harmony and symmetry that will be found to subsist between Sacred and Profane History.

Of these documents, we shall premise some explanatory account.

I. THE OLD EGYPTIAN CHRONICLE.

This was framed from ancient records, and, indeed, with great ingenuity, considered as an astronomical cycle, after the conquest of Egypt, by the Persians, B.C. 350, which it includes, and was in high estimation with Manetho, who made use of it in his Egyptian Antiquities. The Chronicle itself is unhappily lost, but a fragment of it is preserved by Syncellus, in his Chronographia, p. 51, and given from thence, by Jackson, Vol. II. p. 95.

"There is an old Chronicle," says Syncellus, "current among the Egyptians, which I think misled Manetho, containing 80 dynasties, during 113 generations, for the immense number of 36,525 years. These dynasties consisted of three classes; the first Aurites, the second Mesraites, and the third Egyptians.

"The time of Vulcan [first of the Aurites] is not stated, because he shines night and day. Helius [the sun], the son of Vulcan, reigned 30,000 years. Then Saturn, and the rest of the twelve gods, reigned 3984 years. Then the demi-gods, who were eight, 217 years."
"After them, fifteen generations of the Cynic Cycle [or Meso-
rarites] are said to have reigned 443 years.

"Next succeeded the sixteenth dynasty [of Egyptians,] namely, Tanites, [or Thinites,] eight generations in 190 years; the seventeenth dynasty of Memphites, four generations in 103 years; the eighteenth of Memphites, fourteen generations in 348 years; the nineteenth of Diospolites, five generations in 194 years; the twentieth dynasty of Diospolites, eight generations in 228 years; the twenty-first of Tanites, six generations in 121 years; the twenty-second of Tanites, three generations in 48 years; the twenty-third of Diospolites, two generations in 19 years; the twenty-fourth of Saites, three generations in 44 years; the twenty-sixth of Memphites, seven generations in 177 years; the twenty-seventh of Persians, five generations in 124 years; [the twenty-eighth omitted, but supplied by Manetho, of Saites, one generation in 6 years;] the twenty-ninth [five generations of Tanites, here omitted, but supplied from Euse-
bius] in 39 years; the thirtieth dynasty of Tanites, one genera-
tion in 18 years.

"The sum of these thirty dynasties is 36,525 years, indi-
cating the celebrated period of the revolution of the Zodiac, among the Egyptians and Greeks; (or the time of the return of the vernal equinoctial point, from the first degree of the sign Aries, to the same place again,) as set forth in the Genesis of Hermes, and in the Cyrannic books."

This curious fragment forms the basis of the Technical Chronology of the Egyptians, from the beginning of their computa-
tions of time, to the end of their kingdom; it is therefore highly valuable: but it is very obscure, from its conciseness, and still more, from its imperfect state. I shall endeavour, in the follow-
ing table, to restore its integrity in the dynasties and genera-
tions, and to correct some numeral errors that have crept into the reigns, by careful comparison with itself, and with the other documents.

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PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

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</tbody>
</table>

II Class. MASHITES, or HEROES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dyn.</th>
<th>Gen.</th>
<th>Y. B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XVI.</td>
<td>Tanites, or Thinites</td>
<td>8 (190)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII.</td>
<td>Memphites</td>
<td>(4) 6 (103)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII.</td>
<td>Memphites</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX.</td>
<td>Diospolites</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX.</td>
<td>Diospolites</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI.</td>
<td>Tanites</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXII.</td>
<td>Tanites</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIII.</td>
<td>Diospolites</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIV.</td>
<td>Saites</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXV.</td>
<td>Ethiopians</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVI.</td>
<td>Memphites</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVII.</td>
<td>Persians</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this table, the first 14 dynasties, and 21 generations of the first class, and the 15th dynasty of the second class, omitted in the fragment, are restored; as being the complements of the last 15 dynasties of the third class; and of the 92 generations of the second and third classes, noticed in the Chronicle, to the whole number of 30 dynasties, and 113 generations. The corrections of the numbers of generations and years, in the XVI., XVII., XXVIII., and XXIX. dynasties, are collected from Africanus, Eusebius, and Syncellus; so as to complete the whole astronomical cycle of 36,525 years; framed by the multiplication of two factors, 1461 by 25; the former denoting the great Sothiacal or canicular period; the latter, the lunar cycle, by which the Egyptians adjusted the motions of the sun and moon. For the explanation of these several cycles, see Vol. I. p. 39—42, of this work.

The chronology is adjusted from the conclusion of the Chronicle, B.C. 350, when Egypt was finally subdued by Ochus, king of Persia; whence, counting upwards the dates of the several reigns, we get the highest, B.C. 36, 175, for the era of the beginning of time, or creation of the earth, according to the Egyptian hypothesis.
The title of the first class, *Aurites*, is evidently derived from the Hebrew *Aur*, signifying “light,” and was borrowed from the primitive theology of the Chaldeans. See p. 9 of this Vol. The first of these “Gods of Light,” *Hephaistos*, or *Vulcan*, the *Mithras* of the Chaldeans, was the supreme, shining “day and night,” in light inaccessible, or invisible to mortals. See p. 37, note. He was styled in the inscription on the entrance of the Temple at *Heliopolis*, Ἡφαίστος ὁ τῶν θεῶν πατὴρ, “Hephaistos, the father of the Gods;” as we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus, Lib. XXII. c. 15. To him, as the Eternal, no period is rightly assigned in the Chronicle.

Of the visible Gods, his offspring, the Sun, is the most glorious; the first object of the Zabian Idolatrty, styled also *aur*, or “light,” Job xxxi.26. See Vol. II. p. 95, of this work. His reign is reckoned 30,000 years, reaching from the creation of this globe, to the creation of man; according to the ancient Asiatic Mythology. See this Volume, p. 30, note.


The eight Demi-gods of the fourteenth dynasty, and second class, represent Noah and his family, “the eight souls saved in the ark,” under whose patriarchal regimen the Silver Age was governed, till the separation of the three great families. The date of the deluge in the Chronicle, B.C. 2891, differs not much from the Samaritan date. See Vol. I. p. 215.

The *Mesraites*, of the second class, were evidently Mesraim...
and his descendants, who settled in Egypt, and reigned there after the dispersion, during the Cynic, or Heroic Age; the date of their settlement, B.C. 2674, is rather too high. The son of Misraim, or Misor, was Taaut, or Thoth, the second Hermes, according to Sanchoniatho.

The third class of Egyptians, or ordinary kings, beginning with Menes, their first king, (as we learn from the parallel dynasties of Manetho, recorded by Africanus and Eusebius, and from Herodotus and Diodorus,) began, according to the Chronicle, B.C. 2231, rather too low.

This will, I trust, be found a more intelligible and rational explanation of the Old Chronicle, than has been hitherto proposed by Marsham, Jackson, &c.

II. EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES OF MANETHO.

Manetho was a learned Egyptian priest, who, by desire of Ptolemy Philadelphus, wrote the Egyptian Antiquities, from ancient records, and from written pillars, about B.C. 258. He is described by Ælian, σοφας ἕως ακρον ἑλακοσσα αὐθρα, “A person arrived at the summit of wisdom.” Hist. Animal. Lib. 10, c. 16. Unfortunately his work is lost; and we have the more reason to regret the loss, not only from the valuable extract preserved by Josephus, of the Shepherd Dynasty, but also from the unwarrantable corruptions of his genuine dynasties, by Africanus and Eusebius, mistaking or perverting his drift; which was, to furnish a commentary on the third or last part of the Old Chronicle, and some corrections of the last fifteen dynasties; whereas, Africanus and Eusebius introduced fifteen surreptitious dynasties more, between the genuine XVI and XVII, or first and second dynasties of the third class. This interpolation has hitherto produced inextricable confusion and embarrassment in the Egyptian Chronology, and ill repute to Manetho, who has been unjustly charged by Syncellus and others with the sins of his corrupters.

Expunging the surreptitious, which Marsham, Jackson, &c. have laboured in vain to reconcile, by representing them as collateral, or synchronizing with the genuine dynasties; upon the unfounded hypothesis of a distinction without a difference, between Theban kings of Upper Egypt, and Saite, or Tanite, of
Lower Egypt; we shall select the genuine dynasties from the table furnished by the *Universal History*, Vol. i. p. 228, folio.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>AFRICANUS</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th><strong>EUSEBIUS</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>K.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Y.</strong></td>
<td><strong>B.C.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI.</td>
<td>Tanites, or Thinites</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII.</td>
<td>Phœnician Shepherds</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII.</td>
<td>Diospolites *</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX.</td>
<td>Diospolites</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX.</td>
<td>Diospolites</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI.</td>
<td>Tanites</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXII.</td>
<td>Bubastites</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIII.</td>
<td>Tanites</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIV.</td>
<td>Saites</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXV.</td>
<td>Ethiopians</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVI.</td>
<td>Saites</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>150 6 m. 689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVII.</td>
<td>Persians</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>124 4 m. 538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVIII.</td>
<td>Saites</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIX.</td>
<td>Mendesians</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20 4 m. 408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXX.</td>
<td>Sebennytes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Persian conquest | 97 | 1868 | 350 | 91 | 1868 | 350

These two lists of *Africanus* and *Eusebius* differ from each other, and from the *old Chronicle*, in the number of reigns, 97 and 91; and in their respective lengths; but they remarkably agree in the amounts of the years, 1868, and consequently in their beginnings, B.C. 2218, only 13 years less than the *old Chronicle*, B.C. 2231.

III. CHRONICLE OF ERATOSTHENES.

This learned chronologer, librarian to *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, at Alexandria, composed a list of 91 Theban, or Egyptian kings; agreeing in number, but differing in their Coptic names from those of the *Old Chronicle* and *Eusebius*; of which, a fragment of 38 reigns is preserved by *Syncellus*. Its affinity to the list of *Eusebius*, so far as it goes, is demonstrated by the identity of the names of the two first kings in both, "Menes and Athoth." *Jackson*, Vol. II. p. 258, has given a corrected list of the fragment, with learned notes, from *Jablonski*, *Vignoles*, &c.

* By order of *Ptolemy Philopator*, the city of Thebes was called the great Diospolis, or "City of Jove." In this list, Diospolites, or Thebans, Saites, Tanites, &c. were kings of all Egypt, upper and lower.
The chronology is determined from an incidental remark of Dicaearchus, that from the time of Nilus, the 37th king, to the era of the Olympiads, was 436 years. His reign therefore began 436 + B.C. 776 = B.C. 1212. From which epoch, by counting upwards and downwards, the dates of the several reigns are determined. This gives the accession of Menes, the first, B.C. 2220, only two years more than Eusebius and Africanus; and is therefore an additional voucher for the foregoing emendation of their dynasties, by rejecting the fifteen surreptitious dynasties; thus shewing, that their genuine dynasties began at the same time nearly, with the list of Eratosthenes, whose "Theban kings" were evidently the same as their Egyptian kings. For all Egypt was originally called Thebes, from the name of its oldest city, as we learn from Herodotus, B. II. § 15.

This list of Eratosthenes is more valuable than those of Eusebius and Africanus; because some of the names of its kings are found in Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus: such as Q. Nitocris, Mœris, and Nilus, which may help to adjust the chronology of their lists, by comparison with the corresponding Coptic or Egyptian names, in the others: each of their kings having two
or three names, or titles, as well as the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, and Persians.

The next and fullest document, collected from all the preceding, and furnishing some important corrections of the Old Chronicle, which it was principally designed to illustrate, was

## IV. CATALOGUE OF EGYPTIAN KINGS BY SYNCELLUS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DYN.</th>
<th>MESTRAIM</th>
<th>1 MESTRAIM</th>
<th>XV.</th>
<th>35 2613</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DYN.</td>
<td>CURDES</td>
<td>2 CURDES</td>
<td>63 2578</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DYN.</td>
<td>ARISTARCHUS</td>
<td>3 ARISTARCHUS</td>
<td>34 2515</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DYN.</td>
<td>SPANIUS</td>
<td>4 SPANIUS</td>
<td>36 2481</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DYN.</td>
<td>AMENAMES</td>
<td>5 AMENAMES</td>
<td>29 2301</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DYN.</td>
<td>AMATOS</td>
<td>6 AMATOS</td>
<td>22 1947</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DYN.</td>
<td>APACHNAS</td>
<td>27 APACHNAS</td>
<td>36 1849</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DYN.</td>
<td>APOPHES</td>
<td>29 APOPHES</td>
<td>61 1813</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DYN.</td>
<td>SEITOS</td>
<td>30 SEITOS</td>
<td>50 1752</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DYN.</td>
<td>CERTUS</td>
<td>31 CERTUS</td>
<td>29 1702</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DYN.</td>
<td>ASOTH</td>
<td>32 ASOTH</td>
<td>24 1673</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DYN.</td>
<td>AMOSIS</td>
<td>33 AMOSIS</td>
<td>22 1649</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DYN.</td>
<td>CHEBRON</td>
<td>34 CHEBRON</td>
<td>13 1627</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| DYN. | AMEPHES | 35 AMEPHES | XIX. | 15 1614 |
| DYN. | AMENSES | 36 AMENSES | 1 1599 |
| DYN. | MISPHRAGMUTHOS | 37 MISPHRAGMUTHOS | 16 1598 |
| DYN. | MISPHRES | 38 MISPHRES | 23 1582 |
| DYN. | TUTHMESIS | 39 TUTHMESIS | 39 1559 |
| DYN. | AMENOPHIS | 40 AMENOPHIS | 34 1520 |
| DYN. | HORUS | 41 HORUS | 48 1486 |
| DYN. | ACENCHERES | 42 ACENCHERES | 25 1438 |
| DYN. | ATHEORIS | 43 ATHEORIS | 29 1413 |
| DYN. | CENCHAARES | 44 CENCHAARES | 26 1384 |
| DYN. | ACHERES | 45 ACHERES | 13 1358 |
| DYN. | ARMASIS | 46 ARMASIS | 9 1328 |
| DYN. | RHAMMESIS | 47 RHAMMESIS | 68 1319 |
| DYN. | AMENOPHIS | 48 AMENOPHIS | 8 1251 |
| DYN. | MAXIX | 49 MAXIX | 17 1243 |
| DYN. | NECHEPSOS | 50 NECHEPSOS | 19 1226 |
| DYN. | TSAMMUTHIS | 51 TSAMMUTHIS | 13 1207 |
| DYN. | TSAMMUTHIS | 52 TSAMMUTHIS | 4 1194 |
| DYN. | CERTUS | 53 CERTUS | 17 1094 |
| DYN. | TSAMMUTHIS | 54 TSAMMUTHIS | 17 1094 |
| DYN. | AMENOPHIS | 55 AMENOPHIS | 9 1059 |
| DYN. | TSAMMUTHIS | 56 TSAMMUTHIS | 14 1099 |
| DYN. | TSAMMUTHIS | 57 TSAMMUTHIS | 27 1085 |
| DYN. | TSAMMUTHIS | 58 TSAMMUTHIS | 50 1058 |
| DYN. | TSAMMUTHIS | 59 TSAMMUTHIS | 28 1008 |
| DYN. | TSAMMUTHIS | 60 TSAMMUTHIS | 39 980 |
| DYN. | TSAMMUTHIS | 61 TSAMMUTHIS | 42 941 |
| DYN. | TSAMMUTHIS | 62 TSAMMUTHIS | 34 899 |
| DYN. | TSAMMUTHIS | 63 TSAMMUTHIS | 25 865 |
| DYN. | TSAMMUTHIS | 64 TSAMMUTHIS | 9 840 |
| DYN. | TSAMMUTHIS | 65 TSAMMUTHIS | 6 831 |
| DYN. | TSAMMUTHIS | 66 TSAMMUTHIS | 15 825 |

xxi. Vennephes... 61. Vennephes... 62. Susakin, or Susak, or Sesak... 34 899
This table is taken from the *Universal History*, Vol. I. p. 232, folio, with some necessary additions and corrections.

1. The several dynasties of the *Old Chronicle* are annexed, to mark the general correspondence throughout, in its 92 last reigns.

2. The chasm of the sixteenth reign is here filled up with *Menes*, the first king of the third class. In these dynasties, the number of reigns is occasionally varied, to correspond better with the tenor of the history in the other documents. Thus, the XVIIth, or *Memphite* dynasty, instead of six reigns, as in the Old Chronicle, includes seven, as determined by the genuine *Shepherd Dynasty of Manetho*, preserved by *Josephus*; and from the names of the Shepherd kings in Manetho, here preserved, *Silites, Baion, &c.* it appears, that the 25th king, *Concharis*, is the *Timaios, or Thamuz*, of Manetho, dethroned by the Arabian shepherds; who invaded Egypt in his days. The 53d king, *Certus*, is plainly an error for *Cetus*, or *Cetes*, as he is called by *Diodorus*; and *Proteus*, by *Herodotus*, who reigned during the *Trojan war*; and whose successor, *Rhampses*, is called *Pheron*, by *Herodotus*. The 62d king, *Susakim*, is unquestionably the *Susak, or Sesak*, of Scripture, who invaded *Rehoboam*. The 75th, *Sabacon*, is the *So of Scripture*, the *Ethiopian*, who reigned in *Egypt*. And the 83d, *Nekaab II*, the *Nekus of Herodotus*, or the *Pharaoh Necho* of Scripture.

3. From the chronology annexed, as in the foregoing tables,
to the years of the reigns, (which are carefully retained from *Syncellus*) some curious coincidences of *Sacred* and *Egyptian Chronology* are detected. 1. It gives the corrected accession of *Mestraim*, or settlement of *Misraim's* family in *Egypt*, B.C. 2613, which only differs a single year from the established date, B.C. 2614, in the present system of Chronology. See Vol. II. p. 44, of this work. This shews the superior accuracy of the Chronicle of *Syncellus*, above the *Old Chronicle*, which dated it sixty years earlier, B.C. 2674, as we have seen. 2. It gives the accession of the 33d king, *Amosis*, or *Tethmosis*, B.C. 1649, which differs only a year from the established date of the *Exode of the Israelites* from *Egypt*, B.C. 1648. Such coincidences of *Sacred* and *Profane* Chronology, derived from totally different and independent sources, furnish the strongest presumption, that the general system proposed in this work is solidly founded. From the comparison of the foregoing parallel Chronicles, it further appears, that whatever variations may subsist among the Chronographers, respecting the numbers and lengths of reigns in the *detail*, yet they remarkably agree in entire *periods*, handed down from their predecessors, which approach very near each other, in their beginnings and lengths, as we have seen. Hence it follows, that particular dates, in the detail of reigns, will not seldom require correction. Thus, the accession of *Susak*, in the Catalogue of *Syncellus*, B.C. 899, is too low: for he invaded *Rehoboam*, and plundered the temple of *Jerusalem*, B.C. 986. However, we can approximate very nearly to the true date, by the rule of *double false position*.

1. From the accession of *Tethmosis*, the 33d king, B.C. 1649, to the accession of *Susak*, the 62d, B.C. 899, is an interval of 28 reigns in 750 years, or nearly 27 years a-piece, at an average. This is too high. Again, from the accession of *Susak*, B.C. 899, to the end, B.C. 350, we have an interval of 31 reigns in 549 years; above 17 years a-piece. This is too low. But if we divide the whole interval, 750 + 549 = 1299 years, by the whole number of reigns, 28 + 31 = 59, we get the correct average of reigns 22 years, conformable to the Theory. See Vol. I. p. 82, of this work.

* Not understanding the drift of *Syncellus*, *Jackson* has censured his catalogue; and represented him as having "grossly misunderstood and misrepresented the Dynasties of *Mametho*; and puzzled, more than explained them." Vol. II. p. 144, 153. The censure recoils on himself.
2. If now we multiply the upper series of reigns, 28 by 22, and subtract the product, 616 years, from the true upper date, B.C. 1649, the remainder, B.C. 1033, gives an amended date of the accession of Susak. And again, if we multiply the lower series of reigns, 31 by 22, and add the product, 682 years, to the true lowest date, B.C. 350, we get another amended date, B.C. 1032, concurring with the former. We may rest assured therefore, that Susak began to reign on, or about, B.C. 1032, or 133 years earlier than the Catalogue. The invasion of Judea therefore, B.C. 986, happened in the forty-sixth year of his reign; but, as the Cephrenes of Herodotus, he reigned 56 years: thus correcting another error in Syncellus, of 34 years only.

Thus do these several documents, even in their acknowledged errors, furnish sources of emendation, when cautiously and skilfully compared together.

V. HERODOTUS.

This inquisitive traveller, and intelligent historian, received from the Egyptian priests, extravagant and enormous accounts of their remote antiquity, differing considerably from these authentic documents.

Reversing the order of the primary and secondary Gods, in the Old Chronicle, they represented the eight Demigods, as first in point of time; and Pan, as the oldest of the eight, (corresponding to Vulcan.) They represented Hercules, one of the twelve Gods, as born above 17,000 years before Amasis: and Bacchus, of the third order of heroes, as not less than 15,000 years before Amasis, (whose accession took place about B.C. 569.)

Herodotus evidently disbelieved these reports; and exposed their absurdity, by contrasting them with the Greek Theogony, which, though derived from Egypt, differed widely; for that the Greeks reckoned Pan the youngest of all the Gods, the son of Penelope (by Mercury *) not older than 800 years back, from the time of Herodotus, or shortly before the siege of Troy; and Hercules, the son of Alcmena, they reckoned not more than 900

* Lucian, in his Dialogues of the Gods, has introduced a humourous one between the goat-footed Pan and his father Mercury, who was rather ashamed to acknowledge such a son.
years back; and Bacchus, the son of Semele, the daughter of Cadmus, not more than 1600 years back; all, in direct opposition to the Egyptian accounts, though the Greeks derived the names of their Gods from Egypt. Hence he evidently insinuates, that the Egyptian accounts were fabricated since. But he writes with great caution and reserve on this delicate and dangerous subject. "The discourses of the Egyptian priests, touching Theology, I am not very willing to publish, supposing that all men think alike concerning them: and if I shall say any thing about Religion, it shall be no more than I am forced to do, by the tenor of my subject. I shall only relate the names of their Gods." And again: "I desire the Gods and Heroes to take in good part, what I have said concerning these matters." Compare B. II. § 3, 43, 45, 52, 145.

The Egyptian priests likewise corrupted the Chronology of the Egyptian kings. They reckoned from Menes the first, in succession to the heroes, 330 kings to Mæris, and from Mæris to Sethos, priest of Vulcan, or 341 kings from Menes to Sethos, in a period of 11,340 years, counting their reigns equivalent to mean generations, of three to a century. And they reckoned an equal number of high priests in that period, whose wooden statues they shewed Herodotus, ranged in a spacious temple. Compare B. II. § 100, 142, 143.

Herodotus evidently disbelieved their report; for he noticed only a single reign from Menes to Mæris, namely, Queen Nito-cris: "passing over all the rest in silence, because none of them performed any thing memorable." B. II. § 100, 101. He has indeed noticed eleven reigns between Mæris and Sethos, as remarkable; but he plainly intimates, that there were more in reality, from the considerable interval between both. "Mæris had not been 900 years dead, when he received this information." B. II. § 13. But Herodotus visited Egypt about B.C. 448 *. Mæris therefore died not earlier than B.C. 1348, and the accession of Sethos was about B.C. 713; some time before Sennacherib's invasion, in his reign, which is noticed by Herodotus, B. II. § 141; the true date of which, B.C. 711, he could

* Herodotus visited Egypt in the interval between the death of Cimon, Olymp. 82, 4, or B.C. 449, and the recital of part of his History at a public assembly in Athens, with great applause, Olymp. 83, 3, or B.C. 446, as we learn from Eusebius, Chronicon. We are warranted therefore to date his visit to Egypt, in the beginning of his travels, B.C. 448.
scarcely have been ignorant of, from his knowledge of Assyrian affairs. This would leave an interval of more than 500 years, between the death of Mæris and accession of Sethos, which would occupy fifteen reigns at least, supposing reigns equivalent to mean generations, and more, according to the correct standard. He has, indeed, expressed his sentiments on the Egyptian reports, in the following terms: "These things are related by the Egyptians, and if any one think them credible, he is at liberty: as for me, I am obliged to write what I have heard." B. II. § 123. And near the end of his history, he enters the following general protest: "I am obliged to relate what is told, but I am not obliged to believe every thing indiscriminately; which I desire may be understood in the whole course of this History." B. VII. § 152.

The censure therefore of Diodorus Siculus, is unfounded, that "Herodotus wilfully preferred extravagant tales and fictions to truth; wishing rather to amuse than instruct his readers." This vindication is due to the venerable Father of History.

VI. DIODORUS SICULUS.

In the interval of time elapsed between Herodotus and Diodorus, of near 400 years, the Egyptian priests greatly enlarged their fabulous Chronology. This will most clearly appear from the following comparison of their respective Chronicles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HERODOTUS</th>
<th>DIODORUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Menes</td>
<td>Menas, or Mnevis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many ages.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>329 reigns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Nitocris)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mæris</td>
<td>Mæris, or Myris.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 reigns.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sesosstris</td>
<td>Sesoosis, or Sesostris...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
An Analysis of Herodotus and Diodorus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HERODOTUS</th>
<th>DIODORUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. Pheron</td>
<td>Sesooosis II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Many ages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ammosis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Actisanes, the Ethiopian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mendes, or Marus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interregnum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 reigns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Proteus</td>
<td>Cetes, or Proteus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Rhampsinitus</td>
<td>Remphis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 reigns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nilus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Cheops</td>
<td>Chemmis, or Chembes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Cephrenes</td>
<td>Cephres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Mycerinus</td>
<td>Mycerinus, or Cherinus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ayschis</td>
<td>Bocchoris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Anysis</td>
<td>Sabach, or Sabaco.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Sabaco</td>
<td>Interregnum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Sethos</td>
<td>12 kings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. 12 Kings</td>
<td>Psammeticus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Nekus</td>
<td>4 reigns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Psammis</td>
<td>Apries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Apries</td>
<td>Amasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forgeries of the Egyptian priests are obvious in the later Chronicle: to Diodorus they foisted in many reigns, after Mœris, between kings whom they had represented to Herodotus as contiguous. But Diodorus was not imposed upon, any more than Herodotus. He reckoned the amount of the reigns of the genuine kings, not much more than 4700 years. This is still too high; more than double the true amount; though less than half the computation of the Egyptian priests to Herodotus.

From all these early materials and original documents, carefully and critically compared, and occasionally adjusted by Sacred Chronology and Indian antiquities, I shall endeavour to frame a consistent fabric, and connected series of Egyptian Dynasties; which, like the pyramids*, may rest upon a solid base and permanent foundation; and correct the visionary and

* Exegi monumentum are perennius.
Regallique situ Pyramidum altius, &c. Hor.
erroneous Canons of Egyptian Chronology, obtruded on the world by Larcher, as the genuine system of Herodotus*.

* LARCHER'S EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY.

The learned and ingenious, but fanciful and sceptical Larcher, in the second edition of his excellent French translation, and elaborate notes on Herodotus, has published the following formal recantations of his scepticism, in the first edition.

"The credibility and the authenticity of Scripture, rest upon the most solid basis. It is an immovable rock, against which the waves of Infidelity break themselves in vain." [Matt. vii. 24, 25.] Vol. II. p. 564.

"In fine, thoroughly convinced of all the truths taught by the Christian Religion, I have retrenched, or reformed, all the notes that might injure it. From some of these consequences have been drawn, which I disapprove, and which are far from my thoughts; others indeed, I must frankly avow, for the acquittal of my conscience, contain matters, which, I find, upon maturer examination, and profounder researches, either too slightly founded, or absolutely false.

"The Truth cannot fail to gain by this avowal. To her alone, have I consecrated all my lucubrations. I am anxious to return to her, from the time that I thought I had discovered her better. May this homage, which I now render her, with the most heartfelt sincerity, procure me absolution from all the errors I might have incurred, and which I have sought to propagate!" Pref. p. xxxviii.

This open and candid confession and retractation of his former errors, is highly honourable to Larcher; and from a scholar of his celebrity, cannot fail to serve the cause of Truth and of Scripture, which are one and the same. It is therefore the more to be regretted, that he did not revise and correct his Scheme of Egyptian Chronology, according to Herodotus; which is not less at variance with that venerable Father of History, than with Holy Writ; and remains unaltered, with all its errors and imperfections, in the second, and in other respects improved edition of his work, 8vo. 1802. The first edition was published in 1786, 7 tomes, 8vo.

This Scheme is delivered and explained in a long and elaborate Essay on the Chronology of Herodotus, which occupies the greater part of the sixth volume, and therefore comes recommended, by specious and imposing authority, to the reader. The following will, I hope, be found a correct, and a clearer outline of his Scheme, Vol. VI. chap. i. § 10—13.

I PERIOD.

The Theocracy established in Egypt.

The High Priests of the 8 most ancient Gods, govern the country.

N.B. We are ignorant when the reigns of both commenced.

II PERIOD.

The High Priests of the 12 following Gods possess themselves of the government, and begin to reign, [17000 years before Amasis.] 17570

The High Priests of the Gods of the third order succeed them. First, the High Priest of Osiris, [15000 years before Amasis.] 15570

The High Priests of Orus dispossess them.

III PERIOD.

Y.

Menes, the first king ........................................ Eratosth. 62 .. 12356

329 kings .................................................. [10870] .. 12294

Moeris ........................................................ Vecchietti 68 .. 1424
## I. ANTEDILUVIAN DYNASTIES.

### PRIMARY GODS, 2256 YEARS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>Y.</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saturn, or Adam</td>
<td>2256</td>
<td>5411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Generations, ending with the deluge.</td>
<td></td>
<td>3155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesostris</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pheron</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proteus</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris and Helen arrive in Egypt 20 years before B.C. 1270, Larcher's misdate of the destruction of Troy</td>
<td></td>
<td>1290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhampsinitus</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>1244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheops</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cephrenus</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mycerinus</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asychis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anysis</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Ethiopia prince [Bocchoris]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anysis again, quitting the Isle of Elbo</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A chasm of 191 years</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabaco, the Ethiopian</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sethos, priest of Vulcan</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interregnum</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 joint kings</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psammeticus alone</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nekos</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psammis</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apries</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amasis</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psammenitus</td>
<td>6 m.</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambyses conquers Egypt</td>
<td>525</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amyrtas retreats to the Isle of Elbo, 503 years after Anysis issued from thence</td>
<td>458</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Larcher prefaces this Scheme, with the following proviso, to his readers.

"The Chronology of Herodotus would appear to me clothed with the character of truth; and I should be tempted to admit it, if the authority of the sacred books would have permitted me. If, in the sequel, I advance any proposition which may seem contrary to this avowal, I beg the reader to believe, that I only do so in regard to the author's system, and that I sincerely disavow all the consequences that may be drawn from thence."

"The Egyptian Annals would become probable, if we supposed the world to be eternal; or else, that it began at a period much more remote than that assigned in scripture: but they cease to be so, when we admit this same scripture. Ah! who can hesitate between a work divinely inspired, and annals which cannot have the same degree of credibility?"

This is an insidious recommendation of his own scheme, as "probable in itself," and "clothed with the character of truth," did not the eternity, or vast antiquity of the
II. POSTDILUVIAN DYNASTIES.

DEMI GODS AND HEROES, 743 YEARS.

1. **Noah and his sons** ........................................ 542 .. 3155
2. **Misraim and his successors** ................................. 201 .. 2613

End of the Heroic age ........................................ 743 .. 2412

world, which it inculcates, militate against the Mosaic account of the creation; whose inspiration indeed he speciously admits in name, but denies in fact*

But his Scheme is "clothed with the character of falsehood," throughout: for 1. It misrepresents Herodotus; and 2. Is erroneous in itself.

1. His first and second periods, and third, before Moeris, are not warranted by Herodotus; who evidently discredited the exaggerations of the Egyptian priests, respecting the enormous reigns of the primary and secondary Gods and Heroes, as contrasted with the shorter and less revolting Grecian Theology. And where did he find the priests of Osiris, dispossessed by the priests of Orus? Not in Herodotus, surely. This sober historian all along distinguishes the kings from the priests, until the solitary instance of Sethos, priest of Vulcan, in whom the regal authority was united, but ceased again after his death. Indeed, Larcher’s whole scheme of governing High Priests, seems to have been fabricated to throw an odium on the sacred order, as ambitious and rebellious, from the earliest times. The case of the Jewish Theocracy, and Samuel the Judge, on which he grounds it, 1 Sam. viii. 1—7, is utterly irrelevant.

2. The fundamental date of Amyrtäus’ flight to the fens, B.C. 458, on which his Chronology is built, should be lowered to B.C. 407; which is the date furnished by Diodorus Siculus.

3. The assumed interval of 503 years, between Amyrtäus and Anysis, is founded upon an arbitrary substitution of 500, instead of 300, the true correction of the false number 700, in the text of Herodotus, B. II. § 140, as proved here in the text. This is the fundamental error of Larcher's system, raising it in general 200 years higher than the truth.

4. The chasm of 241 years, which he notices, is unskilfully stated, too long, and misplaced: as including 50 years of Sabaco, by his own account, it should be reduced to 191 years; but this is too long: it was only 151 years, as proved here, in the text. And it followed Mycerinus, rather than Anysis. He reverses the order of Herodotus, in placing the restoration of Anysis, before Sabaco’s reign. And he misrepresents Anysis as first expelled by an Ethiopian prince, (Bocchoris, or Asychis, whom he omits to name), whereas Herodotus expressly represents him as expelled by Sabaco.

5. From this accumulation of errors in excess, all his dates from Amyrtäus upwards, to Moeris, are too high; and from Moeris to Menes, extravagant. Contradicting not only Herodotus, rightly understood, but all the other ancient Egyptian documents, which he produces, but has equally misrepresented.

The only correct dates in his whole System, are the accession of Sethos, B.C. 713, as determined by Sennacherib’s invasion, and the invasion of Cambyses, B.C. 525.

* Like the Epicurean Atheists of old. — Deos, nomine ponunt, re tollunt. As described by Cicero.

VOL. IV.
III. EGYPTIANS.

FIRST DYNASTY, 253 YEARS.

Menes and his successors, &c. ending with Timaus, or Timaus, or 

Concharis .................................... 253 Y. 

2412 B.C.

Concharis .................................... 253 Y. 

2159 B.C.

SECOND DYNASTY, SHEPHERD KINGS, 260 YEARS.

1. Salatis, Silites, or Nirmaryada ............... 19 

2159 B.C.

2. Baion, Byon, or Babya .......................... 44 

2140 B.C.

3. Apachnes, Pachnan, or Rucma ............... 37 7 m. 

2096 B.C.

First pyramid begun about .................. 2095 B.C.

Abraham visits Egypt about .................. 2077 B.C.

4. Apophes .................................... 61 

2059 B.C.

5. Janias, or Sethos ............................ 50 1 m. 

1998 B.C.

6. Assis, or Aseth .............................. 49 2 m. 

1948 B.C.

Expulsion of the Shepherds .................... 260 Y. 

1899 B.C.

THIRD DYNASTY, NATIVE KINGS, 251 YEARS.

Alyephagmuthosis, &c. ....................... 27 

1899 B.C.

Joseph appointed Governor, or Regent .......... 9 

1872 B.C.

Jacob’s family settle in Goshen ............... 215 Y. 

1863 B.C.

Death of Joseph ................................ 1792 B.C.

Queen Nitocris ................................ 1742 B.C.

Exode of the Israelites ....................... 251 Y. 

1648 B.C.

FOURTH DYNASTY, 340 YEARS.

1. Amosis, Tethmosis, or Thummosis .............. 25 4 m. 

1648 B.C.

2. Chebron .................................... 13 

1623 B.C.

3. Amenophis I ................................ 20 7 m. 

1610 B.C.

4. Amen ............................ 21 9 m. 

1589 B.C.

5. Mephes ..................................... 12 9 m. 

1567 B.C.

6. Mephragmuthosis ........................... 25 10 m. 

1554 B.C.

In Larcher’s system of Egyptian Chronology, “all is false and hollow:” false, in principles and construction; hollow, in professions of regard for Herodotus, whom he misrepresents; and of veneration for Scripture, which, Judas like, he betrays with a kiss; labouring with a shew of learning, to make the worse appear the better reason. Indeed, to adopt and pursue his own evangelical imagery, it is built upon the sand, and can neither withstand the wind nor the rain of sacred and skilful criticism, beating against it, till it falls, with great ruin, into merited contempt, henceforward; destined to rise no more. (Matt. vii. 26, 27.) Like the Pyramids of Moeris, it will soon disappear in the lake of Lethe, or oblivion. Such is the just reward of talents perverted and misapplied! They may blaze for a moment, but are quickly extinguished.
### PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Thmosis, or Tethmosis</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Amenophis II</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Orus, or Horus</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Acenchriss</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Rathosis</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Acencheres I</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Acencheres II</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Armais, or Harmais</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Ramesses</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Harmesses</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>1393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Amenophis III. or Mæris</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1327</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Death of Mæris: 340 B.C. 1308

### FIFTH DYNASTY, 342 YEARS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Sethos, Sethosis, Sesostris, or Osymandes</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Rampses, or Pheron</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>1275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Cetes, or Proteus, or Ramesses</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paris and Helen driven to Egypt</td>
<td></td>
<td>1194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Menelaus comes to Egypt</td>
<td></td>
<td>1183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Amenophis IV</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fictitious expulsion of the Israelites</td>
<td></td>
<td>1130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Rampsinites</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Cheops, or Chemmis</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Cephrines, Cephres, or Sesak</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>invades Rehoboam</td>
<td></td>
<td>986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Mycerinus, or Cherinus</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>His death</td>
<td></td>
<td>966</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SIXTH DYNASTY, 293 YEARS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Bocchoris, or Asychis</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Anysis</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Sabacon or Soa, or So</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anysis again</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Sebecom, or Sethos</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sennacherib invades Egypt</td>
<td></td>
<td>711</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

End of the period: 293 B.C. 673

### SEVENTH DYNASTY, 148 YEARS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Contemporary Kings</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Psammiticus</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Nekus, or Pharaoh Necho</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kills Josiah, and takes Cadytis or Jerusalem</td>
<td></td>
<td>608</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ANALYSIS OF

4. Psammis ............................................. 6 603
5. Apries, or Pharaoh Hophra ............................ 28 597
   Nebuchadnezzar ravages Egypt ...................... 570
6. Amasis .................................................. 44 569
   Solomon's visit about ................................ 554
   Cyrus conquers Egypt .................................. 535
7. Psammenitus, I. Revolt of Egypt ..................... 6 m. 525

EIGHTH DYNASTY, PERSIAN KINGS, 112 YEARS.

1. Cambyses reduces Egypt 
   I. Persian Administration .......................... 38 525
2. Darius Hystaspes, II. Revolt of Egypt .............. 3 487
3. Xerxes reduces Egypt
   II. Persian Administration .......................... 24 484
4. Artaxerxes Longimanus, III. Revolt of Egypt ....... 4 460
   reduces Egypt
   III. Persian Administration .......................... 43 456
   Herodotus visits Egypt ................................ 448
5. Darius Nothus, IV. Revolt of Egypt .................. 112 413

NINOTH DYNASTY, EGYPTIAN KINGS, 81 YEARS.

1. Amyrtaeus .............................................. 6 413
2. Pausiris ................................................ 6 407
3. Psammeticus, II. ....................................... 6 401
4. Nephereus .............................................. 6 395
5. Acoris .................................................. 14 389
6. Nectanebos ............................................ 12 375
7. Tachus, or Teos ........................................ 2 363
8. Nectanebus ............................................. 11 361
   Ochus reduces Egypt
   IV. Persian Administration .......................... 18 350
   Alexander conquers Egypt ................................ 332

TENTH DYNASTY, MACEDO-GRECIANS, 302 YEARS.

This last dynasty is given in Ptolomy's Canon, ending with
the death of Cleopatra, and conquest of Egypt by the Romans.
See Vol. I. p. 164, of this work.

In adjusting the Chronology of the first period, I have re-
duced the excessive period of 3984 years, in the Old Chronicle,
to the correct period of 2256 years, from the creation to the deluge. And this correction is warranted by the Oriental historians. The Tharik al Thabari notices a race of Preadamite Demons, among whom they ranked Jan ben Jan, the supposed builder of the pyramids of Egypt. After them, it notices an Antediluvian dynasty of seventeen Egyptian kings, beginning with Kraus, the sixth from Adam; under the last of whom, Firaoun, came on the universal deluge, in the year 2156 *, after the creation of man. This was occasioned by the wickedness of the world in general, and of Firaoun in particular; after he had written to king Darmasel, in whose dominions the prophet Noah dwelt, to put him to death, and to burn the ark he was building. But this conspiracy was defeated by the Egyptian High Priest, who favoured Noah, and married his own daughter to one of his sons, and was saved himself, with Noah, in the ark. See Univers. Hist. Vol. I. p. 278—280, folio.

On the other hand, in the second period, I have increased the Patriarchal administration of the Eight Demigods, Noah and his sons, from 217 to 542 years, till the separation of those primitive families. By this compensation of errors in excess and defect, the amount of the reigns of the Gods and Demigods approaches nearer to the true amount, than either singly.

In the third period, I have raised the date of the first king, Menes, from Syncellus, B.C. 2167, Africanus and Eusebius, B.C. 2218; Eratosthenes, B.C. 2220, and the Old Chronicle, B.C. 2231, to B.C. 2412; upon the higher authority of Josephus, who had access to the original dynasties of Manetho, and states, 1. that “Menes was many years before Abraham,” (who was born B.C. 2159,) and 2. that “he reigned more than 1300 years before Solomon,” (who began B.C. 1030,) Ant. 8, 6, 2, p. 358, Hudson; and also, upon the probable duration of Misraim’s dynasty in the Old Chronicle, for 201 years; which, deducted from its correct beginning, B.C. 2618, according to Syncellus, gives its end, B.C. 2412.

The duration of the first dynasty, 253 years, is the medium of the accounts of Eusebius, 252 years, Africanus 253 years, and Syncellus 255 years, and is therefore probably correct, and gives the end of the first dynasty, B.C. 2159.

The duration of the second dynasty, 260 years, is taken from

* This number 2156, only differing a century, is evidently an erratum, for the correct number, 2256.
the genuine account of Manetho, furnished by Josephus contra Apion. i. § 14, which sufficiently exposes the corruptions of Africanus and Eusebius, and leads us to regret the loss of Manetho's works.

The duration of the third dynasty is collected from Manetho and Scripture. The time of Queen Nitocris, noticed by Herodotus, is determined from Eratosthenes, corrected by the true time of Menes.

The fourth dynasty is given from the genuine fragment of Manetho, preserved by Josephus contra Apion. i. § 15.

The fifth dynasty is collected from Manetho, Herodotus, and Diodorus.

In the sixth dynasty, from Herodotus and Diodorus, a chasm is detected of 151 years, from its commencement B.C. 966, as deduced from the fifth, and the commencement of the reign of Bocchoris, B.C. 815, as reckoned upwards through the intermediate reigns, from the known reign of Sethos, the last, B.C. 713. The ten reigns may be supplied from the Catalogue of Syncellus, beginning with the 64th, Amenophis, and ending with the 74th, Bocchoris.

The adjustment of the intermediate reigns, here given from careful comparison of the history in Herodotus, is confirmed by an important correction of his present text, B. II. § 140; in which, it is said, that "the Isle of Elbo, where Anysis concealed himself in the fens, during the domination of the Ethiopian, Sabacon or Soa, remained for more than 700 years from that time, undiscovered by the succeeding princes, till Amyrtæus, who fled to the fens, on the defeat of the Egyptians by the Persians." This defeat, we know, was about B.C. 456, and counting upwards 700 years, it would greatly antedate the time of Anysis, B.C. 1156. Instead of 700 years therefore, which is palpably erroneous, Perizonius suggested a correction of 500; which was introduced by Borheck into his edition of Herodotus, and copied by Reizius, and the Oxford edition of 1809, and adopted by Larcher, and Beloe, in their Notes on Herodotus. But this number also is too high for the Chronology. The learned Bouhier, and Wesseling, in his Notes on Herodotus, have judiciously restored the true number, 300, and pointed out the source of the error, in the likeness of the numerals, III H H, 700, and H H H, 300, for H, singly, denotes 100, but inclosed in a Greek Pi, III, 500. See Vol. I. p. 9, of this work. And
this critically corresponds with the Chronology; for, subtracting the flight of Amyrtaeus to the fens, B.C. 456, from the former flight of Anysis, B.C. 769, the difference 313 years, well accords with the expression of Herodotus, "more than 300 years," and vouches both the correctness of the Chronology, and the truth of the emendation. Something more is required of Editors and Commentators of the Classics, than a mere knowledge of dead languages!

The seventh dynasty is taken chiefly from the authentic information of Herodotus, and also the eighth.

The ninth dynasty is collected chiefly from Diodorus Siculus.

MISRAIM.

Egypt was first inhabited by the family of Misraim, the second son of Ham, Gen. x. 6; whence it is usually styled, מִזְרַיִם, "The land of Misraim," Gen. xiii. 10, &c. and once, in the singular number, מֵיהֶרֶשׁ, "the canals of Misor," Isa. xix. 6, whence the Misor of Sanchoniathon, and Mesr, the modern Arabic name of Egypt. The plural Misraim, Misrim, or Misrites, was rather the name of the family, or people, as Abel Misraim, "the mourning of the Misrites," or Egyptians, Gen. 1. 11.

This family first settled in Upper Egypt, where they built the famous city of Thebes. See Vol. I. p. 377, 378, of this work. Thence, in process of time, they gradually spread into the Lower Egypt, or Delta, as its land became formed by the alluvions of the Nile.

MENES.

The Patriarchal regimen introduced with the family of Misor, subsisted till Menes, who, either by compulsion, or persuasion, first introduced regal government. He seems to have been a wise prince. To check the overflowings of the Nile, he turned its course into a more direct channel, and built the city of Memphis upon the former bed of the river. Until the time of Herodotus, the original embankment of the new channel formed by Menes was kept up and carefully repaired, even by the Persian government. He was also a religious prince: he founded the magnificent temple of Hephaisostos, or Vulcan, in the same city, dedicated to the Supreme Being; and he was the father
of his people. By the advice of his prime minister, Thoth, or Hermes, he divided the whole country of Egypt into three lots: these were appropriated to the crown, the priesthood, and the soldiery, who each farmed out to the people their respective shares. And this order of things subsisted till the Shepherd invasion and conquest, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, B. I. ch. 6. See also Vol. II. p. 140, of this work.

THE SHEPHERD DYNASTY.

Manetho has given the following account of this foreign dynasty, in a fragment fortunately preserved by Josephus, contra Apion. i. § 14.

"We had formerly a king named Timaus, [or Thammuz]. In his reign, God, upon what account I know not, was offended with us; and unexpectedly, men from the east [Arabia] of obscure origin, boldly invaded the kingdom, and subdued it without a contest. Having mastered the former rulers, they then barbarously burnt the cities, demolished the temples of the Gods, and treated all the inhabitants most hostilely: massacring some of the men, and reducing the wives and children of others to slavery.

"They next appointed one of their leaders king, whose name was Salatis. He resided in Memphis, and imposed a tribute on the Upper and Lower Egypt, and put garrisons in the most important places. But chiefly he secured the eastern parts of the country, foreseeing that the Assyrians, who were then most powerful, would be tempted to invade the kingdom likewise. Finding therefore in the Saite nome, a city situated most conveniently on the north side of the Bubastic channel [of the Nile] which was called Avaris, [or Abaris *; "the pass"] in an ancient theological book, he rebuilt, and fortified it most strongly, and garrisoned it with two hundred and forty thousand soldiers. Hither he used to come in summer, to furnish them with corn and pay, and he carefully disciplined them, for a terror to foreigners. He died after he had reigned 19 years.

"The next, called Baen, reigned 44 years; and after him Apachnas, 36 years and 3 months; then Apophis, 61 years; and Janias, 50 years and 1 month; and after them, Assis, 49 years

* This was afterwards called Pelusium. See Vol. I. p. 375.
and 2 months. These six were their first kings, who were continually at war with the Egyptians, and wished of all things to eradicate them.”

“Their whole nation was called ΥΚΣΩΣ, Uksos, that is ‘Royal Shepherds;’ for ΥΚ, in the sacred tongue, signifies ‘king;’ but ΣΩΣ, in the vulgar dialect, ‘shepherd’ or ‘shepherds.’ Some say they were Arabs.”

In another copy, says Josephus, I find that the term ΥΚ, when aspirated, signifies “captives” in the Egyptian language; whence ΥΚΣΩΣ, Huksos, “captive shepherds,” a title applied to the Israelites afterwards, in the sacred books of the Egyptians, from their pastoral life, [Gen. xlvi. 32.] and from Joseph, their ancestor, styling himself a captive [Gen. xl. 15; xli. 12.] whom Manetho represented as descended from the Royal Shepherds.

“At length, the native Egyptian princes rebelled against these tyrants, and after a tedious warfare, drove them out of the rest of Egypt, and shut them up in Avaris, where they had collected all their cattle and plunder, and besieged them with an army of 480,000 men. But despairing of success, the Egyptians concluded a treaty with them, and they were suffered to depart unmolested from Egypt, with all their households, amounting to 240,000 souls, and their cattle. Accordingly, they crossed the desert, but being afraid to return home, on account of the Assyrian power, which then held Asia in subjection, they settled in the country of Judea, and there built Jerusalem.”

In this curious fragment of Manetho, truth and falsehood are blended together. The conquest of Egypt by the Arabian shepherds, and their subsequent expulsion, in the reign of Assis, the sixth king of the Shepherd dynasty, are true; but they were not the ancestors of the Israelites, or “captive shepherds,” nor did they settle in Judea, after their expulsion, but westward, along the coast of the Mediterranean, where they destroyed or subdued the natives, the “Avim,” or “Avites,” after “they came from Caphtor,” or the Lower Egypt, Deut. ii. 23. And in allusion to their expulsion from thence, they are styled “the Philistines, the remnant of the country of Caphtor,” Jer. xlvii. 4, preserving, in the name of their country, the remembrance of their origin; for Palestine, in the Sanscrit, or

* The Isthmus of Suez, in its name, records the pass by which these “shepherds” invaded Egypt, for Suez is evidently the Egyptian Σως, or Σωες.
ANCIENT SYRIAC, signifies *Pali-sthan,* "shepherd land," as we learn from

THE HINDU RECORDS.

The sacred books of the *Hindus,* according to Captain Wilford, in his elaborate treatise on *Egypt* and the *Nile,* in the *Asiatic Researches,* Vol. III. p. 46, &c. notice two remarkable migrations from the east, in remote times; first of the *Yadavas,* or "sacred race," and afterwards of the *Pali,* *Palli,* or "shepherds."

The *Yadavas* seem to have been the first settlers of the earth, the three primitive families of *Noah’s* sons, "of whom the whole earth was overspread." Gen. ix. 19. Of whom, *Misraim’s* family settled in *Egypt,* about B.C. 2613, as we have seen.

The *Pali,* *Palli,* or "shepherds," were a powerful tribe, who in ancient times governed the whole country from the *Indus* to the mouth of the *Ganges,* and are called *Palibothri,* by Pliny, and *Paliputras,* in the sacred books of the *Hindus.* These, were an active, enterprising, roving race *, who spread themselves, by conquest, colonization or commerce, widely throughout *Asia,* *Africa* and *Europe."

Crossing over from the coasts of the *Persian* Gulph, they colonized the sea coasts of *Arabia* and *Africa*; in the latter, their country was called *Barbaria* by the *Greeks* and *Romans,* from *Berber,* "a shepherd," according to *Bruce,* Vol. II. p. 21, who describes them as a distinct race from the natives, with long hair, and dark complexions, living in tents, and shifting their cattle from place to place, for the convenience of pasturage. They seem to be the eastern *Ethiopians,* as distinguished from

* These seem to be the same as the *Pelasgi,* or early colonists of *Peloponnesus,* *Attica,* *Samothrace,* *Greece* and *Italy,* noticed by *Herodotus;* and distinguished from the original settlers, by their language and religious rites. They were an *Asiatic* race, and among the auxiliaries of the *Trojans,* coming from *Larissa.* Iliad. ii. 347; x. 429.

Virgil also notices the *Pelasgi* among the early colonists of *Latium* and *Etruria;* and of *Lydian,* or *Asiatic* descent. Æneid. 8, 479—602.

*Sylvano, fama est Vetere sacrasse Pelagos,*
*Arvorum pecorisque Deo, lucumque diemque;*
*Qui primi fines aliquando, habuere Latinos.*

_______________ *Lydia quondam*

*Gens, bello praecarea, jugis insedit Etruscis.*

*Here, Sylvanus, is the same as Pales.* Georg. 3, 1.
the western, by *Homer*, Iliad. i. 423; Odyss. i. 22; and by *Herodotus*, in his catalogue of the army of *Xerxes*, B. VII.

*Herodotus* describes the inhabitants of *Palestine Syria* as having migrated, according to their own account, from the *Red Sea* to the sea coast of the *Mediterranean*, and applying themselves to navigation and commerce. B. I. § 1, 5; VII. § 89.

How extensively they spread themselves in *Asia* and *Europe*, appears from the cities and places retaining their names. Thus *Palestine or Palesthan* was found on the banks of the *Tigris*, and most probably was their original settlement; the town of *Paliputra* stood on the *Hellespont*; the river *Strymon* in Thrace was surnamed *Palaestinus*; the *Palestinae arenæ*, and *Philistinæ fossiones* were found in Epirus; the *Pelestini*, and the town *Philistia*, on the river *Po* in Italy; and the God, or Goddess of *Shepherds*, among the Latins, was called *Pales*,

*Te quoque, magna Pales, et te memorande canemus,*

*Pastor ab Amphryso*.

*Virg. Georg. iii. 1.*

A curious account of the conquest of *Egypt* by this *shepherd* tribe, is preserved in the sacred books of the Hindus, from whence the following extract is furnished by *Wilford*. Asiatic Research. Vol. III. p. 225.

"An ancient king, called *Chatura* • yana, (from his knowledge of the *four Vedas,* passed a hundred years in a cavern of *Chrishna giri*, the black mountain, on the banks of the *Cali* † or Nile, performing the most rigorous acts of devotion. At length *VISHNU* appeared to him, and promised him his wish of male issue, that he should have a son called *Tamo-vatsa*. This prince, when he succeeded his father, was warlike and ambitious, but wise and devout. He prayed to *VISHNU* to enlarge his empire; and the God granted his request. Hearing that *Misra sthan*, (the land of *Egypt*) was governed by a powerful but unjust prince, called *Nirmaryada*, he, with a chosen army, invaded that country, without any declaration of war, and began to administer justice among the people, to give them a specimen of a good king; and when *Nirmaryada* sent to expostulate, he

* From the Sancrit *Chatura*, was evidently derived the Latin *Quatuor*. Indeed the analogy between the *Sancrit* and *Latin*, seems to be stronger than between the Sancrit and any other of the European languages. See note on the *Eleusinian Mysteries*, p. 163 of this volume.

† From *Cali*, "black," came the Greek, κελας, or κελανος, whence κελανφης *Zevs*, "black-clouded Jove," which is the exact rendering of *Io-sihor*, or *O-sir-is*, "black or dark Jove," in *Hebrew* and *Egyptian*. See my *Dissertations*. 
treated his expostulation with disdain. This brought on a bloody battle of three days, in which the Egyptian king was killed. The conqueror, who fought like another Parasa Rama, then took possession of the kingdom of Misra, and governed with perfect equity. Bahya Vatsa, his son, devoted himself to religion, and resigned his crown to his son Rucma Vatsa, who tenderly loved his people, and so highly improved his country, that from his just revenues he amassed an incredible treasure. His wealth was so great, that he raised three mountains, called Rucm-adri, Rajat-adri, and Retu-adri, or the mountain of gold, of silver, and of gems.

In this legend we trace the distorted features of the Egyptian account.

By an interchange of characters, Tamo is the Timaus of Manetho, a quiet and peaceable prince, who was invaded, without provocation, by this Nirmaryada; or "Nimrodite," of Cushite race, called Salatis by Manetho, and Silites by Syn-cellus.

His son, Bahya, is plainly the Baion of Manetho. The third king was surnamed Rucma, from his immense wealth, which he collected by oppressing the Egyptians, though "he tenderly loved his own people," the Shepherds; and wishing either to extirpate the natives, or to break down their spirits, by hard and incessant labour, he employed them in constructing those stupendous monuments of ancient ostentation and tyranny, the Pyramids, which are evidently the factitious "mountains" meant in the Hindu records, originally cased with yellow, white or spotted marbles, brought from the quarries of Arabia, though built of the Libyan stone on the spot. See the foregoing article of the Pyramids*, Vol. I. p. 379.

* To the proofs there assigned from the Asiatic Researches, that the Pyramids were Water Temples, consecrated to the divinity of the Nile, we may here add the judicious observations of that well-informed traveller, Shaw.

"Pliny asserts that they were built for ostentation, and to keep an idle people in employment; [Exod. v. 17.] Others, (which is the most received opinion) that they were to be the sepulchres of the Egyptian kings. But if Cheops, Sushis, or whoever else was the founder of the great Pyramid, intended it only for his sepulchre, what occasion was there for such a narrow sloping entrance into it? or for the wall, as it is called, at the bottom of the gallery? or for the lower chamber, with a large niche or hole in the eastern wall of it? or for the long narrow cavities in the walls or sides of the large upper room, which likewise is incrusted all over with the finest granite marble? or for the two ante chambers, and the lofty gallery, with benches on each side, that introduce us into it?

"As the whole of the Egyptian theology was clothed in mysterious emblems and
From this *Hindu* record, we seem fully warranted to ascribe the building of the first and greatest pyramid to *Apachnes*, the third of the Shepherd kings, and of the rest, to his successors. And this is confirmed by the tradition of the native *Egyptians*, to *Herodotus*, that "they were built by one *Philitis*, a shepherd, who kept his cattle in these parts, and whose memory was held in such abhorrence, that the inhabitants would not even repeat their names *." B. II. § 128. Here, the *Egyptian* tradition has fortunately retained the original title of the "Shepherds," in *Philitis*, so nearly allied to the *Philistines*; both derived from the Sanscrit, *Pali*, "Shepherd."

The whole time employed in building the first pyramid, according to *Herodotus*, was thirty-two years and a half, which ranges within the reign of *Apachnes* of 37 years, 7 months, according to *Manetho*. We may therefore date the commencement early in his reign, about B.C. 2095.

The three great pyramids, according to *Pliny*, were built in the space of *seventy-eight* years and *four* months; if therefore the first was built by the third king, *Apachnes*, the others must have been built by his successors, *Apophes* the Fourth, and *Janias* the Fifth, whose reigns were long enough for that purpose. At length, the *Egyptians*, wearied out with such long continued tyranny and insupportable labours, rebelled, and after a tedious and bloody warfare, expelled the *Shepherds*, under the sixth king, *Assis*, after they had enslaved Egypt 260 years.

The commencement and end of this dynasty is critically determined by that great chronologer, *Josephus*, from the Grecian Chronicles, in the following important passage:

"It is evident," says he, "that if the time be computed from figures, it seems reasonable to suppose, that all these turnings, apartments and secrets in architecture, were intended for some nobler purpose; and that the Deity, which was typified on the outward form of this pile, was to be worshipped within. No places could certainly have been more ingeniously contrived for these adyta, or secret chambers, which had so great a share in the Egyptian mysteries and initiations."

A variety of miscellaneous information, respecting the pyramids, from the most approved English and French travellers, is given in the notes of Beloe's Translation of *Herodotus*, Vol. I. p. 447—450; Vol. II. p. 41—48, and 131, 132. Second edit.

"Part of the punishment annexed in France to high treason, and other enormous offences, was the irrevocable extinction of the family name of the convicted persons."

But Beloe, to whom we owe this note, was mistaken in the next; supposing that "the Shepherds alluded to were probably the Israelites."
the aforesaid [260] years, the Shepherds, so called, and our [supposed] ancestors, emigrated from Egypt, and settled in this country [of Palestine] 393 years before Danaus came to Argos. —Manetho then, has, from the Egyptian records, attested two points of the greatest moment to us; first, our arrival in Egypt from another quarter, (and next, our departure from thence*) in times so ancient, as nearly to precede the Trojan times a thousand years." Contr. Apion. I. § 16.

First, the Shepherd invasion of Egypt was nearly 1000 years before the Trojan times, or destruction of Troy, B.C. 1183, about B.C. 2183: which rightly exceeds, by 24 years, the date here assigned, B.C. 2159.

Next, the departure of the Shepherds, or their expulsion from Egypt, was 393 years before Danaus came to Argos: But, by the Parian Chronicle, "Danaus and his daughters sailed from Egypt to Lindus in Rhodes," B.C. 1511; where they made some stay, for "they built a temple there, and sacrificed†," before they removed to Argos; supposing they remained there 5 years, they came to Argos about B.C. 1506; to which, adding 393 years, we get B.C. 1899, the precise date of the expulsion of the Shepherds.

From the invasion of the Shepherd kings to the expulsion of the Shepherd captives, or Israelites, (their supposed descendants) Manetho reckoned 511 years; Joseph. Contr. Apion. Lib. I. § 14; which is the correct amount of the second and third dynasties: for 260 + 251 = 511 years, and ascertains the time of 36 years, from the expulsion of the Shepherds till the settlement of Jacob's family in Goshen.

The visit of Abraham to Egypt, and the regency and death of Joseph, and settlement of Jacob's family in Goshen, for 215 years, are noticed from the second volume of Sacred Chronology.

QUEEN NITOCRIS †.

* This parenthetical clause, which has been overlooked by all the editors and commentators of Josephus, has hitherto miserably perplexed the subject; as if Josephus meant that "the departure" was near 1000 years before the destruction of Troy. He clearly meant "the arrival."

† See the Parian Chronicle, Vol. I. p. 113, of this work.

† Herodotus remarks, that this also was the name of an Assyrian queen, intimating the analogy between both dialects. It was derived from Neith, the Goddess of Wisdom.
venge the murder of her brother and predecessor. She invited a number of the Egyptians to an entertainment, in a large subterraneous apartment, which she had built; and by a private canal, let in the waters of the river upon the company, and drowned them all; and afterwards destroyed herself. B. II. § 100.

MÖRIS, OR MYRIS.

This seems to have been one of the best and wisest of the Egyptian kings. The formation of the lake Möris, (now called Kairoun) was ascribed to him; designed to receive the redundant waters of the Nile, and to discharge them by sluices, for the irrigation of the lands, when the river failed. But the lake was too great in its circumference, three thousand six hundred stadia, according to Herodotus, and from thirty to fifty miles long, and from six to ten miles wide, according to the varying accounts of modern travellers, Pococke, Browne, &c. and in its deepest part, two hundred cubits, or a hundred yards; to have been excavated by human labour. “And nothing indeed,” says Browne, “can present an appearance so unlike the works of men. On the N.E. and S. is a rocky ridge, in every appearance, primæval.” Möris therefore only opened a communication between the river and this vast natural basin, which runs parallel thereto from North to South, about ten miles distant, and made a canal, eighty stadia in length, and three plethra, or a hundred yards in breadth, according to Diodorus. Even this was a stupendous work, and far more glorious than either the Pyramids or the Labyrinth, if we consider its various and important uses for agriculture, commerce, fishery, &c. At present this canal is called Bahr Jusuf, or "Joseph's river," and is vulgarly ascribed to the Patriarch Joseph while regent of Egypt; but was most probably repaired and denominated from the famous Sultan Joseph Saladin, who made that wonder of Cairo, called "Joseph's well *,” attributed also to the patriarch, but re-

* This well is cut down through the natural rock, which is of a soft texture. It is divided into two distinct parts, (for which Abdollatiph properly uses the dual number;) there being a landing place, at the depth of 150 feet; to which, the water is first drawn up by a wheel, from the well itself, which lies 120 feet lower; and is afterwards raised from thence to the surface, by the operation of another wheel at the top, from a depth on the whole of 270 feet. Two sets of oxen are employed to turn the upper and lower
ANALYSIS OF

stored to the right owner by the Arab physician, Abdollatifh, who visited Egypt in his reign. See Vol. I. p. 387, of this work.

Moeris is said to have built two great pyramids in the midst of this lake, "a hundred orgyae," or six hundred feet high, the half of which was covered by the water. These are noticed both by Herodotus and Diodorus; of whom, the former curious traveller appears to have seen them, for he mentions their height, "and on the top of each, there is a stone colossus, sitting upon a throne." They are not mentioned, however, by Strabo, that well-informed geographer; and are not to be seen at present. How such pyramids, equal in size, and, probably, solidity, to the Pyramids of Geeza, could have disappeared, since Herodotus and Diodorus, is wonderful. There is not perhaps a fact, in which testimony and observation are more at variance. The veracity of Herodotus, as to what he saw, is unimpeachable. Compare B. II. § 147—150.

The piety of Moeris was equal to his wisdom. He built the northern portico of the Temple of Vulcan, at Memphis, more stately and magnificent than any of the rest; which is noticed both by Herodotus and Diodorus. "These," as the former observes, "are indeed lasting monuments of his fame."

The reign of 19 years and 6 months, attributed to Moeris by Manetho, is unquestionably too short for the various and stupendous works which he executed. His predecessor’s reign of 66 years would be little enough. They may therefore well be transposed, which will not affect the length of the period: a point which the ancient chronologers were more careful to retain, than either the number or length of separate reigns.

wheels. The descent to the first landing place, is by a winding staircase, about six feet wide, and very easy, the steps being about six inches high, and five feet broad, leading to a large and spacious chamber, cut out of the rock, in which the lower set of oxen are employed to raise the water from the well to that level. The descent from thence, to the well itself, is by another winding staircase, narrower and steeper than the former, without any parapet, (as in the upper staircase,) to prevent your falling into the well, which is constantly supplied with a brackish water, fit only for common uses, as being lower than the bed of the river, and filtering through a saline soil. It is distributed, however, in pipes through the castle.

See the fuller description of this well in Abdollatifh’s History of Egypt, p. 89, translated by Professor White from Arabic into Latin, Oxford, 1800, 4to. and Thompson’s Travels, Vol. II. p. 129.
SESOSTRIS.

In adjusting the reign of Sesostris, I have followed Diodorus, who rates it 33 years, in preference to Africanus, 51 years; Eusebius, 55 years; and Manetho's fragment in Josephus, reckoning it 59 years after the expulsion of his brother Harmais, or Danaus; because 33 years is sufficient for his exploits; and because the longer terms would depress the reign of Proteus, the second in descent from him, below the Trojan war, during which he flourished; according to Herodotus, Diodorus, and Syncellus.

There is no date, perhaps, in the whole range of Profane Chronology more disputed than that of the age or accession of Sesostris. Various epochs have been assigned by Eusebius, Usher, Marsham, Newton, Jackson, Larcher, and Playfair; the extremes differing near 600 years! See Vol. I. p. 216, of this work.

By a strange anachronism, Eusebius supposed that Sesostris was the immediate successor of that king of Egypt who was drowned in the Red Sea, at the exode of the Israelites; and that he began his famous expedition to the east, while the Israelites were wandering in the deserts of Arabia. And Eusebius was followed by Usher and Playfair; all, consequently, dating his age considerably too high.

On the other hand, Marsham followed by Newton, confounding Sesostris with the Sesak or Shisak of Scripture, have rated him considerably too low. See Vol. I. p. 232—234—258.

The intermediate dates of Jackson and Larcher are still too high, for the following reasons.

1. According to Herodotus, Sesostris was succeeded by Pheron, and Pheron by Proteus, in whose reign Troy was taken; and according to Manetho, Sesothis was succeeded by Rampses, and Rampses by Ramesses, in whose reign Troy was taken, according to Pliny. Therefore Sesothis and Sesostris were the same; and his accession could not have been much earlier than 1283, or a century before the destruction of Troy; reckoning three reigns equivalent to three mean generations. This agrees sufficiently with the proposed date, B.C. 1305, but not with Jackson's, B.C. 1338, and still less, with Larcher's, B.C. 1356.

2. Herodotus states, B. IV. § 5—7, that Targitaus founded the Scythian kingdom about a thousand years at most before the
invasion of Darius Hystaspes, B.C. 508, or not earlier than B.C. 1508. But Tanaus, the sixth king in succession from Targitaus, encountered Sesostris, and checked, or defeated him at the river Phasis, as we learn from Justin, who calls Sesostris, Vexorix, Lib. I. 1. Reckoning these six reigns equivalent to mean generations, or 200 years, the accession of Sesostris could not be earlier than B.C. 1308, but rather later, as here stated.

3. Herodotus also relates, B. II. § 103, 104, that Sesostris founded the kingdom of Colchis, near Pontus, and left a colony there of such of his soldiers as were weary of their expeditions. And Apollonius Rhodius, B. IV. 272, says, that the posterity of the Egyptian Viceroy subsisted at Æa, the capital of Colchis, for many generations. This Viceroy was the father of Æetes, who was the father of Medea, the mistress of Jason, in the Argonautic expedition, B.C. 1225. This is perfectly consistent with the return of Sesostris from his expedition, 74 years before, in B.C. 1299, as here stated.

These coincidences also of Egyptian and Grecian Chronology are curious, and tend to confirm the rectification of both in this work.

Having thus ascertained the time of Sesostris*, we shall proceed to his actions.

* A respectable and ingenious friend, the Right Hon. W. C. Plunket, representative of the University of Dublin, in the Imperial Parliament, has favoured me with the following curious and valuable confirmation of the foregoing scheme of Egyptian Chronology, from the testimony of Tacitus.—"You will find in the sixth of the Annals of Tacitus, (chap. xxviii.) a strong confirmation of your opinion in opposition to Newton's, that Sesostris was not Sesac. Speaking of the Phoenix, and the various opinions of the periods of its return, and evidently alluding to those who supposed the intervals 500 years, he says, 'The report is, that the bird first appeared in the time of Sesostris; then in the reign of Amasis; then in that of the third of the Ptolemies (Euergetes); and now in the time of Tiberius, (A.D. 34.) But, says he, the interval from Ptolemy to Tiberius is less than 250 years, and therefore many suppose this not to have been the Arabian Phoenix.'

"Now in this passage, Tacitus evidently supposes the former periods to be consistent with the supposed intervals of 500 years; which would give 1000 between Ptolemy Euergetes and Sesostris. I therefore would throw Sesostris back full 250 years beyond the time of Sesac. This argument loses something of its force, from the circumstance of the interval between Amasis and either Ptolemy (after) or Sesostris (before) not agreeing with the 500 years; although that between Ptolemy and Sesostris does with the 1000. Is it too bold a conjecture to suppose, that Tacitus might have confounded Amasis with Anysis? which would reconcile all.

"By the by, is it not extraordinary, that Tacitus, who affects so much contempt for all vulgar stories, should speak with certainty of the appearance of this bird in Egypt; and only doubtingly, about the truth of the vulgar stories of it? He appears to have
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

By a wise and enlarged policy, Moeris, the father of Sesostris, took up all the children throughout Egypt born on the same day

been quite ignorant also, that the period of 1461 years, which he mentions, is that of the Egyptian Canicular year, and that this entire story of the Phenix was a hieroglyphic, in which the Egyptians wrapped up the revolution of the first day of their Thoth, [or commencement of the year] till it came [round] again to its first place? Indeed Tacitus, with all his philosophy and unsparing condemnation and censure of others, seems to have been very indulgent to his own. Attend particularly to his discussions on Judicial Astrology, in the same book of the Annals.

"Excuse this long (and probably to you not very new) discussion," &c.

II. This curious and valuable communication, from its conciseness, requires illustration and explanation.

1. The periods noticed by Tacitus may be thus chronologically adjusted, according to the foregoing scheme.

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<th>B.C.</th>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Tiberius (20th)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>281</td>
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From the accession of Sesostris to the accession of Ptolemy Euergetes, was 1061 years; which Tacitus, in round numbers, reckons 1000 years, including three appearances of the Phenix, of 500 years interval, between the first and second; and as much between the second and the third. But the accession of Amasis divides the whole interval, unequally, allotting 700 years before him, and only 300 years after him. To remedy this, the learned Perizonius, in his Egypt. Origines, p. 265, sagaciously substituted Anysis, whose reign began B.C. 771, in the place of Amasis, which it nearly resembles. "This gives" 537 years before Anysis, and 524 after him, or 500 in round numbers; "and reconciles all." The intervals between the accession of Ptolemy Euergetes and the 20th of Tiberius, when the Phenix was reported to have been seen last, is indeed 281 years, which does not correspond with Tacitus, reckoning only 250 years; but if we count the interval from the death of Ptolemy Euergetes, B.C. 223, rather than from his accession, it will be reduced to 256 years, which nearly corresponds with Tacitus. Such is the curious and important confirmation of the present scheme of Egyptian Chronology, furnished by this judicious and well-informed historian.

2. The entire story of the Phenix was indeed an Egyptian hieroglyphic, expressing the Canicular period of 1461 years. The same was veiled under a curious ambiguity, or astronomical riddle, by the Heliopolitan priests to Herodotus. See Vol. I. p. 39 of this work. Tacitus, accordingly, describes the Phenix as "a singular bird, consecrated to the sun, distinguished by its appearance, and variegated plumage, from all others." It was "said to be seen (aliquando) at some time, in Egypt," because the Canicular Cycle was invented there; and first, "in the reign of Sesostris," because this cycle began July 20, B.C. 1322, as shewn Vol. I. p. 40, only about fourteen years before the reign of Sesostris, and therefore in his days; and it might have been registered among other astronomical observations, inscribed on the famous Zodiac of Osy-mandes, which was another title of that illustrious prince.

3. The early Christians, adopting the fable of the Phenix, elegantly transferred it to be an emblem of Christ's resurrection. This will satisfactorily account for the prevailing report of the last appearance of the Phenix, in the 20th of Tiberius, A.D. 34, when,
with his son, to be educated with him, and trained alike in the same rigid discipline of the public schools, that they might compose a band of companions, attached to his person, and qualified to fill the first civil and military departments of the state, as we learn from Diodorus.

During his father's life time, he reduced the Arabians, eastwards, and Libyans, westwards: and encouraged by these early successes, he formed the design of conquering the world, by conciliating the affections of his subjects, and availing himself of the services of the companions, trained to military service, and amounting to seventeen hundred.

His first expedition after he came to the crown, was against the Ethiopians, or Abyssinians, southwards, whom he compelled to pay tribute. He then reduced the islands of the Red Sea, or Persian Gulf, with his fleet, and is said to have marched an army by land, as far as India *, eastwards, and penetrated even beyond the Ganges, according to Diodorus. He then turned his arms northwards, subdued the Assyrians and Medes of Upper Asia, and crossing over into Europe, ravaged the Scythians and Thracians, until he received a check at the river Tanais, and was in danger of losing his army from the difficulty of the passes, and the want of provisions; and so he returned home at length, in the ninth year of the expedition, B.C. 1299,

according to the opinion of some chronologers, Christ was crucified, and rose again from the dead. See Spanheim's Chronologia Sacra.

4. The story of the Phoenix is thus related by Clemens Romanus, the friend of St. Paul:—

"Let us consider that extraordinary sign (σημεῖον), which happens in the Eastern regions, namely, in Arabia. There is a bird called the Phoenix, which is only begotten (μονογένες), and lives five hundred years. When the time of its dissolution, by death, is at hand, it makes for itself a nest of frankincense, myrrh, and other spices, into which, when its time is fulfilled, it enters, and dies. From the corrupted flesh a worm issues, which is nourished by the moisture of the dead animal, and becomes fledged. Then, when grown to full strength, it takes up the nest, in which lie the bones of its parent, and carries them away from Arabia to Egypt, unto Heliopolis, (the city of the sun), and there, in open day, flying to the altar of the sun, places them upon it; and having so done, then departs. The priests therefore, computing the return of the times, discovered that it usually comes at the completion of the five hundredth year." See Cotelerius, Patres Apostol. Vol. I. p. 128, 161, 162.

The close analogy between the accounts of Clemens Romanus and Tacitus, is obvious. The latter evidently borrowed from the former, who wrote before him, and at Rome.

* Herodotus and Manetho take no notice of this Indian expedition, neither did Alexander the Great. See p. 231 of this volume. It was probably invented after their times by the Egyptian priests, who reported it to Diodorus.
PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

bringing immense spoils and innumerable captives to Egypt; after he had erected pillars, in the conquered countries, as trophies of his victories, on which were inscribed

“Sesosis, king of kings and lord of lords, subdued this country by his arms.”

Several of these pillars were seen by Herodotus, and afterwards by Strabo, in Palestine Syria, Arabia and Ethiopia; and most probably, the pillar, which Joseph said was remaining in the land of Siriad, in his time, and which he ascribed to the Antediluvian Seth, Ant. i. 2, 3, was one of those erected in Abyssinia by Sethos, Sethosis, or Sesostris, which are evidently Greek descendants from the Hebrew, or Egyptian, Seth.

His brother Harmais, whom he had left behind, as regent, or viceroy in Egypt, during his former expedition, conspired to destroy Sesostris and all his family, at his return, at a banquet which he had provided for him, in Daphne, near Pelusium, by setting fire to the house. He lost two of his sons in the flames, but escaped himself, with four more; and as Herodotus relates, “punished his brother,” or, we may presume, executed him, as he richly deserved. B. II. 107, 108.

This detects a gross chronological error of Manetho, in the fragment preserved by Josephus, namely, “That Sethosis was called AEgyptus, and his brother Harmais, Danaus; and that Sethosis banished his brother Danaus, who settled in Argos with his daughters.” Contr. Apion. i. § 15, 16—26, ii. 2. But,

1. According to Tatian, the chronologer, Danaus fled from Egypt, ten generations, or 333 years, before the destruction of Troy, B.C. 1183, or about B.C. 1516.

2. The Parian Chronicle dates the arrival of Danaus and his daughters, first at Lindus, in Rhodes, after their flight from Egypt, B.C. 1511.

From these Grecian authorities, therefore, it plainly appears, that Danaus lived two hundred years and more, before Sesostris reigned. And this error, perhaps, passed over in silence by Josephus, contributed more than any thing else to raise the antiquity of Sesostris so far above its proper level, with Eusebius, Usher, and Playfair.

As a monument of his piety for this deliverance, Sesostris seems to have rebuilt the temple of Vulcan, at Memphis, the immense stones of which are noticed by Herodotus; he also placed in front of it six colossal statues, two of them thirty
cubits high, representing himself and his queen; and the other four, twenty cubits, representing his four sons. B. II. § 108—110.

He also built another famous sepulchral temple at Thebes, the most sumptuous and magnificent in all Egypt, described, from ancient writers, by Diodorus. At the entrance, were three statues of the king, his mother and daughter, of immense size, his own in a sitting posture, and the largest in all Egypt, whose foot alone was seven cubits in length *, with the following inscription:

*I am Osymandes, king of kings: if any one desire to know what a prince I am, and where I lie, let him excel my exploits.

Upon the walls were represented the king's battles against the Bactrians, and other nations; and his four sons, commanding four detachments of his immense army of 400,000 foot and 20,000 horse; the captives also, led in triumph, without privities and hands, to denote their unmanly cowardice; and the king's sacrifices and triumphs after the war, and several emblematical sculptures, representing the figures of the thirty Egyptian Judges, and that of the Chief Justice, with a little image of Truth hanging from his neck, with his eyes shut, and many books about him, to signify his impartiality and information; the king himself offering to the God (Vulcan) gold and silver, as the first-fruits of his spoils; his revenues amounting, as recorded, to thirty-two millions of mine in weight, &c. and the tomb itself was crowned with a golden circle, a cubit in breadth, and 365 cubits in circumference, with so many divisions thereon, corresponding to the days of the year; and upon each division was marked the heliacal risings and settings of the stars, and the prognostics of the Astrologers.

This magnificent Zodiac, or Almanack †, they said, was car-

* From the proportion of the foot to the whole statue, of nearly a sixth part, this colossal figure, if standing, would have been about 42 cubits high, and therefore much greater than his statue at Memphis, which was only 30 cubits.

† Ancient Egyptian Zodiacs.

We may here introduce and examine the accounts of the ancient Egyptian sculptures, discovered amidst the ruins of the temples of Dendera, or Tentyra, and Eme, or Henne, in Upper Egypt, by the French Scavans, who accompanied Buonaparte in his atrocious invasion of that country, A.D. 1800; and said to be Zodiacs, constructed before the Mosaic account of the creation of the world.

In the former, the summer solstice is reported to be placed in the constellation Leo, two signs or 60 degrees eastward of its present position; whence, according to the rate
ried away by Cambyses, when he conquered Egypt. The several particulars, indeed, of this description, accurately correspond to Sesostris, and to no other king, either before or after; as ingeniously remarked by Jackson, Vol. II. p. 396—402. To whose other titles, therefore, this of Osymandes is to be added.

The captives he employed on his various public works, on which were inscribed, "None of the natives were put to labour here;" thus tacitly reproving the ostentatious pyramids of his predecessors, the Shepherd Kings, who so cruelly harassed the Egyptians. He built temples in every city, raised embankments to the river, dug numerous canals for the supply of water, the conveyance of corn and provisions, the convenience of trade and commerce, and the security of the country against foreign invasion, by rendering it more impassable for chariots and cavalry. And he built a wall across the desert from Pelusium to Heliopolis, of 1500 stadia in length, to defend this important of the precession of the Equinoxes, one degree in 72 years, it is triumphantly concluded by these Scavans, to have been constructed 4000 years, at least, before their visit. In the latter, the summer solstice is reported to be placed still more easterly, in the constellation Virgo, which would give the time of the construction, 0000, or 7000 years before. "These Zodiacs," says citizen Burckhart, (a worthy pupil of the French Institute,) "prove most incontestably the fallacy of the Common Chronology, which allows only 6000 years for the age we live in."—"The Zodiac of Henne, in particular, seems to me, to dispel every doubt that might remain upon the hypothesis which carries back, in an astonishing manner, the limits which prejudice has established to the age of the terrestrial globe." Gentleman's Magazine, February, 1805, p. 111.

But infidelity has her prejudices, no less than superstition. And it is by no means clear from their own reports; 1. That these sculptures were actually Zodiacs, designed to mark the positions of the Equinoxes and Solstices, when they were made; and 2. That these supposed positions are sufficiently ascertained, beyond all doubt, or suspicion of mistake.

1. In the disposition of the signs, at Dendera, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, follow in order from right to left; but the order of the other six, Aquarius, Pisces, Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, is reversed, from left to right. And from the intermixture of Grecian arts and mythology with Egyptian, the celebrated antiquary, Visconti, is of opinion, that the work was constructed during the reigns of the Ptolemies, and that the Solstice was in Leo; while Larcher, with equal grounds, concludes that it was in Libra. Here then, is a variation of three signs, Leo, Virgo, Libra; one sign making a difference of 2145 years in the computation. And which of the three antiquarians, Burckhart, Visconti, and Larcher, are we to prefer?

2. In the latter Zodiac at Henne, according to citizen Dupuis, the summer solstice was then in Capricorn; which could only occur at 14,000, or 15,000 years before the present age. Here is a wide difference of 8000 years between him and Burckhart!

3. There is a strong suspicion, that these sculptures were not designed for Zodiacs at all. For Larcher confesses that "the disposition of the signs is far from regular, and some of them are heaped upon each other." Supplement, Vol. II. p. 564—576, second edit.—If so, what becomes of the whole hypothesis?
ANALYSIS OF

frontier from the irruptions of the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, adopting the policy of the Shepherd kings.

He also made an equal division of the lands of Egypt among the inhabitants, assigning a square piece of ground to each, and reserving to himself an annual rent from the tenants, with directions to his surveyors, to make proper abatements in the rent, if the river encroached on any man's land.

Such was Sesostris, one of the greatest and best among the heroes of antiquity, whose active genius and comprehensive mind was employed to promote the welfare and happiness of his subjects, though his ambition led him to harass the rest of the world. No wonder then, that his memory was so highly honoured in *Egypt*, even to remote ages. When *Darius Hystaspes* obtained the crown of *Persia*, he wanted to have his own statue placed above that of Sesostris, at *Memphis*. But the High Priest boldly protested against it, in council, declaring, that *Darius had not yet exceeded the noble acts of Sesostris*.

Far from resenting this freedom of speech, the king was so pleased, that he professed his intention to emulate Sesostris. *Diodorus*, B. I. chap. 4. And he seems to have adopted several of his wise regulations in finance and commerce.

**RAMPSES, or PHERON.**

On the death of Sesostris, his son *Pheron* succeeded to his throne. He undertook no military expedition, and by his indolence and inactivity, lost his father’s remoter conquests. In his reign, the *Assyrians* shook off the *Egyptian* yoke, and not only recovered their liberty, but subdued *Media* and all the Upper Asia; as we learn from Constantine *Manasses*, citing ancient writers; and from Justin, that this was effected by *Ninus II*. *Lib. I*. 1, who began his reign about B.C. 1252, in the 23d year of Pheron, and completed his conquests B.C. 1230, in the 45th year of Pheron. This is a remarkable coincidence also, between the *Egyptian* and the *Assyrian* Chronology, confirming the present rectification of both, and demonstrating thereby, that *Ctesias* and his followers greatly overrated the duration of the *Assyrian* empire in Upper Asia.

This prince lost his sight for his impiety against the River God, in hurling a javelin into the *Nile*, when agitated by a sud-
den wind; and he recovered it ten years after, by a whimsical recipe, prescribed by the Oracle of Butos; which in the failure, so long, reflected no honour on the chastity of the Egyptian matrons. Herod. B. II. § 111.

The long reign of 61 years is assigned to Pheron, both by the genuine fragment of Manetho, and by Africanus.

CETES, or PROTEUS.

The length of his reign is assumed, with Larcher, 50 years. It could not, indeed, have been much less, since he survived the destruction of Troy. Diodorus has fortunately preserved his Coptic name, Cetes; whence was formed the Greek ἐνρός, which, according to Suidas, signified, "a manifold sea monster, sometimes a lion, a panther, a toad, a whale, &c., very difficult to be overcome;" this gave rise to the Grecian fable of Proteus, described by Homer, Odys. iv. 414—460, and improved by Virgil, Georg. iv. 388—450; and ingeniously explained by Diodorus, "From a custom among the Egyptian kings, of wearing on their heads, as emblems of sovereignty, the figures of bulls, lions, and dragons; fire, branches of trees, with frankincense and perfumes; not only to adorn themselves, but to strike awe and terror into the hearts of their subjects. B. I. chap. 5.

In his reign, according to the report of the Egyptian Priests to Herodotus, Paris having carried off Helen, the wife of Menelaus, from Sparta, was driven by contrary winds to the Canopian mouth of the Nile, and there seized, on the information of his servants, by order of Proteus, for this breach of hospitality in Greece, who detained Helen and the stolen treasure, till Menelaus should come to claim them; but ordered Paris and his Trojans to depart within three days, under pain of being treated as enemies. That the Confederate Greeks sent ambassadors to Troy, with Menelaus, to demand restitution of Helen and the wealth that Paris had stolen, as well as satisfaction for the injury. But the Trojans denied that Helen and the wealth were with them, but that both were in Egypt; which the Greeks not believing, besieged Troy, till they took it, and then found that the excuse of the Trojans was true. Menelaus then was dispatched to Proteus, who received him honourably, and restored Helen and all his treasures. But Menelaus, to procure
favourable winds, sacrificed two children of the natives, for which enormity he was forced to fly, by sea, to Africa, to avoid the pursuit of the Egyptians. And Herodotus seems to credit this report, as not contradicted, but rather confirmed by Homer himself, who notices, incidentally, the navigation of Paris and Helen, after various wanderings, to Sidon, in Phœnia, Iliad. vi. 289; to the Nile, Odyss. iv. 227; and of Menelaus to Egypt, Odyss. iv. 351.

We may, therefore, date the arrival of the fugitives in Egypt the year before the Trojan war, B.C. 1194, and the visit of Menelaus after the capture of Troy, in B.C. 1183; the former, in the twentieth year of Proteus, the latter, in the thirty-first year.

The following is the fine reflexion of Herodotus on the incredulity of the Greeks, upon this occasion:

"Although the Trojans had not Helen in their possession to restore, yet the Greeks did not believe them, when they told the truth: THE DEITY indeed, in my opinion, providing that by their utter destruction, they might make it clear to mankind, that great punishments are reserved for great crimes, from the Gods." B. II. § 120. The Greeks were thus made instruments of their punishment by PROVIDENCE; as the Israelites of the Canaanites.

AMENOPHIS IV.

This prince is here inserted between the successive reigns of Proteus and Rhampsinitus in Herodotus, Diodorus, and Synceillus, on the authority of Manetho's fragment; because the reigns of Proteus and Rhampsinitus must otherwise be made too long to fill up the residue of the period from Sesostris to Cephrenes, or the Sesak of Scripture, the length of which is determined; and thence, the reign of Amenophis, 40 years, forms the supplement of the rest to the whole.

FICTITIOUS EXPULSION OF THE ISRAELITES FROM EGYPT.

Manetho truly stated the exode of the Israelites, under Thummosis, or Tethmosis from Egypt, which Synceillus, in his Catalogue, determined to B.C. 1649, or the established date,
B.C. 1648. But wishing to vilify the Jews, who, in his time, were extremely numerous in Egypt, he fabricated another expulsion of the nation, 518 years after the former, B.C. 1130, along with a motley crew of leprous Egyptian rebels, in the reign of this king. And as the calumny was adopted by the Greek and Roman historians, &c. and tended to increase the odium in his time, against that unfortunate and persecuted people; Josephus undertook the refutation of Manetho, and vindication of his countrymen.

"Manetho," says he, "has foisted incredible tales into his Egyptian History, wishing to confound the Jews with a multitude of Egyptian lepers, who, for that, and other diseases, were condemned to be banished from Egypt, by a fictitious king, Amenophis, (the time of whose reign he has not dared to define, although he accurately determined the reigns of the rest,) forgetting, that he had recorded the exode of the [Huksos or Captive] Shepherds to Jerusalem, 518 years before, when Tethmosis was king."

He then states the particulars of the fiction: how that Amenophis was recommended to purify himself for the vision of the Gods, (like his ancestor Orus, formerly), by banishing all leprous and impure persons from the kingdom. That hereupon, he collected 80,000 of that description, throughout Egypt, and sent them to work in the quarries, on the eastern side of the Nile, and afterwards to Avaris, the settlement of the Shepherds, which was then waste. That these lepers rebelled, and chose a leader, Osarsiph, a Heliopolitan priest, who invited to their assistance the Shepherds from Jerusalem, promising to reinstate them in their ancient settlement of Avaris. That the Shepherds, readily consenting, invaded Egypt with 200,000 men; and that Amenophis not being a match for their combined forces, first retreated into Ethiopia, and afterwards returning from thence, with succours, he and his son Rampses routed the rebels, and drove them to the borders of Syria. That Osarsiph, the founder of their state and laws, called himself Moses. Contr. Apion. I. § 26.

This calumny Josephus refutes, by the following argumentum ad absurdum, drawn from Manetho's former concessions.

Manetho himself allows, that the Huksos, or Captive Shep-
herds, the Israelites, were the descendants of the Uksos, or Royal Shepherds, the Arabs, who conquered Egypt 511 years before the Exode, B.C. 1648, about B.C. 2159, or near a thousand years before the destruction of Troy, about B.C. 2183. Therefore, after this admission of the origin and antiquity of the Israelites, it was absurd and preposterous to represent the ancestors of the Jews as a mixed multitude of leprous outcasts from Egypt, so late as 518 years after the Exode, or 53 years after the destruction of Troy!

Josephus, in this very ingenious, but scattered argument, (which is here collected and completed, from the whole drift of his reasoning on the subject), takes advantage of Manetho's concession, that the Huksos, or Captive Shepherds, were the descendants of the Uksos, or Royal Shepherds, because it strengthened his argument; at the same time, that he notices Manetho's mistake in that respect.

Manetho also confounded Osarsiph with Moses: for Osarsiph, Sar Joseph, or "Joseph the Lord," or Regent of Egypt, in whose administration Jacob's family settled in Goshen. The Hebrew, "Sar, signifying a " prince," or " chief," was a title at the Egyptian court: as, "the princes of Pharaoh," Gen. xii. 15; "the keeper of the prison" for state criminals, Gen. xxxix. 21; and "the chief of the butlers," and "chief of the bakers," Gen. xl. 2. This etymological criticism is confirmed by Chaeremon, who represented the Israelites as leaving Egypt under the conduct of Moses and Joseph. Contr. Apion. I. § 32. Justin made Moses the son of Joseph. Manetho therefore might have confounded them through ignorance; but more probably from design, to conceal the forgery of this fictitious expulsion.

**RAMPSINITUS.**

This prince succeeded Proteus, according to Herodotus; and was remarkable for his great wealth, far surpassing any of his successors. A most extraordinary and romantic tale was told Herodotus, by the priests, of an artful and daring robbery committed on his treasury, and of the singular expedients employed by Rampsinitus to discover the robber, one of which was the prostitution of his own daughter to all comers, who were to tell her, as the reward of her favours, the most artful and the
most wicked thing they had ever committed. Herodotus justly considers this as an incredible part of the story. B. II. § 121.

This prince was probably the patron of the Eleusinian Mysteries in Egypt, instituted there also to maintain the immortality of the soul, and a future judgment after death, by the infernal deities, Ceres and Bacchus, or Iacchus; for he was said to have descended alive into the infernal regions, and to have played at dice with the Goddess Ceres, and alternately won and lost; a mysterious allegory, the meaning of which is now lost. Beloe has properly marked in his note (210) an analogy between the Egyptian and Eleusinian Mysteries. § 122, 123.

Till the reign of Rampsinitus, Egypt was remarkable, not only for its fertility, but for its excellent laws. § 124.

CHEOPS.

This prince, who succeeded Rampsinitus, was said to be the builder of the first pyramid, by the Egyptian priests, to Herodotus. To him therefore they ascribed all the cruelty and oppression of the Shepherd kings; how he even shut up the temples, and prohibited the national sacrifices, § 124: which, we may rest assured, no native king would desire, or dare to do. The priests evidently wished to conceal the disgrace of their former slavery, by these detested foreigners. And their subjugation, at the time, by the Persians, might incline them the more to enhance the power and grandeur of their native kings, in these monuments of tyranny.

CEPHRENES.

He succeeded Cheops his brother, and was said to have built the second pyramid, and to have imitated his oppressive conduct. Herodotus, who carefully examined the pyramids, remarks, “that this had no subterraneous chambers, nor any channel for the admission of the Nile, like the former, near which it stands.” From his representation, the first was probably a water temple. The second, he observes, had its base forty feet, composed of variegated Ethiopian marble*. § 127. This

* ἵπποφειμας ἐτον πρωτον δομον λιθου αθοσικου ποικιλου, τεσσαρακοντα πεδας.
demonstrates, that the second pyramid, at least, was cased, so far upwards, with granite; and not improbably, the first originally. And surely the labour and expense of such stupendous works could not have originated merely from ostentation: some motives of religion, or rather superstition, must have prompted the construction of these enormous masses of stone. Is it unreasonable then to suppose, that the subterraneous passages of the first pyramid were continued to the second, which might also have had its adyta, though totally inaccessible on the outside? And that these passages might perhaps have been continued to the third, in succession, the most costly of all, though rather smaller than the other two? The wonderful extent of the sacred caves, in the Isle of Elephanta, and at Ellore, render this supposition not altogether incredible. Both they, and the pyramids, were probably erected for similar purposes, and much about the same time, in very distant ages, of which the remembrance is effaced alike in India and in Egypt. In such cases, where conjecture itself is lost in uncertainty, analogy is our only safe guide. In opposition to the priests, Herodotus evidently adopted the rustic tradition of their very remote antiquity, far exceeding the times of Cheops and Cephrenes.

The reign of Cephrenes, so late as B.C. 1032, is corrected from a rectification of Syncellus, Catalogue, explained before. This date, combined with his long reign of 56 years, according to Herodotus, intimate, that he could be no other than the Sesak, or Susak of Scripture; now, for the first time, determined in the present system of Chronology, after having been so long misunderstood, from the days of Josephus, to those of Marsham and Newton.

MYCERINUS.

This prince was the son of Cheops, and succeeded his uncle Cephrenes, after a long reign of 56 years. He was therefore advanced in years when he came to the throne, and therefore did not probably reign more than ten years; though he reigned at least seven, from the Oracle predicting his death in that time. He was reckoned the builder of the third pyramid, which Herodotus represents as superior to the others, in costliness of materials, and excellence of workmanship, though inferior in size. It could not therefore possibly have been built by
him in so short a reign. And, indeed, Herodotus himself incidentally remarks, that Rhodope, the courtezan, who lived in the reign of Amasis, and to whom this pyramid was mistakenly attributed, “lived very many years * after the kings who built the three great pyramids.” But from the accession of Amasis, B.C. 569, to the death of Mycerinus, about B.C. 966, was an interval of 397 years only; which falls short of “very many years.” § 134.

After Mycerinus is inserted the long chasm of 151 years, noticed before.

**BOCCHORIS, OR ASYCHIS.**

*Bocchoris, according to Diodorus, “excelled all his predecessors in wisdom or prudence.” Though not expressly mentioned therefore by Herodotus, it is not likely he should be passed over; and we find him in Asychis; for Sabach, or Sabaco, according to both historians, was the successor to each.**

**ANYSIS.**

After he began to reign, Sabaco invaded Egypt, drove Anysis into the fens, and ruled himself for fifty years, till he resigned the throne, in obedience to an oracle, and returned to Abyssinia. Anysis then resumed the throne, till his death. The intricate chronology of his reign may be thus adjusted, analytically. Sethon, his successor, began to reign B.C. 713. But Sabaco quitted the throne of Egypt six years before, B.C. 719; when Shalmanasar took Damascus, after a three years' siege; 2 Kings xvii. 6. But Sabaco, or So, had encouraged Hoshea, king of Israel, to revolt, ver. 4, and was therefore probably apprehensive of an Assyrian war, which seems to be the true cause of his quitting Egypt. But his conquest of Egypt is dated by Africanus 22 years before the era of Nabonassar, or 22 + B.C. 747 = B.C. 769. Therefore the reign of Anysis began probably not sooner than two years before, B.C. 771.

This concurrence of Scripture and Africanus with Herod-
dotus, is a strong confirmation of his veracity and accuracy, and a sufficient confutation of Larcher’s incorrect adjustment, in placing the chasm after Anysis; who was immediately followed by

SETHON, or SEBECON.

The accession of this only pontifical king is fixed to B.C. 713, by the valuable character of Sennacherib’s invasion, recorded by Herodotus.

In the beginning of his reign, Sethon imprudently alienated the soldiery, or military order, by depriving them of their lands, formerly granted by Sesostris. Hence, when Sennacherib invaded Egypt, B.C. 711, they mutinied, and refused to assist the king. In this emergency, he was relieved from his distress, by his God Vulcan, who, in a dream, encouraged him to advance against the enemy, with the populace only. He therefore marched to Pelusium; and the night after, a multitude of field mice entered the Assyrian camp, in that neighbourhood, and gnawed in pieces their quivers, bow strings, and thongs of their shields; so that next morning, finding themselves totally disarmed, the enemy fled in great confusion, and suffered great loss in the pursuit. Herodotus saw a marble statue of this king, with a mouse in his hand, and this inscription: “Whoever looks on me, let him be religious.” § 141. This is evidently a parody of the miraculous destruction of the Assyrian army before Jerusalem, in the reign of Hezekiah, by the Simoom, or pestilential “blast,” foretold by Isaiah. Through contempt of the Jews, who were then a depressed people, and whose name Herodotus has not once deigned to notice in the course of his History, he has transferred the miracle in favour of the Egyptians, whom he admired; or else simply recorded the tradition of the priests; thus authenticating, while they perverted the original miracle.

PSAMMITICUS.

From the reign of this prince, the Egyptian Annals assume a regular and settled form, in the succession of kings. “From the

* Εις εμε τις ὄρεων, ευοίβις εστώ.
time of the Grecian colony, first settled in Egypt, by Psammiticus, and their constant intercourse with Greece, we know with certainty," says Herodotus, "all that has passed in that country." § 154.

After the death of Sethon, a short interregnum of two years prevailed, according to Diodorus; when the Egyptians elected twelve kings, one for every nome, or district. The turbulence that attended this change of government, from a monarchy to an oligarchy, seems to have been remarkably foretold in Scripture.

ISAIAH’S PROPHECY.

“And I (THE LORD) will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians, and every man against his brother, and every man against his neighbour; city against city, and nome against nome*.” Isa. xix. 2.

THE Labyrinth.

To these twelve kings, Herodotus attributed the building of the astonishing Labyrinth, near the lake Mæris, with its twelve courts, fifteen hundred chambers above, and as many more under ground; with an infinite variety of halls, and passages, and mazes; the roof and the walls, all incrusted with sculptured marble, and surrounded with pillars of white and polished stone. In the lower apartments (which he was not allowed to enter) were, he was told, the tombs, both of the kings who originally built the Labyrinth, and of the sacred crocodiles. And the upper apartments, which he viewed, excited his admiration, as the greatest efforts of human art and industry, far superior in workmanship and expense to the pyramids, and to the most admired Grecian temples of Ephesus and Samos. § 148.

From this representation, it is impossible to conceive that the Labyrinth could have been constructed by these twelve kings, during their short reign of fifteen years. Several successions of kings must have been employed in such a prodigious work. And it is much more probable, that it was constructed by the Shepherd dynasty; who were idolaters, and worshipped the

* Here the Hebrew, “kingdom against kingdom,” is correctly and critically rendered by the Septuagint version, νομος επι νομον. For νομος, a "district or province," is distinguished from νομος, "a law," by the accent, and is the technical term here employed by Herodotus.

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Nile in their pyramids, and probably the crocodile. Of the two first kings of that race, no public works are recorded. Is it then improbable, that they began this stupendous undertaking to harass the Egyptians, as did their successors, by the pyramids? These were their real sepulchres; which vague Tradition incorrectly transferred to the pyramids; and they are still more analogous to the stupendous caves at Elephanta and Ellore, in the East Indies. The judicious Pliny reckons, that the Labyrinth was built 3600 years before his time. This date is too high; for it would carry up the building before the deluge; but it tends to prove his opinion of the remotest antiquity to be ascribed to the work.

Might not the subterraneous chamber, in which Queen Nitocris drowned a number of the Egyptians, have been a part of this building, communicating with the Nile, or with the lake Moeris?

This oligarchy of the twelve kings, was dissolved by one of their body, Psammiticus, at the end of fifteen years of joint reign, whom they expelled, through fear of an Oracle, which foretold, that whichever of them poured a libation from a brazen vessel, should be sole sovereign of Egypt. This Psammiticus inadvertently did, using his helmet for want of a golden cup, like the rest. After his expulsion to the tents, he consulted the Oracle of Latona, at Butos, how to be revenged on his associates. He was answered, that his revenge should come, when brazen men should appear from the sea. Not long after, he was told, with astonishment, by a messenger, that the country was pillaged by brazen men coming from the sea! These were a set of Ionian and Carian pirates, whom Psammiticus hired to assist him in dethroning his associates. This they did effectually, and made him sole sovereign of Egypt: and, in reward of their services, he settled them near Bubastis, at the Pelusian mouth of the Nile; whence they were transplanted afterwards to Memphis, by Amasis. § 152—154.

This, as observed before, was a most surprizing and unaccountable Oracle, the veracity of which Herodotus seems anxious to establish, by his description of the settlements of the Ionian and Carian pirates of his own country, who were, he says, “the first foreigners who settled in Egypt.” The sole reign of Psammiticus was 54—15 = 39 years; of which he spent 29 years in the siege of Azotus. § 157.
About the 23d year of his reign, B.C. 635, the Scythians, who had subdued the Medes, and held the dominion of Upper Asia for 28 years, intended to invade Egypt, to retaliate the invasion of Scythia by Sesostris, formerly; and they had advanced as far as Askalon, on their way, when they were prevailed on by Psammiticus to desist. This occurrence connects the Egyptian and Median Chronology together, and is related by Herodotus in his Median History. B. I. § 105.

By a gross anachronism, Larcher, Tom. VI. p. 262, first edit. misapplies to this Scythian invasion of Egypt, a prophecy of Jeremiah: "Thus saith the Lord, Behold a people is coming from the north country, and a great nation shall be raised from the sides of the earth," Jer. vi. 22. But this relates to Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of the Jews, B.C. 604. Compare Jer. iv. 6, 7, and xxv. 9. Larcher is peculiarly unhappy in his references to Scripture, which he did not understand, and therefore too often misrepresented and traduced.

Herodotus relates a whimsical experiment of this king, to find out the primeval language. He shut up two new born infants, in a solitary cottage, for two years, under the care of a shepherd, who was not to suffer any one to speak in their hearing, with a goat to suckle them. One day, the shepherd entering the cottage, both the children ran to him, holding out their hands, and crying Bekhos, and this they repeated afterwards. But Bekhos, in the Phrygian dialect, was found, on enquiry, to signify "bread." The Egyptians, therefore, yielded the palm of antiquity to the Phrygians. B. II. § 3.

But this experiment was inconclusive: the children evidently imitated Bek, stript of the Greek termination, the bleating of their nurse, the goat: and Herodotus himself acknowledges elsewhere, that the Phrygians were a Macedonian colony, originally called Bryges, and afterwards corruptly, Phryges. B. VII. Their barbarous dialect, therefore, could be no standard. One obvious and useful result, however, from the inconclusive experiment, was to shew, that the faculty of speech was considered as innate, or "the gift of Nature*," by the Egyptians, then reckoned the wisest and the most argumentative people of antiquity†. Who, in their "boasted wisdom," would have looked

* They would have reasoned with more propriety in considering it as the gift of God.
† Λογομορφος. Herod. B. II. § 77.
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down with disdain and contempt on the "foolishness" which adopts the crazy reveries of ancient Epicureans and Atheists, so blindly followed by Rousseau, Condorcet, Monboddo, and Larcher, &c. &c. misrepresenting the divine faculty of speech, or articulate language, "as" by no means the gift of Nature, but "a talent acquired, like all others!" That "any language is impossible, before the formation of societies, more or less numerous." That such societies, it is highly probable, subsisted a long time, and that several arts were discovered before the invention of this (language)! Larcher, Tom. II. p. 153.—

But what art could be invented, or how could society itself be carried on, or improved, without the medium of language to express their mutual desires and wants!—Such are the manifold absurdities of Philosophism! more fully exposed, Vol. I. p. 315, notes, of this work*.

NEKUS, OR PHARAOH NECHO.

Psammiticus was succeeded by his son Nekus, signifying "lame," the Pharaoh Necho of Scripture. This was an active enterprising prince. He first turned his attention to commerce, and began a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea. Before the canal was half finished, and after the loss of a hundred thousand workmen, the Oracle admonished him to desist, and leave the completion of the work to a Barbarian. It was afterwards completed, during the Persian dynasty, by Darius Hystaspes. Major Rennel has given a curious account of this and other canals of communication, from the Nile to the Red Sea, which were all works of ostentation rather than of use; for they were soon deserted, either from the failure of the Bubastic, or eastern channel of the Nile, or filled up by the drifting of the sands in the desert. Rennel's Herodot. p. 479.

The most brilliant circumstance of his reign, was

THE CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA.

After the failure of the canal, Nekus employed some skilful Phœnicians mariners to sail on a voyage of discovery, from the mouth of the Red Sea, southward, round the peninsula of Africa,

* See Dr. Magee's learned and ingenious remarks.
in which they doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and returned by the straits of Gibraltar, through the Mediterranean Sea, and completed this coasting voyage in three years. Rennel has given a most ingenious diary of their probable route, and their several stations, caused by the interruption of the trade winds, monsoons, and currents, on the eastern and western sides of Africa, p. 672—710. Herodotus states a paradoxical circumstance, which he discredited, namely, that "as they sailed round the coast of Libya, they had the sun on their right hand," or to the north. B. IV. § 42. This, indeed, demonstrates, that they crossed the Southern Tropic of Capricorn, and confirms the truth of their narrative.

It has been objected however, that there is, 1. "a total failure of all consequences, from this expedition; 2. a total want of all collateral evidence; and, 3. a total silence of all other historians, but Herodotus and his followers;" by Dean Vincent: but his objections may be easily answered.

1. The failure of consequences, naturally resulted from the depressed state of Egypt, during the Babylonian and Persian dominations; which took place in, and after, Pharaoh Necho's reign.

2. We have strong collateral evidence, in the voyage of Sataspes, which was required by Xerxes to be made, in the contrary direction to this, namely, along the western coast of Africa, and to return by the eastern, into the Red Sea. But this voyage failed, and probably prevented any further attempts from Egypt. See p. 126 of this Volume.

"Nor was Herodotus the only author of antiquity among those whose works have come down to us, who believed that Africa had been sailed round; for Pliny believed that it had been achieved by Hanno, Eudoarus, and others; but he is silent concerning the voyage of Necho; while Herodotus is silent about Hanno's voyage. Hence it may be suspected, that as this navigation was made much about the same time with that of Hanno, Pliny may have confounded them together; referring the actions of the Egyptian to the Carthaginian."

To this ingenious argument of Major Rennel, p. 673, we may add, that Pliny must have confounded them; for Hanno did not attempt to circumnavigate Africa. He stopped considerably short of the Cape of Good Hope, and did not go beyond the
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Ivory and Gold Coasts: for traffic and colonization, not discovery, were his objects. Hanno's voyage was most probably occasioned by Necho's, from motives of commercial jealousy, subsisting between the Phænicians and Egyptians. Rennel, p. 743.

3. The testimony of Herodotus is ably supported by Dean Vincent himself: "It must be confessed (says he), that the facts Herodotus gives us of this voyage, though few, are consistent. The shadow falling to the south, the delay of stopping, [about three months, only] to sow grain and reap a harvest, and the space of three years employed in the circumnavigation, joined with the simplicity of the narrative, are all points so strong and convincing, that if they be insisted on by those who believe the possibility of effecting the passage by the ancients, no arguments to the contrary, however founded upon a different opinion, can leave the mind without a doubt upon the question *.

Here the Dean clearly admits the insufficiency of the objections to satisfy the mind even of the objectors, while the accumulation of all these arguments for the voyage seems to remove every shadow of doubt, from all but professed sceptics.

Perhaps, as Major Rennel observes, the brevity of the narration, in Herodotus, has been the occasion of its being rejected by many; at the same time, that inscriptions, or legends of medals, though infinitely more brief, are implicitly received as proofs of the facts recorded. And surely, the sun's appearing on their right hand, (or northwards) in sailing round Africa, was a circumstance which, Larcher remarks, could never have been suspected, or fabricated, in an age when astronomy was yet in its infancy. Rennel, p. 717, 718.

The time of this celebrated voyage could not have been later than B.C. 610, in the ninth year of his reign, and might have been earlier, for it preceded the death of Josiah, and capture of Cadytis or Jerusalem, by Necho, B.C. 608. 2 Kings xxiii. 29.

After the defeat and death of Josiah, who had opposed his passage, Necho proceeded to invade Assyria, and took Carchemish, a fortified city on the Euphrates, near its confluence with the Chaboras. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. Rennel, p. 683.

He returned triumphant from this expedition, the Assyrians

* Compare Vincent's Periplo of Hanno, p. 175, with the same, p. 178, and his Voyage of Nearchus, p. 275, 276, or Belo's notes on Herodotus, Vol. II. p. 394—399.
then not being in a condition to oppose him during the siege of Nineveh, by the Babylonians and Medes. But after its capture, when Nebuchadnezzar ascended the throne of Babylon, B.C. 604, he took a severe revenge; for he invaded Egypt, and stript Necho of all his conquests, from the Euphrates to the Nile, so effectually, that “the king of Egypt went not again any more out of his own land” to invade his neighbours; 2 Kings, xxiv. 7; Jer. xlvi. 2; and he died next year, B.C. 603.

This critical correspondence of Sacred and Egyptian Chronology is highly satisfactory.

It is remarkable, that Herodotus has passed over in total silence, not only Nebuchadnezzar's first invasion of Egypt, and defeat of Necho, but also his second invasion, and more ruinous devastation, B.C. 570, in the reign of Apries, or Pharaoh Hophra, when he ravaged the whole extent of the country, and left it waste for 40 years. Ezek. xxix. 12.

Such omissions tend greatly to counteract the negative argument, urged against attested facts, by credible historians, from the silence of others. This is similar to the foregoing case of the circumnavigation of Africa. The Egyptian priests, indeed, noticed the invasion of Sennacherib, because it failed; but the invasions of Nebuchadnezzar were too fatally successful. They sunk them, therefore, for the credit of the nation. The recent Persian invasions of Cyrus and Cambyses, and the Persian dominion actually subsisting, when Herodotus visited them, could neither be denied nor disguised.

Necho was succeeded by his son Psammis, who undertook an expedition against the Ethiopians, and died soon after, having reigned six years only.

**APRIES, OR PHARAOH HOPHRA.**

This prince, the son of Psammis, for the first twenty-five years of his reign, enjoyed greater prosperity than any of his predecessors, except Psammiticus. But fortune then turned against him, or rather PROVIDENCE, for his pride and impiety. “He imagined that no God could deprive him of the kingdom, so firmly did he think himself established,” as remarked by Herodotus, § 169. But God pronounced his doom by the prophet Jeremiah. “I will give Pharaoh Hophra, king of
Egypt, into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life." Jer. xliv. 30. And most remarkably was this fulfilled: God first gave him into the hands of his enemies, the Babylonians, who " subdued him and the Gods of Egypt;" as expressly foretold, Jer. xlvi. 25, 26, and afterwards, into the hands of his rebellious subjects; when Amasis, who led them, defeated him near Memphis, and took him prisoner; and for some time, treated him kindly, till "the people, murmuring at this lenity to a common enemy, as a public detriment, Amasis was compelled to surrender him into their hands; and they strangled him." § 169.

AMASIS.

After the death of Apries, Nebuchadnezzar confirmed the kingdom to Amasis; during whose prudent administration, and long reign, Egypt, in great measure, recovered her former prosperity, and could boast of 20,000 cities, well inhabited. Amasis enacted a wise domiciliary law, that every Egyptian, once in the year, should set forth to the Nomarch, or chief magistrate of his district, by what means he subsisted; and whoever did not attend, or could not prove that he lived honestly, was to be punished with death. This was a most effectual law against idlers, and thieves or robbers. Herodotus says, that it was borrowed from Egypt by Solon, and established at Athens, where, says he, it is still in use, as being a "blameless law," (εοντι αμωμον νομον) § 177. Solon visited the court of Amasis about B.C. 554.

Amasis was an admirer of the Grecians, and encouraged them to settle in his dominions. He sent a contribution of a thousand talents weight of alum toward rebuilding the ancient temple of Delphi, which had been burnt by accident; and rich offerings to the temples of Cyrene, Lindus, and Samos. Hence Hume, the historian, infers, that the Egyptian superstition was not so incompatible with that of other nations, as might be imagined from the domestic feuds of the several sects: where the worshippers of dogs, cats, wolves and crocodiles, exercised a continual warfare with each other, so humorously described by Juvenal, Sat. xv. 1—13. See the curious account of their superstitions and abominations, in Herodotus, B. II.

The restoration of Egypt under Amasis seems to have been
foretold in Scripture. "At the end of forty years, I will gather the Egyptians from the nations whither they were scattered." Ezek. xxix. 11. These forty years of captivity, counted from Nebuchadnezzar’s invasion, B.C. 570, expired B.C. 530, when Cyrus, by a wise and liberal policy, released the Egyptians, as he had before the Jews. This act of grace took place five years before the death of Amasis.

Upon the death of Cyrus the Egyptians revolted, and the first act of Cambyses, after he had settled the eastern provinces, was to invade Egypt. The particulars of the invasion were noticed before, p. 119, &c. In addition to these, we may remark here, that Cambyses took Pelusium by a singular stratagem: finding that it was garrisoned entirely by Egyptian troops, he placed a great number of the sacred animals, cats, dogs, cows, sheep, &c. in front of the Persians when advancing to the walls; and the garrison not daring to throw a dart, or shoot an arrow, for fear of killing some of their Gods, the walls were scaled, and the city taken, without opposition.

Near the end of Darius Hystaspes’ reign, the Egyptians again revolted, but were again reduced by Xerxes, previous to his invasion of Greece. See p. 139, &c.

Afterwards the Egyptians revolted early in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and by the assistance of the Athenians defeated the Persians, and slew their general Achemenes, the king’s brother; but were afterwards reduced by Megabyzus, all except Amyrteaus, who fled to the fens, B.C. 456, and maintained himself there a good while.

Again, the Egyptians revolted in the reign of Darius Nothus, B.C. 413, when Amyrteaus sallying forth from the fens, and joining the Egyptians, they drove out the Persians.

After six years’ reign, he was succeeded by his son Pausiris, B.C. 407, who was confirmed in the government by the usual policy of the Persian court, noticed by Herodotus, B. III. § 15. Psammiticus II. succeeded his father Pausiris. He was remarkable for an act of perfidy and ingratitude. Tamus, an Egyptian, admiral of the fleet of Cyrus the younger, had rendered Psammiticus essential services. But on the death of Cyrus, and suppression of his rebellion, Tamus fled from Tissaphernes, who was appointed to succeed Cyrus in his province of Asia Minor, and implored the friendship and protection of the Egyptian king. But he, deaf to the calls of humanity, gra-
ANALYSIS OF PROFANE CHRONOLOGY.

titude and hospitality, hearing that Tamus had brought with him considerable treasures, massacred him, his family and re-
tinue, and seized all their property. Diodor. B. XIV. ch. 6.

Acoris, his successor, B.C. 389, assisted Evagoras, king of
Cyprus, in his war against the Persians, with a considerable
body of troops.

Nectanebis succeeded him, B.C. 375. Artaxerxes Mnemon,
after three years' preparations, invaded Egypt, B.C. 374, with a
powerful army of Persians and Grecian mercenaries, under the
command of Pharnabazus and Iphicrates; but they were un-
successful, on account of the slowness of their operations, and
the rising of the Nile; and were forced to retreat with great

Tachos succeeded. Nectanebis, in B.C. 363. To withstand
the mighty Persian power, he hired a body of Spartan merce-
naries, commanded by Agesilaus, their king. But despising the
mean appearance and simple regimen of Agesilaus, the haughty
Egyptian slighted his counsel, and treated him with contempt.
Provoked at this, Agesilaus, rather disgracefully, joined some
mal-content, who rebelled, and dethroned Tachos, by his help,
and set up in his room his kinsman Nectanebus, B.C. 361.

At length Darius Ochus, dissatisfied with the miscarriages of
his lieutenants, invaded Egypt in person, with a great army,
and reduced it totally, B.C. 350. Nectanebus fled, with all the
treasure he could collect, into Abyssinia, and was no more heard
of. He was the last native king of Egypt. Egypt was next
subdued, without opposition, by Alexander the Great, B.C.
332; and afterwards by the Romans, B.C. 30. And has ever
since continued, and will continue, the basest of the kingdoms,
fulfilling prophecy, Ezek. xxix. 15; the just reward of their
stupid idolatries and persevering abominations.
APPENDIX.

It now remains to discharge a promise, made in the preceding volume, p. 386, respecting

PRIMITIVE THEOLOGY, AND ITS CORRUPTIONS.

AUCTORIBUS uti OPTIMIS in omnibus causis, et debet, et solet valere quam plurimum; et primum quidem, OmnI ANTIQUITATE; quæ, quo propius aberat ab ORTU, et divina pro-GENIE, hoc melius ea, fortasse, quæ erant VERA, cernebat.—CICERO.

This is a remarkable concession, made by the great Roman philosopher and orator, in favour of the most ancient authors, as the best, and the most intelligent, respecting the abstruse and mysterious subject of THEOLOGY; notwithstanding all the supposed and boasted improvements of the wisdom of succeeding ages, and the pride of Philosophy, in later times.

This concession is most unquestionably true, respecting THE SACRED HISTORIANS, the venerable and inspired authors of the books of the Old Testament, and particularly Moses, the author of the Pentateuch, in whose first book of Genesis, compiled partly from tradition, and partly from REVELATION, are most clearly, though succinctly, recorded the knowledge and worship of THE MOST HIGH GOD, the beginnings of the human race, and of their language, religion, arts, and institutions, before and after the deluge.

It is also true of the most ancient Heathen records that have survived the wreck of time, of which the oldest fragments subsisting are usually the simplest and best, and afford the most favourable specimens of primitive Theology, and exhibit a remarkable conformity with HOLY WRIT. Such, for instance, is the sublime representation of the SUPREME BEING, attributed
APPENDIX.

to the elder Zoroaster, the founder of the Magian religion, preserved by Eusebius, (see p. 36, note, of this Volume;) the famous inscription on the temple of Neith or Wisdom, at Sais, in Egypt, (see Vol. III. p. 525,) which bears a striking analogy to the description of the God of the Hebrews, Exod. iii. 14, and of God Almighty, Rev. iv. 8; and both, to the following representation, in the Bhagavat, an ancient Hindu poem. Asiatic. Research. I. p. 33, 245.

"I was, even AT FIRST, not any other thing.
That which EXISTS, UNPERCEIVED, SUPREME;
I AM He who is, and He who MUST REMAIN."

And the palm of Theological knowledge was early given to the Chaldeans and Hebrews, by the most ancient Grecian Oracles. The Clarian, instituted about a century before the Trojan war, bears the following honourable testimony to them.

Μοννοι Χαλδαιοι σοφιην λαχον ηδ' αρ' Ἐβραιοι, Ἄγλογον ἀνακτήσαντοι, Θεόν Αὐτόν.

"Wisdom was allotted to the Chaldeans and Hebrews alone,
Worshipping the self-existing king, God Himself."

And in the Orphic verses collected by Onomacritus, the following is cited, as from Moses.

Ἀρχὴν Αὐτὸς εἰχὼν, ἀμα καὶ Μεσὸν, ηδὲ Τελευτήν
Ὡς λόγος Ἀρχαῖον, ὡς Ὑδαυγήσεις διεκτέλειν,
Εκ ΘΕΟΘΕΝ γνώμαις λαβὼν κατὰ διπλάκα ζεύμον.

"God Himself, having beginning, middle and ending:
As the ancients say, as the waterborn [Moses] prescribed:
Who received a double tablet of laws, derived from God."

And the following genuine fragment of the Sibylline Oracles is cited by Pausanias:

Ζεὺς ὁ, Ζεὺς εστι, Ζεὺς εἰσέσται τ Ω μεγάλε Ζεύ.

"Jove was, Jove is, Jove will be: O Great Jove!"

This title, Ζεὺς, was ultimately derived from the Hebrew, IAHOH, intimating "unity."

How prevalent indeed, from the rising to the setting sun, was the belief of the existence of the Supreme Being, we learn from the universality of his appropriate title, Aun or On; Aum or Om, signifying "Being*"; borrowed from the Chaldeans and Hebrews, those earliest depositories of the Divine Oracles, and Revelations to mankind; for "the world by wisdom, knew not

* For further authorities, see my Dissertations, p. 214—223.
GoD;” as an inspired Apostle declared to the Grecian philosophers, 1 Cor. i. 21, and the ancient inscription upon the altar at Athens, \(\text{\textalpha\textgamma\textnu\textomega\textomicron\texttau\omicron\dotless\iota\omicron\nu\varepsilon\omicron\omega}\), To the unknowable God, Acts xvii. 23, explained to the Athenians by the same Apostle. See his profound discourse, and the commentary thereon, Vol. III. p. 522—530, detailing the incomprehensibility of the Divine Nature, as acknowledged by the best and wisest of their philosophers; and the absolute necessity of Divine instruction; and the earnest and ardent wishes for some Divine instructor, expressed by Socrates, Plato, Eupolis, Aratus, Cleanthes, and Lucian, &c.

The purity and simplicity of the primitive worship of the Patriarchal God, is shewn in the foregoing account of the primitive Magian Religion, note, p. 36, of this volume, of Manicheism, note, p. 251, and of the primitive Grecian Religion, given by Herodotus, and adduced in the commentary on Paul's discourse, Vol. III. p. 523.

II. The primitive Religion and Morality, founded thereon, was equally good. Of these, we have the fairest and the fullest specimen, in the ancient and venerable book of Job, far superior in antiquity to any other extant in the whole range of sacred and profane literature. See the foregoing articles, of Job, his Faith, Theology and Morality, Vol. II. p. 51—58; p. 93—102, and the history of the ancient Persian kings, of the Pisch-dadian and succeeding races, in this volume. From all which, an advantageous idea may be formed of its main articles, requiring mankind “to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with their God,” according to the summary of the Heathen prophet Balaam, Micah vi. 5—8, explained Vol. II. p. 200, 201.

“This,” says excellently Sir Isaac Newton, “was the morality and religion of the first ages, still called by the Jews, The precepts of the sons of Noah: This was the religion of Moses and the Prophets, comprehended in the two great commandments, of loving the Lord our God, with all our heart and soul and mind; and our neighbour as ourselves: This was the religion enjoined by Moses to the uncircumcised Stranger, within the gates of Israel, as well as to the Israelites: and this is the primitive religion of both Jews and Christians; and ought to be the standing religion of all nations; it being for the honour of God, and good of mankind.”

“So then, the believing that the world was framed by One
SUPREME GOD, and is governèd by HIM; and the loving and worshipping Him; and honouring our parents, and loving our neighbours as ourselves; and being mercifule even to brute beasts, is the oldest of all religions.” Chronology, p. 183, 184.

The Heathen poets, who faithfully represented the popular belief and practice, have well illustrated this.

Quid prius dicam solitiss Parentis
Laudibus? Qui res Hominum ac Deorum,
Qui mare et terras, variisque mundum
Temperat horis.

“What shall I sing before the usual praises,
Of the Father of All? Who regulates
The affairs of men and Gods, the sea and lands,
And the world itself, by various seasons.”

Horat.

Quin damus Id Superis, de magna quod dare lance
Non possit magni Messala lippa propago:
Compositum jux, fasque Animi; sanctoique recessus
Mentis; et incocum generoso pectus honesto.
Hac cedo, ut admoveam templis, et farre litabò.

Persius.

“But to the Gods, be such the gift we bear,
Such as the great Messala’s dastard heir,
From his capacious Censer, piled on high,
Never, my friend, no, never can supply:
A soul, where settled virtue reigns enshrined,
Within whose inmost close recesses lie
Tinctures of generous honour’s deepest dye.
Such is the sacrifice the Gods demand:
A cake suffices, from a spotless hand.”

Brewster’s Translation.

III. But about the age of Nimrod, or “the Rebel,” began the first corruption of the Primitive Theology and Worship. The Zabian Idolatry of the Heavenly host, and the Elements, was then introduced in Chaldea, and reached Arabia, in Job’s time, who expresses in lively terms, his abhorrence of the adoration of the Sun and Moon, xxxi. 26. See Vol. II. p. 48, 95—98.

* When the Athenians, in a war with the Lacedemonians, had suffered many defeats by sea and land, they sent to consult the Oracle of Jupiter Amun, why they who had made so many costly offerings, and slain so many hecatombs in sacrifice to the Gods, should be less successful than their enemies, who were so deficient in these respects. The Oracle replied, “I am better pleased with the prayers of the Lacedemonians, than with all the oblations of the Greeks.” The Lacedemonian prayer was, that “the Gods might give them all good things, so long as they were virtuous.” See Plato’s Dialogue on Prayer, Alcibiades the Second; or the Spectator, No. 207.
Sanchoniatho, in his fragment, represents this idolatry as introduced in Cain's family even before the Deluge; which is not improbable, from the contrast between the pious Sethites, called "Sons of God," and the impious Cainites, who seduced them into idolatry, and all the ensuing crimes of lust and violence, with which the first world was overspread in the tenth generation, until it was destroyed by the Deluge; all except righteous Noah and his family. See Vol. II. p. 32—37, and this volume, p. 3.

The next innovation and corruption of the Patriarchal Theology seems to have originated from the allegorizing genius of the Magian and Egyptian Priests, vailing the divine perfections, under various animal types and resemblances. Thus the Deity was represented, so early as Zoroaster's time, as having a "hawk's head," expressive of his sharp sightedness, or all seeing providence; and thus, the Supreme Spirit was degraded, by allusions to Bulls and Cows, and Calves; Dogs and Cats, Serpents and Crocodiles, Storks and Ichneumons, &c. and all the monstrous and revolting polytheism of the Egyptians and Indians, framed, at first, allegorically or mystically, to cloak their theology from the vulgar, or the uninitiated; but afterwards, when the meaning of the symbols was forgotten or lost, it degenerated into the most grovelling bestial worship. See Vol. II. p. 167, and this volume, p. 25, 26, note.

The third stage of innovation seems to have been the deifying dead men, or the worship of Demigods and Heroes. This, though introduced, perhaps, later than the former, might have prevailed earlier; and is represented by Sanchoniatho as immediately succeeding the Zabian Idolatry. See this volume, p. 5. And Hesiod's Gods of the Golden Age, beginning with Saturn, or Adam, were borrowed from the Egyptian Mythology. Saturn was afterwards made also the first God of the Silver Age, Noah, and the father of Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto, or Japheth, Shem and Ham, by Homer, see Vol. I. p. 243, and by the Old Egyptian Chronicle also, explained also in this volume, see also p. 14, note.

The invention of this species of Idolatry is well explained by the apocryphal author of the Wisdom of Solomon.

For the devising of idols, was the beginning of Fornication,
And the invention of them, the corruption of life.
For they were not from the beginning, nor shall be for ever.
APPENDIX.

For by the vain glory of men, it entered into the world,
And therefore, shall come to a speedy end.

1. For a father afflicted with unseasonable grief,
   Having made an image of his child speedily taken away,
   Honoured the dead man now as a God,
   And delivered to his dependants mysteries and rites.
   Thus, in process of time, the impious usage
   Gaining strength, was observed as a law;
   And graven images were adored by the decrees of kings.

2. Those [princes] whom their subjects living far off,
   Could not honour in person, at a distance, engraving
   Their visage, they made an express image
   Of the king to be honoured, to flatter him when absent,
   As if he were present, through their officiousness.

3. And the sedulity of the artist promoted [the superstition]
   For he, wishing to please the ruler,
   Wrought by his skill, the likeness, to perfection,
   And the vulgar, attracted by the grace of the work,
   Counted him now, an object of worship,
   Who, a little before, was regarded as a man.

4. So this became a snare to the world:
   For men enslaved by affliction, or tyranny
   Gave to stones and to stocks, THE INCOMMUNICABLE NAME."

Wis. xiv. 12—21.

* The following excellent and enlarged observations on the origin of Idolatry, we owe

"There seem to have been four principal sources of all Mythology [or fabulous Theology.]

"I. Historical or Natural Truth has been perverted into Fable by ignorance, imagination, flattery or stupidity, as [Jupiter] a king of Crete, whose tomb had been discovered in that island, was conceived to be the God of Olympus [or Heaven]; and Minos, a legislator of that country, to have been his son, and to hold a supreme appellate jurisdiction over departed souls. —The mad apotheosis of truly great men, or of little men falsely called great, has been the origin of gross idolatrous errors, in every part of the Pagan world.

"II. The next source of them appears to have been a wild admiration of the heavenly bodies; and after a time, the systems [or Cycles] and calculations of Astronomers. Hence came a considerable portion of Egyptian and Grecian fable; the Zabian worship in Arabia; the Persian types and emblems of Mihr, the Sun; and the far-extended adoration of the Elements, and the powers of Nature; and hence, perhaps, all the artificial [or technical] Chronology of the Chinese and Indians; with the invention of Demigods and Heroes to fill the vacant niches in their imaginary periods.

"III. Numberless Divinities have been created solely by the magic of Poetry, whose essential business it is to personify the most abstract notions, and to place a Nymph or a Genius in every grove, and almost in every flower; hence Ὑγεια, and Ἰατρος, "Health" and "Remedy," are the poetical daughters of Αἰεκαλοπίς, who was either a distinguished Physician, or medical skill personified; and hence Ξλώπες, "verdure," is married to Ζέφυρος, [the western breeze.]

"IV. The metaphors and allegories of Moralists and Metaphysicians have been also
The author proceeds to enumerate the various crimes and abominations resulting from Idolatry, ver. 22–28, in a remarkable passage which seems to have been imitated by Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, i. 24–32. And both furnish a horrible description of the enormous wickedness that prevailed in the Heathen world, at the seasonable introduction of Christianity, to bring the world from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God.*

IV. Among the salutary restraints that for a good while contributed to check the torrent of corruption introduced by Heathen Polytheism, we may justly reckon the Oracles and the Mysteries.

The most ancient Oracles in the Heathen world were unquestionably dictated by the Spirit of Truth; for God never left himself unnoticed, by his extraordinary interpositions, as well as by the ordinary dispensations of his providence, Job iv. 13—17; xxxii. 18; Acts xiv. 15—17; Rom. i. 19—22. See p. 63, and Vol. III. p. 511.

very fertile in Deities; of which a thousand examples might be adduced from Plato, Cicero, and the inventive Commentators on Homer, in their pedigrees of the Gods, and their fabulous losses of morality."

I have in the text, inverted the order of Sir William Jones, by ranking the Zabian idolatry foremost, because it is the only species noticed in that oldest and noblest Oriental composition, the Book of Job; and was introduced, as Sir William himself remarks, in the seventh generation after the Deluge. See Vol. II. p. 55, of this work. The Cycles of Astronomers, which he classestherewith, were evidently the latest of all, when Astronomy was considerably improved; which it was not, till a good while after the time of Thales in Greece; and after the era of Nabonassar in Chaldea, Hindustan, China, and Egypt. See Vol. I. p. 195—203, of this work.

* Clemens Alexandrinus, in his Admonition to the Gentiles, p. 30, edit. 1616, has given the following lively description of the impurities of their Polytheism and Mythology:

"These are the symbols of your voluptuousness! These your insulting Theologies! These the instructions of your co-fornicating Gods!—Your Satyrs, and your naked Nymphs, and contests of Buffoons, exposed naked in your Scriptures!—Your ears are defiled, your eyes incontinent, your look adulterous, ye debasers of manhood: devoting to disgrace the first fruits of the Divine particle of your frame!"

The Grecian popular Theology indeed, was most detestable: it licensed not only adultery and fornication in their Gods with each other, but also with men and women; and even the most unnatural lusts, under the forms of bulls, goats, swans, eagles, &c.
One of the earliest Oracles on record, was that in Canaan, (probably at Debir, signifying “the Oracle,” formerly Kiriah Sepher, “the city of the book,” Josh. xv. 15,) consulted by the Patriarch Isaac, about his wife Rebecca’s pregnancy; which remarkably foretold the birth of the twins, Esau and Jacob, and the fortunes of their respective families, Gen. xxv. 22—26. It is expressly said, that Isaac “enquired of the Lord,” and probably by the venerable Melchizedek, king of Salem, in its neighbourhood, and “Priest of the Most High God,” Gen. xiv. 18, who, though a Canaanite, was so highly honoured in Scripture, as a type of Christ, Psalm cx. 4, Heb. vii. 1—4.

The famous Libyan Oracle of Jove, derived its title Amun, “Truth,” from the veracity of its responses, and therefore was originally dictated, we may be assured, by the God of Truth. Assyria and Chaldea were in the highest repute, in the earliest times, for their Diviners and Soothsayers; of this class, were the prophet Balaam, the Sibylline Priestesses, &c., who diffused the true lights of Revelation, far and near, through the Heathen world, in Syria, Asia Minor, Canaan, &c., as far as Italy. See Balaam’s prophecies, Vol. II. p. 199—209; and the Cumaean Sibyl’s, Vol. III. p. 655, note.

The most ancient Oracle of Greece was at Dodona, founded by Dodan, the son of Javan, or Iaon, or Ion, and the grandson of Japheth, or Japetus, who settled there with his family. Their Theology was pure, and their worship simple, as we learn from the curious account communicated to Herodotus by their priests. See Vol. III. p. 523, note. But in process of time, the Oracle degenerated, and basely sanctioned the introduction of Egyptian Polytheism, with the lascivious rites of the Lingam, or Priapus, &c. celebrated at Samothrace likewise; as we learn from the honest and candid report of Herodotus, who was ashamed of their impurities.

Next to this was probably the Oracle of Themis, or Justice, at Delphi, consulted by Deucalion, king of Thessaly, after the partial deluge in that country. See Vol. I. p. 112, 340, note. But this genuine Oracle was at length succeeded, or superseded, by the spurious Oracle of Apollo, “the Destroyer,” dictated by Python, “the Old Serpent, the Devil, and Satan,” who deceived the whole heathen world, and made this “his chief seat,” which had before been occupied by the Oracle, the Saviour
of mankind. But who still interposed, on several extraordinary occasions, as in the Persian war, when the Athenians, still a virtuous people, were fighting for their Religion, their Laws, and their Liberties, to controul and overrule the foul fiend, as we have seen in the course of this Volume, p. 115—118, p. 153, note.

The Samothracian and Eleusinian Mysteries, before their corruption by the impure Syrian and Egyptian rites, were also powerful barriers against the licentious immoralities of the Established Religion, by keeping alive a wholesome remembrance of the immortality of the soul, and future state of rewards and punishments, which was the leading doctrine of the Eleusinian Mysteries, inculcated by Paul at Athens, Acts xvii. 31. See the foregoing account of these Mysteries, p. 163, note, and a signal prodigy which happened at Eleusis, on the morning of the battle of Salamis, reported by Herodotus, p. 165—170.

God also raised up, occasionally, some “burning and shining lights,” to reform the heathen world; such as the two Zoroasters, Thales and his associates, the seven Sages, Pythagoras, Lycurgus, Solon, Minos, Zaleucus, Socrates, &c. among the Philosophers and Legislators; and Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, &c. among the Tragic Poets; who still kept alive, in their writings and laws, the grand doctrines of the Patriarchal Religion. See Euripides’ noble maintenance of the unity of the Supreme Being, and the admirable extracts from Socrates, Eupolis, Aratus, Cleanthes, &c. in the foregoing comment on Paul’s discourse at Athens, Vol. III. p. 522—530.

Hence, amidst the general diffusion of ignorance, and corruption of religion and morals, in the heathen world, the illustrious Apostle of the Gentiles did not hesitate to appeal to the consciences of his converts to attest, that he introduced no strange nor novel doctrines among them, but such as were still acknowledged by the best and wisest of themselves *.

* I. The great Athenian and Roman orators, Demosthenes and Cicero, who, as being desirous of popular applause, would not fail to speak the public sentiment, express themselves thus, in perfect unison with the learned Apostle:

Παρὰ μὲν τοῖς τοις ἀλλοίς, εὐγείαν ὥραν πασίν ανθρώποις διωρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πως τα τινὰ των ἐκείνων; οἰρή καὶ τιμωρία καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐξειρέσα τις ακών; συγγυγόμενα αὐτῷ της τιμωρίας. Φαινότατο τοῖς τοῖς πάντα πάντα οὖν, οὐ μόνον εἰς τοὺς νομός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ φύσις αὐτῇ τοὺς αγγαφούς νομίμως, καὶ τοῖς ανθρώπινοις ἡθεῖσι διωρίων.

“As
“Provide things fair [or honest] in the sight of all men.”
——“Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are venerable, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are acceptable, whatsoever things are creditable [or of good report]; if there be any virtue, if there be any worth [or praise] ponder these things.” Rom. xii. 17; Phil. iv. 8.

And he bears honourable testimony to the good-nature or disposition of some, even of the unregenerate Gentiles, as contrasted with the Jews; the former, acting up to the law of conscience, written in their hearts, with the finger of God; the latter, violating the written law of Moses, though positively

"As to the rest then, I see such distinctions as these established, somehow, among all men: Does any commit injury wilfully? indignation and punishment await him; Did any offend involuntarily? pardon is granted him, instead of the punishment. All these appear to be so ordered, not only in the laws, but Nature herself prescribed them in the unwritten rules and customs of mankind.” De Corona.

Mihis quidem em verae videntur opiniones, quae honesta, quae laudabiles, quae gloriosae, quae in Senatu, quae apud populum, quae in omni coetu concilio proferendas sint: ne id non pudeat sentire, quod pudeat dicere.

"To me indeed, those sentiments seem true, which are honest, which are laudable, which may properly be uttered in the senate, or before the people, at any council or assembly,”

De Finibus II. 24.

Estque hominis ingenui et liberaliter educati, velle bene audire a parentibus, a proponitis, a bonis etiam viris; idque propter rem ipsam, non propter usum.

"It is the province of an ingenuous and well educated man, to wish for applause, from his parents, from his relations, and from good citizens; and that for its own sake, not for profit.”

De Finibus III. 17.

II. The Poets also maintain the same doctrine.

—— Aut Virtus nomen inane est,
Aut decus et pretium recte petit experientis vir.

“Either virtue is an empty name, or the man of enterprize
Rightly seeks honour and reward.”

Quid verum atque decens curo et rogo, et omnis in hoc sum,
Virtutis verae custodum rigidusque Satelles.

“Whatever is true and decent, I mind and seek;
Of real virtue the guardian and rigid sentinel.” Horace.

But what a falling off does this inconsistent Poet, and Epicurean Moralist, exhibit in the next distich?

Nunc in Aristippifurtim praecepta relabor;
Et mihi res, non me rebus submittere conor.

“At another time I relapse, by stealth, into Pleasure’s rules;
And strive to accommodate circumstances to myself,
Not myself to circumstances.”

Epist. 1. 1, 10—19.
revealed from heaven. Such, in particular, was Cornelius, the Roman centurion, "whose prayers and whose alms came up for a memorial, or grateful sacrifice, before God," even by the express testimony of an angel from heaven. Acts x. 4; Rom. ii. 4—16.

This, I trust, is a fair and candid, not overcharged representation, of the state of religion and morals of the Heathen world, at the preaching of the Gospel; which came indeed, in the fulness of time, to supply the insufficiency of their Theology and Morality, to instruct and save mankind, and to correct their crying sins and abominations in general; as acknowledged by themselves.

PAGAN TRINITIES.

The mysterious doctrine of the Trinity is taught in the Old Testament more obscurely; in the New Testament, more clearly; but not exclusively in either; remarkable traces of it are to be found in the Heathen Scriptures also, derived from Patriarchal, or Traditional Revelation, ultimately, and corrupted in its course.

1. In the Orphic Mythology, recorded by Suidas, (voce Ορ-ϕευς) the supreme principle of creation, was represented as threefold, BOYAH, ΦΩΣ, ΖΩΗ, "Counsel, Light, Life." All these are remarkably applied to Christ, in the sublime introduction of John's Gospel, if we consider the first, "Counsel," as synonymous with 'Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ, "The Oracle," (as Christ is actually styled, Luke vii. 30): and "Light inaccessible" is appropriated to the Father, by Paul, 1 Tim. vi. 16. See the original passage of Orpheus, given in the foregoing Comment on the Introduction of John's Gospel. Vol. III. p. 68, note on ver. 4.

That Counsel indeed is equivalent to the Oracle, we learn also from the exposition of Plato's Trinity, given by Origen, of the Alexandrian School, namely, 1. 'Ο πατέρα, "The Father," whom the Platonists reckoned, Αυτο Ov, "Being itself;" and, according to Porphyry, Τ' αγαθον, "the Good:" (to which, perhaps, our Lord alluded, in answer to the young Jewish ruler, who might have learned the philosophy of Alexandria, Matt. xix. 17.) 2. 'Ο Νομος, "The Mind," or ο Λογος, "The Oracle," whom they represented as inferior to the
first; and whom Porphyry calls, 'O Δημιουργός, "the framer of the world," (to which, perhaps, John alludes, i. 2.) And 8. Ἡ ψυχὴ τού κόσμου, "the soul of the world;" (alluding, perhaps, to the SPIRIT OF GOD, brooding upon the abyss, at the creation, Gen. i. 2.) See Gale, Vol. II. p. 134.

The first being, Plato called, πνεύμα τῆς Θεοτήτος, "the fountain of the Godhead;" and τοῦ τε ἡγεμόνος καὶ αἰτίου παντός πάντη, "the Father of the Leader, and cause of all." And "the Leader" was remarkably a title of CHRIST, both in the Old and New Testament, 1 Chron. v. 2; Micah v. 2; Dan. ix. 25; Matt. ii. 6, &c. See Cudworth, p. 385, 588, 407.

These three persons of Plato's Trinity, were not only eternal, but necessarily existent, and absolutely imperishable. For the first could not exist without the second, which was called Ἀγάπη, "Wisdom itself;" (or that wisdom personified, which was with GOD at the creation, Prov. viii. 22—31; a title, which OUR LORD assumed to himself, Matt. xi. 19); nor the first and second, without the third, any more than original light, without splendour, or effulgence, according to Plato's comparison, (which perhaps might be alluded to by Paul, where he calls THE SON, "the effulgence of his Father's glory," Heb. i. 3). And he held, ὃτι Νοῦς ἐστὶ γενουστής τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίου, "that mind is cognate with the [first] cause of all things;" which, in the language of the Nicene Creed, was expressed, that "the SON was ὁμοουσιός, of the same substance with THE FATHER," and therefore not a creature. Cudworth, Intellect. Syst. p. 575. And this indeed was the true Athanasian doctrine; for in the language of Athanasius himself, εἰ αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ νικός, οὐκ ἦν κτίσμα, εἰ δὲ κτίσμα τυγχάνει, οὐκ ἦν αἰών. "If the SON be eternal, he was no creature; but if he is a creature, he was not eternal.*"

This remarkable analogy between the Platonic Theology of the Alexandrian School, and the true Athanasian, or Nicene doctrine, designed to combat the Arian (and Socinian) hypothesis, is highly satisfactory; and will, it is hoped, be deemed a sufficient justification of a former remark on the Creed, commonly called Athanasian, Vol. III. p. 291, to candid, intelligent, and orthodox Churchmen*; who would wish to separate the

* Erasmus has well explained this, in his Inquisitio de fide, Edit. Elzev. To the question, Cur Deus, JESUM CHRISTUM, filium appellat? the answer is, Ne quis somniet, esse creaturam, and the note thereon, "Arius docuit filium Dei, etiam juxta perfectissimam
chaff from the wheat, the spurious from the genuine doctrine of the Nicene Fathers; though it is much to be regretted, that the peace of the Church was ever disturbed by metaphysical sub-tilities, and the jargon of controversy. See the excellent Letter of Constantine the Great, Vol. III. p. 601, note.

Plato himself declared, that "these doctrines were not new, nor of yesterday;" they had been obscurely delivered before him, by Parmenides, the disciple of Pythagoras, and were derived from the Orphic Cabbala. But Orpheus, Pythagoras, and Plato, all travelled into Egypt, and were initiated in the Egyptian Mysteries: and the Egyptian Mysteries themselves were founded on the Hebrew. Cudworth, p. 305, 306, 353, 354.

The primitive Egyptian Trinity is not expressly noticed by Cudworth, who has failed in some parts of his profoundly learned work, by not ascending to the fountain head in the original Scriptures, and Oriental languages, confining himself merely to Greek and Latin literature; from all which sources of information, we may collect, that it originally consisted of On, Isis, and Neith.

1. On, the Supreme Being, called also Hephaistos, or Vulcan, the God of Light inaccessible; and Pan, the Universe; and Io-sihr, or Osiris, signifying “black Jove;” for they represented the Deity to be also σκότος ἀγνωστόν, “darkness unknowable.” He was the Ζεὺς κελανινέφης, “black-clouded Jove” of Homer and the Greeks; for “clouds and darkness are round about him.” Deut. iv. 11; Psal. xcvi. 2, &c.

2. Isis was supposed to be the wife of Jove, from Isha, “woman,” the Hebrew name of Eve, “the mother of all living.” And as they afterwards degraded On into the Sun; so they degraded Isis into the Earth, which was fertilized, and rendered fruitful or prolific by the Sun; and she became the Δημήτηρ, “Mother Earth,” or Ceres of the Eleusinian Mysteries, in Attica, and the Juno of Homer.

3. Neith, or Wisdom, whose temple at Sais bore the famous inscription, already noticed. Neith was afterwards degraded into Sarapis, or Serapis, “the serpent,” who had one of the greatest temples in Egypt. And Neith was the Athené, Minerva, or Pallas, of Homer and the Greeks, the immediate

naturam, fuisset Creaturam. At qui naturâ filius est, gignitur ex substantiâ Patris; sed Dei substantia indivisibilis est: eadem igitur oportet esse Patris et filii. De divinis personis loquor.
offspring of Jove himself, and next to him in dignity *, whose emblem, the Serpent, was kept in the Acropolis, or citadel, at Athens, as we have seen.

The Latin Trinity was borrowed from the Egyptian and Greek; and consisted of Jove, or Jupiter; Juno Matrona, or Cybele, the Mother of the Gods; and Pallas, or Minerva, the Goddess of Wisdom; as intimated by the poet, noticed by Cudworth, p. 450.

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Trina in Tarpeio fulgent consortia templo.

Persia and India had also their Trinities, which were somewhat different.

The primitive Magian Trinity consisted of Mithras, Oromazdes, and Ahriman. The first was the Supreme God, dwelling in light inaccessible, who still was worshipped in the darkness of the cave. The second was “the Light of the World,” or Wisdom; and the third, the Principle of Evil. Hyde confounds Oromazdes with Mithras; as we have seen in the foregoing note, p. 38, of this volume. But Oromazdes is rather the second person of the Persian Trinity, according to the higher authority of Cudworth. And this is confirmed by

The Indian Trinity, consisting of Brahma, Vishnu, and Sseva, as explained by Sir William Jones. Brahma representing the Creator, evidently from the Hebrew Bara, or Brah, “he created,” Gen. i. 1. Vishnu, signifying “the Pervader,” or Nayaran, “moving on the waters,” evidently corresponding to the Spirit of God, Gen. i. 2. And Sseva, “the destroyer,” corresponding to the Persian Ahriman; and both, perhaps, to the Abaddon of the Orientals, and the βασιλεὺς αὐτόλλων of the Apocalypse, Rev. ix. 11; or the αὐτὸς αὐτόλλων, “destroying king,” of Homer, signifying Satan, originally; afterwards applied to the Sun, φως βοῶς αὐτόλλων, from his scorching heat.

These unstrained Oriental derivations, and references to Holy Writ, may contribute to throw some new lights on the profound obscurity of this most mysterious subject; and tend to illustrate, in some prominent instances, the antiquarian doctrine of Sir William Jones, in his elaborate Essay on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India, Asiat. Research. Vol. I. p. 221—275, designed to point out a resemblance between the popular worship of the

* Proximos Illi tamen occupavit
Pallas honores. Hor.
old Greeks and Italians, and that of the Hindus. "Nor can there be room," says he, "to doubt of a great similarity between their strange religions, and that of Egypt, China, Persia, Phrygia, Phœnícia, Syria; to which, perhaps, we may safely add some of the southern kingdoms, [Peru and Mexico], and even islands [Caribbees, &c.] of America: while the Gothic system, which prevailed in the northern regions of Europe, was not merely similar to those of Greece and Italy; but almost the same, in another dress, with an embroidery of images apparently Asiatic. From all this, (if it be satisfactorily proved) we may infer a general union, or affinity, between the most distinguished inhabitants of the Primitive world, at the time when they deviated, as they did too early deviate, from the rational adoration of the only true God." P. 221.

CORRUPTIONS OF CHRISTIANITY.

The consideration of these is necessary to complete the argument, as forming an additional link in the religious history of the world; ever since it has been graciously enlightened at sundry times, by various dispensations, the Patriarchal, the Mosaic, and the Christian, each growing clearer and brighter, in their progress from the prime fountain of all Revelation. John i. 16, 17; Heb. i. 1.

The causes of the deterioration of the pure light of the Gospel, in its recess from the Apostolic Age, are similar to, and intimately connected with, the foregoing; they equally originate from human inventions, unwarrantably adding to, or diminishing from, the integrity of the Law, and the Gospel.

1. The first source of corruption may be traced up as high as the Apostolic Age itself, in the remarkable propensity of the Judaizing converts, to adulterate the written word, by engrafting thereon their own peculiar tenets. "Except ye be circumcised, according to the law of Moses, ye cannot be saved," (Acts xv. 1.) was the language of the Pharisaical Teachers, imposing a yoke and a burden on the Gentile Churches, from which Christ had graciously set them free; which, even the Jews themselves were not able to bear; as honestly confessed by Peter, Acts xv. 10. This first heresy was condemned in the first Apostolic Council, held at Jerusalem, A.D. 49.

2. About the same time, the Philosophizing Teachers, of the
Stoic, Epicurean, Gnostic, and Manichean schools, in Europe and Asia, beginning with Simon Magus, in Samaria, and afterwards in Rome, equally corrupted the simplicity of the Gospel, by false notions of the nature and mission of Christ; some Heretics denying his human, others, his divine nature; and both equally rejecting his atonement for the sins of the world, and the necessity of such a Teacher sent from God, to instruct and reform mankind. Hence originated those mischievous and unprofitable contests and controversies, about faith, and works, &c. which harassed the Infant Church, and were earnestly combated by the Apostles, Peter, James, and most fully by Paul, in their Epistles. See the History of the Church, Vol. III. p. 406, &c. of this work.

3. To such speculative errors we may add the gradual introduction of false mediators, the Virgin Mary, and all the tribes of canonized Saints and Martyrs, which succeeded Diana of Ephesus, and the host of Heathen Gods and Heroes, and the consequent adoption of superstitious and idolatrous rites, ceremonies, and usages, in the Christian Churches, both of the east and west; whence a general corruption of faith and morals ensued, and because "iniquity did abound, the love, or Christian charity, of the many waxed cold," and produced all that fatal "lukewarmness" and hypocrisy, which attended the civil establishment of Christianity, and led to, or occasioned,

4. The scourges of the pestilent heresies and apostacies of Popery in the west, and Islamism in the east, which rose together, flourished together, and declined together; keeping pace with each other in their joint persecutions of the Faithful Witnesses, or remnant of the true Church; equally harassing and tormenting the rest of the world, for their idolatries and abominations, during the first and second woes, ever since their rise, about A.D. 620, and in conjunction with their offspring and likeness, Infidelity, during this last woe; which, by the most probable computation, began about A.D. 1793, and is likely to continue till A.D. 1880, when may be found, perhaps, the expiration of the whole period of persecution for 1260 years, foretold by Daniel, and the Apocalypse, as explained in the foregoing Volumes.
APPENDIX.

NATIONAL JUDGMENTS.

As "Righteousness exalteth a nation" to temporal prosperity and grandeur, so "Sin is the disgrace," and the ruin, "of any people." A sage aphorism, (Prov. xiv. 34,) which is verified by the whole tenor of Sacred and Profane History, and exemplified in the foregoing pages, by many remarkable instances of ancient nations, the Persians, Medes, &c. which flourished while they were religious and virtuous, but declined, and fell into decay, when they grew irreligious and corrupt; both by the natural progress of human depravity, and by the righteous judgments of God; "for the nation and kingdom that will not serve HIM, shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted," Isa. lx. 12. The present race "shall perish;" their posterity "shall be utterly wasted," or exterminated! for wheresoever the carcass is, or the mass of the people become corrupt, there shall the eagles, or swift and rapacious ministers of divine vengeance, be gathered together, to devour, to destroy, and to make an end!

"Who cannot understand," said the great Roman Orator, "that by the providence of the Gods, this mighty empire has been formed, and enlarged; and preserved?—

"We may admire ourselves, Conscript Fathers, as much as we please; nevertheless, it was neither by numbers that we subdued the Spaniards, nor by strength the Gauls, nor by craft the Carthaginians, nor by tactics the Grecians, nor, in fine, by the home bred and native good sense of this people and country, the Italians themselves, and the Latins; but rather by Piety and Religion; and by this sole wisdom, namely, that we perceived that all things are ruled and governed by the providence of the immortal Gods, did we subdue all peoples and nations*." De Haruspicum responsis. § 9.

And the Father of Grecian history concluded his account of the destruction of Troy, with this precious sentiment: "Heaven

* Quis—non intelligat Deorum numine, hoc tantum imperium esse natum et auctum et retentum? Quam volumus licet, Patres Conscripti, ipsi nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pianos, nec artibus Graecos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis ac terræ domstico natioque sensu, Italos ipsos ac Latinos; sed pietate ac religioni: Atque hac und Sapientid, quod DEORUM IMMORTALIUM numina omnia regi gubernariique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationsque superavimus.
permitting, as I conjecture, that they should be utterly destroyed, to convince mankind that the gods have great punishments in reserve for great crimes."

If we turn our eyes from ancient times, and ancient writers, sacred and profane, to modern, and review the present awful and stupendous visitations of divine wrath, upon an irreligious and corrupt world, "when the judgments of God are visibly abroad in all the earth," what pious and patriotic citizen of the world can forbear breathing out an ardent wish, that the world in general, and his own nation in particular, "would learn righteousness," from the experience and observation of all ages, past and present.—O that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their end! the end of themselves, and of their posterity, even in this life, independent of futurity; for it is only in this life that national piety and virtue can be rewarded, and national impiety and vice can be punished; individuals will find their just and full retribution in a future state. See p. 114, note, of this Volume, and the history of Job, and of Solomon, in the second Volume.

The great and important ends of all history, sacred and profane, are national entertainment, and instruction.

Omne tulit punctum, quimiscuit utile dulci,
Lectorem delectando, fariterque monendo.

Horat.

These were attained, in a pre-eminent degree, by the sacred historians of the Old and New Testament (to unfold whose mingled beauties and merits is the chief aim and object of the present arduous attempt); but there is one grand excellence, peculiarly theirs, noticed before, as belonging to the Evangelists in particular, Vol. III. p. 38.

"They sacrificed to the truth alone."

"Telling truth in love," or charity to the community, "whether they would hear, or whether they would forbear, and regardless of all personal inconveniences resulting from their frankness, or freedom of speech; whether stripes, imprisonment, or even death itself; "rejoicing that they were counted worthy to be disgraced for the name of Christ, and for the sake of God, as their heralds and ambassadors, and willing to spend, and be spent, for the good of their country and of man-

* Αληθευοντες εν αγαπῃ. Ephes. iv. 15.
† Παρρησία. Acts iv. 29; xxxvii. 31; Phil. i. 20.
kind; whereas, the profane historians too often sacrificed to the Graces, and to Fiction, even the best, Herodotus, Xenophon, &c.

Wishing, therefore, though in an inferior degree, and at humble distance, to emulate those mighty masters, or teachers of ancient piety and wisdom, “the goodly fellowship of the Prophets,” and those venerable Fathers in Christ, “the glorious company of the Apostles,” who both composed the foremost ranks of “the noble army of the Martyrs,” in the Church Militant, from the earliest ages; I have faithfully and honestly endeavoured to point out to the public the present sickly and drooping state, or the utter extinction of Christianity in the four quarters of the world, and the alarming symptoms of the decay and approaching ruin of the Established Church in the British Isles, and I ventured to propose the most effectual remedies, to prevent their speedy downfall: namely, 1. To recur, once more, to the long neglected, and almost forgotten, fundamental principles of Protestantism, so necessary to check the luxuriant growth of Heresy and Schism, now waving through the land; by holding forth to imitation the wisdom and piety of our ancestors, at the Blessed Reformation, and at the Glorious Revolution, which emancipated those countries from the spiritual thraldom of the See of Rome. 2. To resist, by fair reason, argument, and by circulation of the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, (rightly understood in spirit, and explained in letter,) the revival and re-establishment of that “worst of superstitions, and heaviest of all God’s judgments, Pervery,” in the lively and energetic language of Milton, who knew its genius right well. And 3. Though last mentioned, yet first to be done, to reform our national sins, and to amend our lives individually, with all speed, as we wish to suspend, as we wish to avert, before it be too late, “the dreadful judgments which have befallen the rest of Europe, and now seem hovering, ready to fall upon us, in these most dangerous days,” and most alarming crisis, perhaps, of the British empire, harassed and torn to an extraordinary degree, by intestine divisions and feuds, in Church and State; and surrounded, on all sides, by a host of foreign and inveterate foes, and unnatural children, or colonists, all meditating or contriving its subjugation and destruction, at a disastrous period, when there is the most urgent
and imperious necessity for concord and unanimity in our public councils, and for firmness and promptness in our public measures; all sects, and all parties, laudably forgetting their mutual animosities, and joining heart and hand against the common enemy, for the protection of their Religion and Liberties.

These considerations recoil with redoubled force, and with the keenest edge, when we consider the great national loss lately sustained, by the lamentable assassination of the Right Honourable Spencer Perceval, the good, and the great, in the ante-chamber of the British House of Commons, on May 11, 1812. A loss, which is sorely felt already, and will perhaps daily, more and more; a loss, so hard to be replaced, as involving the rare assemblage of political wisdom, virtue, and integrity, and steady attachment to the genuine principles of the Constitution, in Church and State. Such, and so gifted, was "the Master-Counsellor in whom there was safety\(^*\)" while he steered the helm of the state!—Where, alas! shall we look for, and find such another "pilot to weather the storm," in this most disastrous hurricane, which threatens the shipwreck of all we hold most dear and precious, as men, as citizens, and as Christians!

One source of comfort and consolation still remains, amid this ocean of ills, which may induce us to hope almost against hope, that the God who is still "worshipped in spirit and truth," in the British Isles, that last asylum of the Faithful Witnesses, who is able to deliver us, and who hath delivered us, on so many signal occasions, will still deliver us from the perils that environ us. And that is, the latent fund of individual wisdom and worth, still subsisting, "in the home bred and native good sense of this people and country,"—in the British character,

* "Not obvious, nor obstrusive, but retired,
The more desirable \(†\)"

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* See the Master-Counsellor explained, note, p. 161. Most justly may we apply to Mr. Perceval the elegiac lines of the Roman Poet.

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam cari Capitis! — Cui, Pudor, et Justitiae Soror
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas,
Quando illum inventem parem!
Multis ille bonis fletibus, occidit.

Hor. Od. I. xxiv. 1—9.

A greater than Quintilius Varus is gone!

† The following anecdotes will, perhaps, engage the public, as they have already, the Editor's feelings.
APPENDIX.

though unfortunately disgraced by some overt acts of violence, of Political, as well as Religious Fanaticism, equally abhorred, with satisfaction, we observe, by the sober minded of all parties and sects among us. Even the recent dreadful catastrophe, unfortunate as it may in many respects prove, may yet have the good effect to rouse a slumbering sense of Public Virtue, to alarm the wise and good, and by exciting from them expressions of detestation, in some degree to shame and check Political Incendiaries*.

I. When the fatal intelligence of the sudden assassination of Mr. Perceval was speedily communicated to Lord Arden, his brother, "he was excessively agitated. But he soon recovered himself; and the first symptom of returning reason was shewn, by begging pardon of Heaven for the excess of his affliction.

II. "When the heart rending account was conveyed to Mrs. Perceval, she bore it with astonishing firmness. She could not weep; but spent a sleepless night without tears. Her friends, apprehensive of the consequences, assembled her children all around her, in the morning; when at the sight of them, she burst into a flood of tears, which greatly relieved her. She was then anxious to see the body. There was nothing horrid in the appearance, and the countenance was remarkably placid. The sight (afflicting as it was; she and her children weeping over the murdered husband and father) was yet a comfort to her, as it convinced her his death had been without pain. Indeed, it was, probably, almost instantaneous.

"The night before the funeral, she assembled all her children, in prayer, round the body, urging them to imitate, through life, the conduct of their father: and concluding with a prayer, for the repentance and pardon of the assassin. This was the last strong emotion of her grief. She has gradually become since, more and more composed."

III. "The funeral was conducted with as much privacy as possible. Four of the Ministers attended as pall-bearers; and the eldest son, and the brothers, brothers in law, and three of the nephews, together with the private secretaries, attended as mourners; the rest of his relations and friends having been requested not to attend. He was buried at Charlton in Kent, in a vault belonging to his family, where his father, mother, and others of the family, have been buried. The procession passed in silence to the church, where the ground was kept by the London light horse volunteers, of which Mr. Perceval had been a member, many of whom appeared to be deeply afflitted. Indeed, the solemnity, at that moment, to which the music of the corps contributed, was great, and I believe, (says the writer) struck every one present.

"During the ceremony, when the Lord's prayer was read over the grave, the loud and shrill voice of his son, penetrating above the rest of those who joined in the prayer, produced a thrill of sorrow not to be expressed."

* This communication to the public of this most interesting and affecting intelligence, as it came warm from the heart of the writer, an eye witness, and home to the heart of his correspondent, cannot surely be deemed dishonourable, or a breach of private friendship: It is, indeed, a necessary, and a seasonable confirmation of the argument advanced in the text.

Paulum distat sepulta, celatavirtus.
We are bound "to let our light shine before men, to the glory of God."

* The following were the profound political reflections of the Roman Orator and Patriot, on the State of Parties at Rome, before he was overwhelmed by the ruins of
and to undeceive the deluded multitude, who are daily misled by their harangues, their publications, and their state-activities,

that Constitution, which he vainly strove to uphold, from the Clodiuses, the Catilines, and the Cesars of his day: in his Oration, pro Sextio.

Duo genera semper in hac Civitate fuerunt eorum, qui versati in Republica, atque in ea se excellentius gerere studuerunt: quibus ex generibus, alteri se populares, alteri optimates, et haberi et esse voluerunt. Qui ea quae faciebant, queaque dicebant, Multitudini juenda esse volebant, populares; qui autem ita se gereabant, ut sua consilia optimo cuique probarent, Optimates habebantur.

Quid est igitur propositum his Reipublicae gubernatoribus, quod intueri, et quo cursum suum dirigere debant? Id quod est præstantissimum, maximeque optabile omnibus sanis, et bonis et beatis: Cum dignitate otium.


Harum rerum tot atque tantarum esse defensorum et patronum, magni animi est, magni ingenii, magnæque constantiae: Et enim, in tanto Civium numero magna multitudine est eorum qui aut propter metum poenæ, peccatorum suorum conscii, novos motus conversionesque Reipublicæ quarant; aut qui, propter insitum quendam animi fuorem discordiæ civium ac seditione pascantur; aut qui, propter implicationem rei familiaris, communi incendio malint quam suo deflagrare. Qui cum auctores et duces suorum studiorum vitiorumque sunt nacti, in Republica fluctus

"In this state there have been always two kinds of citizens desirous of engaging and distinguishing themselves in public affairs: Of these, the one wished to be accounted and to be in reality Democrats; the other, Aristocrats. Those who wished to render their words and actions pleasing to the multitude were accounted Democrats; but those who so conducted themselves, as to recommend their measures to the most respectable among the citizens, Aristocrats.—

"What then, ought to be the object, what the aim of these governors of the state in steering their course? That surely, which is most excellent, and by all sober and good and opulent citizens most desirable: to maintain tranquility with dignity.—

"But of this tranquil dignity these are the foundations, these the compartments which ought to be maintained by the principal citizens, and defended even at the hazard of life: Religious establishments, both moral and ceremonial, the powers of the Magistrates, the authority of Parliament, the Statute and Common Law, the administration of Justice, the Municipal Jurisdiction, the public Faith, the Government of the Provinces, Foreign Alliances, the Glory of the Empire, the Military Establishment, the Finances.

"To defend and patronise concerns so various and important, is the province of great magnanimity, great talents, and great consistency; for in so immense a mass of citizens, great is the multitude of those, who through consciousness of guilt and fear of punishment seek new commotions and convulsions in the state; or who from a certain implanted phrenzy of mind are nourished by civil discord and sedition; or, who from embarrassment of their family affairs, wish rather to burn out gradually in the general conflagration, than immediately in their own. Whenever such mis-
or mischievous intrigues and coalitions against the common weal.

If ten righteous citizens would have saved Sodom, that abominable city, even in the very jaws of destruction, may we not

creants can find abettors and leaders of their schemes and enormities, then tempests are excited in the state: so that they who have assumed the helm of their country, ought to be vigilant, ought to exert all their skill and diligence, by preserving those foundations and compartments which I mentioned a little before, to be enabled to hold on their course, and reach that desirable port of Tranquility and Dignity.

"Were I, Judges, to deny that this is a course either rugged, or arduous, or perilous, or beset with snares, I should be a liar; especially since it has been not only my constant conviction, but what I have felt myself, more than others: For the Commonwealth is assailed by greater forces and resources than it is defended; because daring and desperate men are impelled by a nod, and are readily incited even of their own accord, to attack the Commonwealth: while the well affected, by some unaccountable fatality, are too tardy, and neglecting the beginnings of innovation, are, at length, excited toward the extremity, by downright necessity; so that sometimes, by tardiness and procrastination, while they wish to retain tranquillity even without dignity, themselves lose both!"

What a faithful and a frightful picture is here exhibited of the feuds and dissensions now actually raging in these isles, between the Aristocratic and the Democratic parties! (1812.) To each, we may say,

_Mutato nomine, de Te, fabula narratur!_

God grant the termination may not be similar in both countries! Cicero outlived the ruin of the Roman constitution, and before he fell a victim to the proscriptions of the ruthless Triumvirate, Augustus, Anthony and Lepidus, in his De Senectute he stated the following as the cause of the rapid downfall of the state:

_Quo, cedo, Rempublicam vestram tantam amissistis tam cito?_

'What, prithee, occasioned the loss of so great a commonwealth as yours, so suddenly?'

He replies in the character of old, norose Cato the Censor,

_Proveniebant Oratores, novi, stulti, adolescentuli!_

"The frequent harangues of upstart, silly, childish Orators!"
venture to hope, that many tens are still to be found in the British Metropolis and its environs? and that whatever may be the final doom of London, (which we, in particular, deprecate most fervently, from long tried experience, and no short, nor slight, nor confined observation of the disinterested kindness and hospitality of Englishmen) yet we fondly trust, that a gracious Zoar, or asylum for the faithful witnesses, "a little city of refuge," will be found, in their last and sorest trial, in "the street," or most populous region of the "tenth part," or province, of "the great city," or Roman empire, destined to be the last dreadful, and sanguinary, and public persecution and massacre of the Household of Faith, if we rightly understand Rev. xi. 7—10. See Vol. III. p. 640—642.

May such "choice spirits," such "steady hearts," as are still to be found, blessed be God, in that most highly favoured country under heaven, by "working out their own and their country's salvation, with fear and trembling," conciliate the

"We are bound to pray for the peace of our Jerusalem," not only occasionally, on solemnities like the present, and at the stated times of public worship, but upon all occasions: not merely in the Church, but in our houses and in our closets; at family prayer, and in our most retired devotional exercises. And He that seeth in secret, will, it is to be humbly hoped, "reward openly," such pious and patriotic prayers, by the preservation and protection of the community at large. It must indeed be difficult, nay impossible, to estimate the effect of such "still, small voiced" petitions and intercessions, even of a lowly and obscure individual*, until that day "when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed," and "the little causes of great events," published to men and Angels: but we are warranted by HOLY WRIT to consider as of much avail, before the throne of

Perhaps, the self-approving haughty World,
That as she sweeps him with her rustling silks,
Scarcely deigns to notice him; or if she sees,
Deems him a cypher in the works of God;
Receives advantage from his noiseless hours,
Of which she little dreams: Perhaps, she owes
Her sunshine and her rain, her blooming spring,
And plenteous harvest, to the prayer he makes;
When 'Isaac like,' the solitary Saint,
'Walks forth to meditate at even tide,'
And thinks on her who thinks not for herself!
providential protection of her Guardian Powers, and avert the threatened destruction!

Grace, the fervent energetic prayer of a righteous man" [such as of Abraham for Sodom, and Elijah for Israel.]

"God forbid," said the venerable prophet Samuel, upon a similar solemnity, to his ungrateful and revolting people—God forbid that I should sin against the Lord, in ceasing to pray for you!—But I will teach you the good and right way: Only fear the Lord and serve Him in truth, with all your heart; for consider how great things He hath done for you!—But if ye shall still do wickedly, ye shall be consumed, both ye and your king."

INDEXES

TO THE

FOUR VOLUMES:

I. CHRONOLOGICAL, II. HISTORICAL, III. SCRIPTURAL, IV. PHILOLOGICAL.

IN TENUI LABOR.—Virgil.
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